

REIGN
OF
HENRY VIII

LORD
HERBERT

LOND: 1649







ROBERT BALL



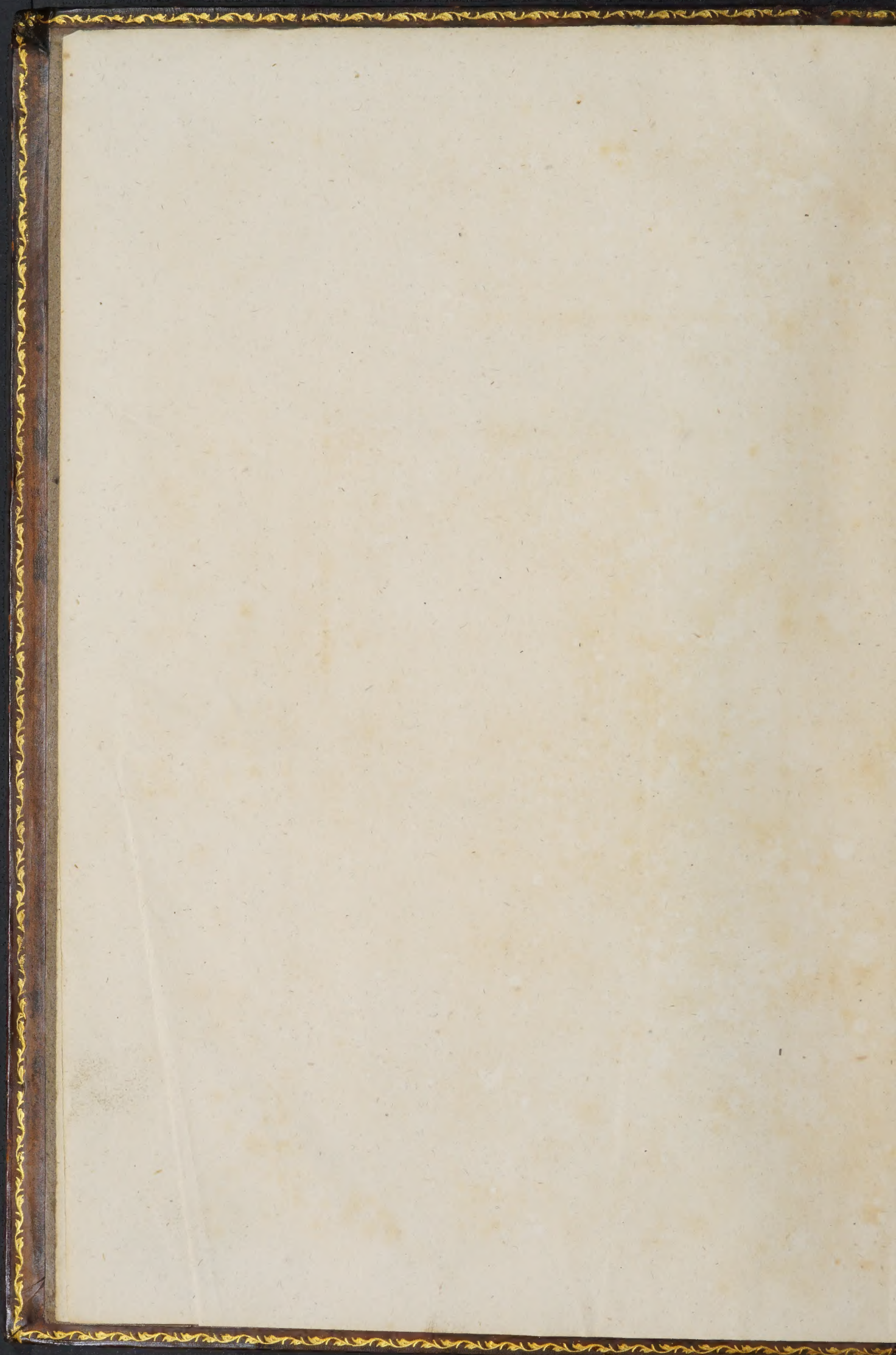
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J. Cecill sculp

THE
LIFE
AND
RAIGNE
OF
King HENRY
THE EIGHTH.

WRITTEN
By the Right Honourable
EDWARD
Lord HERBERT of *Cherbury*.



LONDON,
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his shop, at the Kings Arms in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1649.

THE
GIFT

BY
R. VIGOR

TO
King's College

BY THE
Hon. Secy. of the Board

of
Education



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An Analytical Character or Dissection of HENRY the Eighth.

This great King must be considered

1.
In his Person
and outward
Proportion.

For the first: He was of a goodly Stature; of a Majestick awing Presence; of a clear sanguine Complexion, which made him apt to give and take tentations of that *Sex* which was too hard for the *First*, the *Strongest*, and the *Wiseſt* Man: He had a competency of Spirit to *man* that large bulk throughout; for he was vigorous and robust, witness his orethrowing Sir *William Kingston* horse and Man in presence of three *Queens*, his dexterity at Tilt, the Barriers, and all other heroick Exercises at his Interviews with the French King and Emperours: for when he appeared in any Action, he out-lustred all others.

2.
In his Proper-
ties and out-
ward Dispo-
ſition.

Touching the Second; It subdivides it self into his *Vertues* and *Vices*: For his *Vertues*, by advantage of Education (being designed for the Church) He was well vers'd in the Arts, a good Divine and Latinist: He had an harmonious Soul, for he was a good Musician, having among other things, composed two Anthems, which were usually sung in his Chappels. For his *Vices*, being of a replete sanguine bulk, he had more matter for the heat of concupiscence to work upon: Nor were his two contemporaries, *Charls* and *Francis* lesse peccant in this kinde; for they had their *Amourettes*, their *Indebita vasa*, and divers natural children. Having parted with his first Queen, and the Cardinal, his *sanguine* humour came to be somewhat *sanguinary* and inclining to cruel: yet he had the Church, the Parliament and Judges for what he did: He was too constant to himself, when any thing entred into his head, which the world term'd Wilfulness: He was more prodigall in spending, then covetous in getting money, by making himself an Actor in some things, which had been more for his advantage, had he been onely a Spectator.

3.
In his Politicall
capacity, and
his Actions
Civil or Mar-
tial.

Touching the Third: He was very knowing in the Art of Governing, and cut out as it were for a King; for he kept all in an exact obedience: and had his *Passions* been as subject to him as were his *People*, he had been the absoluteſt of Kings: He also may be rank'd among the best *Law-makers*: He got divers glorious Titles which his Progenitors never had; He was the first stiled *Defender of the Faith*, (and promised to be *Christianissimus*;) He was the first English King of *Ireland*. He was the first *Uniter* of the ancient Britains and English: He was stiled by the Consistory and People of Rome *Liberator Urbis*, when the Pope was freed: *Francis* the First acknowledged him under God to be the *chiefest Deliverer* of him and his children from Spain: He was call'd *Protector* of the famous *Clementine* League, and offered to be Patron of the *Lutherans*: Nor did he know what 'twas to be beaten all his life: He had an Emperor to serve him; and he was counted the common *Umpire* of Christendom. In fine, *England* may be said to have had little Commerce abroad in point of matters of State till the reigne of this
KING.



U P O N
The LIFE and REIGN

O F
King *HE NRY* the Eighth,

*According to the opinion of the
Noble* AUTHOR.

❖❖❖❖ *I*ces in Kings are like those Spots the Moon
❖❖❖❖ Bears in her body, which so plain appear
To all the World: so *Vertues* shine more clear
In *Them*, and radiat like the *Sun* at Noon:
This King had both; yet counterbalance all,
You'l find th' out-poising grain in *Vertue's* scale.

He was more *King* then *Man*, his Gallantries
Surpass'd his Frailties: Had his *Passions* bent
To *Him*, as *France* did, and his *Parliament*,
Or had his *Set* been equall to his *Rise*,
Of all those glorious Kings wore *England's* Crown,
He had march'd with the formost in Renown.

This learned Lord, this *Lord* of *Wit* and *Art*,
This *Metaphysick* Lord holds forth a Glasse,
Through which we may behold in every part
This boistrous Prince: He cuts Him out in Brasse,

In everlasting Brasse; so that I may avow,
Old Harry never had a Monument till now.

JAM. HOWELL.



TO THE
KINGS
Most Excellent
MAJESTY.

Most Excellent and most Gracious
SOVERAIGNE,



Present here in all humble manner unto Your Maiesty a Worke, the Authority whereof is solely Yours: not yet so much because it tooke its first beginning from Your Majesties particular, and (I may say) unexpected commands; but that the parts thereof, as fast as I could finish them, were lustrated by Your gracious
A 2 Eye,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Eye, and consummated by your judicious Animadversions ; besides, the substance thereof, in all home affairs hath been drawn chiefly out of your Majesties Records. So that by more then one Title it craves Your Majesties protection. As for the defects, I no way presume to interesse Your Majesty in them : let them all fall on my selfe. Though as I have endeavoured to set down the truth impartially, I hope they will not be so great or many, as to exauctorate the rest. I am not yet ignorant that the King, whose History I write, is subject to more obloquies, then any since the worst Roman Emperours times. But I shall little care for censure, as long as the testimonies I use doe assure and warrant me : since I intend not to describe him otherwise, either good or bad, but as He really was. Onely where he holds any doubtfull part, I conceive it will be but just to give a favourable construction. For if even private men will expect the like in their owne case, it will be much more due to Princes: both as a reverence belongs to their persons, and that they above all others must be thought to endeavour the common good, who will suffer more then any else in a generall calamity. How farre yet I make use hereof to assert this King, my free Pen doth every where

The Epistle Dedicatory.

where declare ; Since I give not this interpretation, where arguments to the contrary convince me. Nevertheless, as many things will be required to an intire narration of publique actions, in difficult times ; I cannot affirme them, beyond those memorials which have beene delivered to posterity. And if thus they may be obscure, so againe where they sufficiently appeare in their causes, their nature yet is often found so perplext and intricate, as it will not be easie for after times to define their qualities ; Few of this sort being so sincere, as to imploy no inconvenience, while the advantage of many is seldome obtained without the detriment of some. Neither ought this to seeme strange, if in the present constitution of the affairs no better expedient could be offered ; Reason of State pretending no farther, then to procure the greater good. So that if some mixture of ill be discovered therein, it might yet conduce to the generall, by the same reason that certaine noxious ingredients, being put into Antidotes, make their operation more Powerfull. Which yet my reader I hope will not sounderstand, as if I thought any rude hand could temper them ; Every ill being not proper for this composition in this kind, but that onely which is opposite to the maladie : nor every one a fit Patient,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Patient, but those only who are of infirme, and crazie constitutions. So that it will be needfull that a carefull and able person both dispence and exhibite it. I wish yet that good Princes may seldom use this maxime, it being (at best) but a dangerous suspected wisdome. Since State-government, where it is well administred, will rarely need such helps, no otherwise than extreame and last remedies. Therefore in my opinion, recourse should not be had to them, but where other meanes faile; The practise of vertue and piety being alone a just exercise for a healthfull and well constituted Common-wealth. Neither will there be any danger this way of distraction; Those causes which make men good, uniting them best. Onely I hold it requisite, that a due disposition and order be observed: no vertue being proper but in its place. Therefore though some one or other be still so pertinent, as there is no occasion totally to recede from them; yet experience teacheth, that neither fortitude hath been alwayes successfull, nor temperance safe, nor justice it selfe opportune: the fury and insolence of outragious people having in some insurrections grown to that excesse, that it hath been more wisdome to passe by a while, than to punish them. So that untill a due election and choice be had, even vertue,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

tue it selfe will be obnoxious. For which purpose therefore, each of them hath its station or orbe assign'd. That so whilst some descend, others arising in the Horizon of government, may maintaine a perpetuall vicissitude and revolution. There being (I dare say) no reason for any to decline to ill acts or vices, if they comply with the right vertue; their harmonique systeme being so admirably fram'd, that some one or other will eternally beare a concordant part. Of all which your Majesty being so great a master and example, that you had rather merit than heare a due commendation: I shall only pray that the vertues which are eminent in your person, may be so visible and exalted, in your happy and long government, that to all ages you may be renowned and glorious. Thus in all true devotion resteth

*Your Majesties most faithfull
Subject and Servant.*

ED. HERBERT.



THE
LIFE AND RAIGN
OF
King Henry the eighth.

Together with which is briefly represented
A generall History of the Times.



It is not easie to write that Princes History, of whom no one thing may constantly be affirmed. Changing of Manners & Condition alters the coherence of parts; which should give an uniforme description. Nor is it probable that contradictories should agree to the same Person: so that nothing can shake the credit of a Narration more, then if it grow unlike it selfe; when yet it may be not the Author, but the Argument caused the variation. It is un-

possible to draw his Picture well who hath severall countenances.

I shall labour with this difficulty in King Henry the eighth; Not yet so much for the generall observation (among Politiques) that the Government of Princes rarely grows milder towards their latter end; but that this King in particular, (being, about his declining age, so diverse in many of his desires, as he knew not well how either to command or obey them) interverted all, falling at last into such violent courses, as in common opinion derogated not a little from those vertues which at first made him one of the most renowned Princes of Christendom.

Concil.
Trid. l. i.

Vid. Consti.
Ano. 1440.

His education was accurate, being destined (as a credible Author affirms) to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, during the life of his elder brother Prince *Arthur*; that prudent King his father choosing this as the most cheap and glorious way for bettowing of a younger son. For as he at once disburdned his Revenues, and the publike from the charge incident to so great a person, so he left a passage open to ambition; especially ever since *Eugenius 4.* had declared the place of a Cardinall above all other in the Church. Besides, he considered it would be no little security to his posterity, that this Dignity was conferred on one who had interest in the conservation of the Crown. By these meanes not onely the more necessary parts of Learning were infus'd into him, but even those of ornament; so that, besides his being an able Latinist, Philosopher and Divine, he was (which one might wonder at in a King) a curious Musitian; as two intire Masses compos'd by him, and often sung in his Chappell, did abundantly witnesse. These were qualities which invested in excellent and well form'd Personage, made him every way recommendable. To which againe, a great courage and active spirit being added, he seem'd to hold that strong temper of Authority, which made him esteem'd and redoubted both at home and abroad. Had his age answered his youth, or expectation, none of his predeceissours could have exceeded him. but as his exquesite endowments of nature engaged him often to become a prey of these allurements and temptations, which are ordinarily incident unto them; so his courage was observed by little and little to receive into it some mixture of self-will and cruelty.

I am the more particular in his description, that Princes actions are not alwaies drawn from reason of State, but sometimes even from inclination and humour. They have many waies to be wise, and seldome erre while they keepe their estate and reputation. Nothing is so easie as to raigne, if the body of Government be well framed. Let the counterpoises of reward and punishment go aright, the Wheelles of this great clock seldome faile. This King used both well as long as his means and complection suffer'd him; though at last, passing these bounds on either side, he cannot be denied to have fallen into divers irregularities.

June 28.
1491.
1509.
April 22.

The time of his birth was *June 28. 1491.* and of his comming to the Crown *April 22. 1509.* when though he might be thought apter for delights then businesse; yet, as he followed the advice of able Counsellors, fewer errors were committed then when all things were sway'd by his owne arbitrement; for as they were selected (out of those his Father most trusted) by the Dutchesse of *Richmond* his Grandmother, (noted to be a vertuous and prudent Lady) so he took their impressions easily, both out of a diffidence of his own strength in the mannaging of the weighty affaires of his Kingdome, and a desire he had to be free to those exercises which

which most sorted with his youth and disposition. And certainly it was a happy conjuncture for him, since, if the first part of wisdom consist in an ability to give good counsell, the next is to take it; the condition betwixt both being ever most obnoxious to danger. But that their names may be known to posterity, I shall mention them as they are upon Record.

William Warham Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*.

Richard Fox, Bishop of *Winchester*, Secretary, and Lord Privy Seale.

Thomas Howard, Earle of *Surrey*, Lord Treasurer of *England*.

George Talbot, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, Lord Steward of the Kings Household.

Sir *Charles Somerset* Lord *Herbert* of *Gower*, *Chepstow*, and *Rayland*, Lord Chamberlaine.

Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Master of the Wards, and Constable of the Tower.

Sir *Henry Wyat*.

Thomas Ruthall, Doctor of Law.

Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, Controller.

Sir *Henry Marney*, afterwards Lord *Marney*.

Sir *Thomas Darcy*,* afterwards Lord *Darcy*.

*April 9. 1532
* 1511:

The frame of this Counsell was of Schollers chiefly, and Souldiers. Among the former sort I finde the Archbishop *Warham* much celebrated by the learned *Erasmus*; and of the latter kind, there will be divers mentioned with honour, in the History following. So that their choice proceeded rather from their sufficiency in the businesse they were to discharge, and care of that authority they must support, then from any private affection. Insomuch that notwithstanding the high reverence they bore to their Princes person, they were observed so to love the prosperity of his affaires, as they would not onely impartially advise, but often modestly contest with him in any thing for his good. Besides, among them (though not many) there were divers able to execute and perform as well as counsell. So that, without divulging any secret, or descending from the dignity of their place to require advice from their inferiours, they moved in their own Orbe. This held up the Majesty of the Counsell. Onely I finde it strange, that among all these there was not so much as one that I may call stiled from the Common Law; which though I cannot commend, (wisdom evermore beginning at home) yet I doubt not was so tempered, as, when any difficulty in this kinde did arise, the Counsell learned in the Law was sent for. However, it seems that King kept them at a distance towards the beginning of his Raigne, though towards the middle and latter end I finde some were (through their great abilities) received into the body of his Councell; yet so, as the

1509.

King was noted not to admit reason of law everywhere, for reason of State. Therefore he used to take their advice obliquely, and no otherwise then to discover how safe his own designs were, and so with lesse danger to vary from them. Which deviations yet he would so regulate, as his actions at home had still, if not their ground, yet at least their pretext from the Common-law. Neither was it hard, the practice thereof having been so long intercepted in the Civill warres of *Lancaster* and *York*, as there were not a few Overtures for the Regall authority, both in his fathers time and his, to appeare in, and enter.

May 9.

The first Office performed by these Councillors was mixt. betwixt piety to their deceased Prince, and duty to their new; it being the best continuance of that Regall authority which should never die, to revive the memory thereof in that way onely which is permitted, being Pompe and Ceremony. This appeared not onely in a great Funerall, but by that magnificent Structure in *Westminster*, where the Chappell having been finished by *Henry* the seventh himselfe, had the Tombe afterwards added and perfected by his Executors 1519. Concerning which, though it be reported that the Chappell cost onely 10000 li. (or, as others say, 14000 li.) and the Tombe 1000 li. yet as monies did runne then, it might be thought a sumptuous Monument.

April 23.
Hall.

While the Obsequies and Rites were preparing (the particulars whereof *Hall* after his manner relates) King *Henry* retired himselfe from *Richmond* (where his father died) privately to the Tower of *London*, both that he might with more leasure advise with his Councell concerning the present affaires of his Kingdome, as also the better to avoyd those salutes and acclamations of the people, which could not but be unseasonable, untill the lamentations and solemnity of his fathers funerall were past. He thought not fit to mingle the Noyses. Here then it was in the first place resolved to make good his Authority, as having more undoubted right to the Crown by the union of the White-Rose and the Red in his person, then any King ever delivered unto us by warrantable History. For this end he found or took occasions. In one kinde *Henry Stafford*, brother to the Duke of *Buckingham* served for example, who (upon I know not what suspition) was apprehended presently, and committed to the Tower, which yet seem'd afterwards so frivolous, as, to repaire this disgrace, he was the same yeere made Earle of *Wiltshire*. In the other kinde, Doctor *Ruthall* became the object, being (together with one of his Councell) made the same day Bishop of *Duresme*. Thus, though it seems he hasted to take upon him the reall marks of Sovereignty, yet he so temper'd them, as to leave his subjects in hope of an even hand. Besides that he might shew himselfe gracious to his subjects, he not onely confirmed the pardon his father gave a little before his death for all offences, save Murder, Felony, and Treason, (to which generall abolitions doe

not

not properly reach) but for further performance of his Fathers last will caused a Proclamation to be made; that if any man could prove himselfe to be then wrongfully deprived of his goods by occasion of a certain Commission for Forfeitures; He should have (upon due complaint) condigne satisfaction; whereupon so many Petitions were presently exhibited against Sir *Richard Empson* and *Edmund Dudley* Esquires (employed lately for taking the benefit of Penall Statutes) that it was thought fit to call them before the Councell, where *Empson* spake to this effect.

April 25.

Right Honorable and others here present:

I Have remarked two causes in generall, that move Attention. One is the greatnesse, the other is the strangenesse and novelty of Argument. Both these concur so manifestly in the affaires now questioned, that I will not much implore your patience. Though on the other side, considering my violent persecution, I cannot but thinke it a favour, that I may speak for my selfe; but (alas) to whom? That King my Master, whom I should appeale too, as my supreme Judge and Protector, abandons me to my enemies, without other cause yet, then that I obey'd his Fathers commands, and upheld the regall authority. That people, on whose equall tryall I should put my life, seek my destruction, onely because I endeavoured to execute those Lawes whereof themselves were Authors: what would have happened to me, if I had disobeyed my King, or broak my Countreys Lawes? Surely, if I have any wayes transgressed, it is in procuring that these Penall Statutes might be observed, which your selves in open Parliament decreed, and to which you then submitted, both your Persons, Estates, and Posterity; and if this be a crime, why doe you not first repeale your proper Acts? Or if (which is truth) they stand still in full force and vertue, why doe you not vindicate from all imputation both your selves and me? For who saw ever yet any man condemn'd for doing Justice? Especially when by the chiefe dispencer thereof (which is the King) the whole frame of the proceeding hath been confirm'd and warranted? Nay, whoever saw man on these termes not rewarded? And must that which is the life and strength of all other actions, be the subversion and overthrow of mine? Have you read or heard in any well govern'd Countrey, that the infractors of Lawes made by Publique Vote, and consent escaped without punishment, and they only punish'd who labourd to sustain them? or when you had not read or heard any such thing, could you imagine a more certain signe of ruine in that common-weale? And will you alone hope to decline this heavy judgement? when contrary to all equity and example, you not onely make presidents for injustice and impunity, but together with defaming would inflict a cruell death on those who would maintaine them; as if this might be a fit guerdon for those who (I must tell you) everywhere else would have been thought the best Patriots; what can we expect then,

1509.

Holinsh.

then, but a fatall Period to us all? But let God turn this away, though I be the sacrifice. Onely, if I must dye, let me desire that my enditement may be entred on no Record, nor divulged to forrain Nations, lest if they heare, in my condemnation, all that may argue a finall dissolution in Government, they invade and overcome you.

Whereunto was answered briefly. That he receiv'd a great deale of liberty to speak ill, as well as to doe: That hee should find at last, he was punish'd for passing the bounds of his Commission from the late King, and in a Law severe enough to the Common and poorer sort of people, to have yet exacted on them unjustly. The chiefe parts of his accusation (that I can find) were,

1. That he had committed divers persons to prison, without suffering them to answer till they had compounded for their fines.

2. For searching unduly mens estates, and bringing them wrongfully to hold under that Tenure they call in Capite; without that the parties could be permitted to a Traverse, till they had payed great Fines and Ransomes.

3. That Wards, being come to full yeares, were not allowed to sue out their Livery, till they had paid an excessive Composition.

4. That Outlaw'd persons could not be allow'd to sue out their Charter of Pardon, till they had paid half the profit of their lands for two yeare, upon pretence that it was according to Law.

5. That he usurped upon the jurisdiction of other Courts, in hearing and determining divers matters properly belonging to them.

6. Lastly, that whereas a prisoner being indicted for theft, in the City of *Coventry*, to the value of one pound, was by the Jury acquitted, the said *Empson* conceiving the evidence to be sufficient, committed the Jury to prison, till they entred into Bond to appear before the King's Councell; where the matter being againe considered, it was ordered they should pay eight pounds for a Fine (which was thought so heynous, as, at a Sessions being held afterwards at *Coventry*, a particular indictment was fram'd against him, and he found guilty.) How many of these Allegations were verified, or how far they might be warranted by the last King's Commission, appeares not to me. Howsoever, for the present, they were * Committed to the Tower.

* April 23.

This *Empson*, reported to be a Sive-maker's sonne in *Torcester*, from this meane beginning, by his wit and industry, came to be of Councell to King *Henry VII*, and Master or Surveyor of his forfeits in divers kinds; in which place he served as an instrument, for raising great sums to the King. *Dudley* (a Gentleman of Birth, and such parts as he was chosen Speaker of the Parliament House * 19 *Henry VII*;) assisting him. These men (call'd by *Polydore Virgil Indices Fiscales*) having, it seemes, exceeded their bounds, were detested of all, but especially the poorer sort, who found it easier to hate,

* 1503.

hate, then to pay. To satisfie their complaints therefore, it was thought fit to permit them to the ordinary wayes of Justice: the Promoters they used being so severely punish'd in the mean time, betwixt the Pillory and shame, that they dyed all (a few dayes after) in prison, save one *Giovanui Baptista Grimaldi*, who, foreseeing the storme, took Sanctuary in *Westminster*.

All clamors being thus silenc'd, the next care was, that the Crown might be put on the Kings head, with that solemnity, which in former times was used. This was not yet so speeded, but that the King's Counsell thought fit first to advise with him concerning Marriage. About which many Propositions being made, the graver sort told him, that the same reasons which made his wise Father chuse to match with *Spaine*, (first by marrying his eldest son *Arthur* to *Katharine* daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and, after *Arthur's* death, by treating a match between the said Lady and Him) were in force still. That his pretences being on *France*, no Alliance could be usefull on that part. Besides, that betwixt great Estates adjacent to one another, such jealousies use to rise, that they may make Peace sometimes, but never friendship. That leagues and confederations have in them the nature of harmonick accords which jar in the second, but agree in the third intervall. Therefore, that he should match with *Spain*, or at least with some Prince, that might joyn with him, when there should be question of opposing *France*, which, since the late * union of the Dukedome of *Brittaine*, he was to consider as a potent and dangerous neighbour. As for the house of *Burgundy*, and *Low-Countryes* (which was come to the hands of *Maximilian* the Emperour, by his match with *Mary* daughter and heire to the last Duke called *Carolus Audax*) hee needed not feare anything, unlesse he would willfully provoke them; the causes of love on that part seeming to be perpetuall; as being founded upon the mutuall necessity of those Ports and Havens, which, upon all foule weather the Shipping must resort to, on either side; and, lately again confirm'd by a new contract of *Charles* Grandchild and heire of *Maximilian*, with *Mary* the King's Sister [which yet held not,] it was then considered, whether hee might not immediately take the said Lady *Katharine*; and the rather, that the Treaty had not onely been dispensed within the time of *Henry* the seventh, his Father; but some offence lately taken by *Ferdinand*, because it was deferr'd so long; (for perfecting whereof therefore hee had sent ample Commission to his Ambassador here (as I find by our Records, about this time;) And to conduce hereunto, was alleaged (as *Polydore* hath it) the Law, *Deuter. 25.* of marrying the Brothers wife; and, to helpe this againe, the Princess *Katharine* protested her selfe to be a Virgin, offering to be tried by Matrones. It was added also, that the Lady was present, and that saved time and charges; besides, she had given so much proove of vertue and sweetnesse of condition, as they knew not where

1509.

* 1499.

1508.
Decemb. 16.

1503.

Polyd. Virg.
Hisor.
Angl.

1509.

1503.

June. 3.

June. 24.

June. 29

Polydor.

where to paralell her. Againe, when she were to depart the Kingdome, a great Dower must follow her, which should be transported yearly out of the Kingdom. All which motives were corroborated by the above-mentioned dispensation, obtained divers yeares before from *Julius 2.* who, as he was a stirring and warlike Prelate, and had his ends upon King *Henry* the seventh, in the wars then begun in *Italy*, made no great difficulty to grant it; and the rather, that he could not bee ignorant, that all the children which should be gotten betwixt them, would be firme to the Papacy; since, if ever they renounced the Pope's Authority, they should disclaim the power by which themselves were made legitimate. A Messenger therefore having been sent to *Rome*, Anno 1503. (*Ferdinando's* power and mediation concurring) obtained a License from the Pope, many of the Cardinalls, in vaine, opposing it; whereof more amply, when we shall have occasion to speake of the Divorce. Thus, upon the third of *June*, being about six weekes after his Fathers death, he espoused the Lady *Katharine*. Their Coronation yet was differr'd till the 24. of the same moneth. The magnificence thereof, being by *Hall*, *Hollinshead*, and others set downe, are by me purposely omitted. Not long after the King, who had left off Mourning, was forced to take it again, for his Grand-mother, the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond* and *Derby*, a vertuous Lady, and a great benefactor to both our Universities, by whose advise (as is said) cheifely the King's Counsellors were chosen: whom she so disposed, as they might deliberate well among themselves alwayes, before they gave their advise to this young King, as not thinking fit (at that age) he should be distracted by difference of opinions. Neither did they vary much, during her life; though, afterward, some smothered jealousies brake out into open faction. Insomuch that *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, and *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, out of a competition for being most eminent in the King's favour, became at last not sufficiently united between themselves. But, as it is a rare felicity in Princes to make election of able Councillors, so it is no lesse to order them aright. For, as secret combination for their own ends usually brings them too close to one another, so ambitious opposition keeps them too far off, the true distance being that only, which a just emulation to do their Master service gives.

In which posture yet unlesse they be studiously kept, without being suffered to decline to either extream, many inconveniences must follow in the administration of publique affaires.

Now though these two (as *Polydore* relates) had brought all businesse within their verge, (*William Compton* chiefe Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and who was next in favour to them, being more attentive to his profit, then publique affaires:) I doubt not yet, but their fellow Councillors were admitted oft; though, for not being acquainted, perchance with all the premises, they were hardly

hardly able to ground a solid advise. The Bishop was an old and confident Councillor to King Henry the seventh, and knew all the mysteries of State. The Earl of Surrey was (indeed) later in credit, yet a brave and understanding Nobleman, though (as Polydore observes) his Estate was much wasted by the Civill wars (his Father John, who was made Duke of Norfolk by Richard the third, having been killed in Bosworth-field on his side, and the Earl himself kept prisoner in the beginning of Henry the seventh's Raig.) However; his very place of Lord Treasurer, (which he held ever since the 16. of Henry the seventh) made him much in request; as one who both kept and dispensed that Masse of wealth, left by Henry the seventh; which (if we may beleve Authors) was 1800000 pound sterling. A greater sum (doubtlesse) then any King of this Realme before had in his Coffers. And such as might be thought effectively quadruple to so much in this Age. It seemes yet, so great a part of it was by the Kings order, distributed to divers of the Court-Gallants, that the Bishop, who was Lord Privy Seale, and did remember how hardly it was gotten, repined thereat, and thereupon did ill offices to the Earle, as if (saith Polydore) he parted with it too easily, or, perchance, made advantage to himself thereby. But that we may leave these things to the credit of Polydore (in whom I have observed not a little malignity,) I find it resolved between them, that, in imitation of his Father (who instituted first a Band of 50. Archers to wait on him) some Horse-Guards should be likewise ready alwayes, to attend his Person. The number proposed was but 50. But, as every one had an Archer, a Demilance, and a Custrell (as our History calls it, but being truly Coustiller) or a kind of Ambactus, or Servant belonging to him, besides three great Horses for his own use, so it grew to a considerable number: Of these Henry Bourchier Earl of Essex was Captain, and Sir John Peachie Lieutenant. But whether this might raise some jealousie among the people (which yet my Authors mention not) or that their expence were greater than that it could continue after the rate it began, (both they and all their Horses being trapped in Cloth of Gold, Silver, or Goldsmiths worke) I find it dissolv'd at last, and came to nothing.

This yeare a great Plague begun at Calais: which though it consum'd many Persons, was not thought sufficient yet to keep off an enemy. So that Sir John Peachy, with 300. men, was sent thither, to defend the place; by whose good order the Town was secured.

Empson and Dudley being (as is above said) Committed to the Tower; New and strange crimes were found and objected against them, as appears in their indictments upon Record, wherein, they are accus'd of conspiracy against the King and State; and, first, that during the sicknesse of the late King, in March last, they summon'd certaine of their friends to be in Armes at an houres warning; and, upon the death of the said King, to haste up to London. Out of

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which

1509.

1485.

1500.

1485.

1509.

July. 16.
October. 1.

which & other circumstances, it was collected by the Jury, that their intent was to seiz on the person of the new King, and so to assume the sole government, or when they could not attain this, to destroy him.

Of which crimes, how improbable soever, *Dudley* in his Tryall at Guild-hall in *London*, July 16. 1509, and *Empson* at *Northampton*, Octob. 1. were found guilty by their Juries, and both condemn'd of Treason, and so remanded to the Tower.

Our King being thus settled in his Throne, took severall prospects upon all his Neighbouring Princes.

1503.

In *Scotland* (then) Raign'd *James* the fourth, being of a middle age; who was his Confederate by Treaty, and Brother in Law by the Match of *Margaret* (whom *Henry* the seventh gave him Anno 1503.) Howbeit, as he held a stricter Cotrespondence with *France*, then stood with the Interest of our Kingdome; some Jealousies of State arose, betwixt *Henry* the seventh and him, which yet were past over a little before our King's coming to the Crown, and the former Treaty Confirm'd.

1498.

In *France* *Louis* the twelfth, an old and warlike Prince Raign'd; who studiously yet conserv'd the Peace made betwixt *Henry* the seventh and himselfe 1498, both that he might the better incorporate and settle in the *French* Crown the Dukedome of *Brittaine* claimed by him in *Anne* his wifes right, (being not only a large addition to his Dominions, but of great neernesse and consequence to this Island) and that he might be freer to attend his designs in *Italy* (whereof in its due place.) For which reasons also he had concluded (by the meanes of *James* the fourth) a League with *John* King of *Denmarke*, and *Sweden* then powerfull by Sea by which, that King was bound to assist him, in case of Invasion.

1499.
Apr. 30.
du Tillet.

In *Arragon* *Ferdinand* an Antient and Politique Prince rul'd in his own Right, and in *Castilla* by the right of *Isabell* his wife, Inheri- trix thereof, who dyed 1504. By this Lady he had one sonne who deceased 1497, and 4 daughters. *Isabell* the eldest being married to * *Alphonso* Prince of *Portugall*, and afterwards to *Manuell* King there- of, * dyed without Issue, whereby *Ione* the second daughter became Heire of *Castilla* in the Right of her Mother; and had by her husband *Philip* (son to *Maximilian* the Emperor) *Charles* and *Ferdinand* (Em- perors successively) and 4 daughters, *Leoneta*, *Katharine*, *Mary*, and *Isabel*. This *Philip* shortly after his * coming to the Kingdome of *Castilla* in the right of *Ione* his wife * dying, and she through some Indisposition of mind or body proving unapt for Government, *Fer- dinand* reassum'd his power in regard of the Minority of his Grand- Child *Charles*. *Mary* 3^d daughters to *Ferdinand* was wife to the fore- said *Manuel* King of *Portugall*, in place of her deceased sister. And for the Match of *Katharine* with *England*, the following History will sufficiently speak it.

* 1490.
* 1498.* 1504.
* 1506.

In the Empire *Maximilian* (though chosen only King of the Ro- mans) appear'd potent; both by the Authority deriv'd thence, and by

of King Henry the eighth,

II

by the match he had made with *Mary* daughter and Heire of *Caro-
lus Audax* last Duke of *Burgundy*; by which not only his estate there,
but all the Low-Countries descended to him. Neverthelesse, as
he considered of what importance it was for his design's to make a
firme alliance with *England*, He first offered a League 1503. to *Hen-
ry* the seventh and (for consolidation thereof) his daughter *Marga-
ret*, Dowager of *Savoy*; and, when that faild, did procure a kind of
Contract Decemb. 16. 1508. betwixt *Charles* (afterwards Emperor
and not above eight yeares old) his Grand-child, and *Mary* (after-
wards Queene of *France*) younger daughter to *Henry VII.* Neither
of which marriages yet taking effect, the resultance was only a peace
and friendship, establish'd upon the first proposition of alliance be-
twixt them; of which also *Maximilian* was no lesse glad (as having
secured the Low-Countries thereby) then *Louis XII* was for *Brit-
taine*. And they had reason; the adding of the one to *France*, and
the other to the house of *Austria* being not only the greatest
strengthening our most suspected neighbours ever had, but a weak-
ning of us, while we lost two of our best and usefulest confederats;
so that, the permitting thereof so easily, may be thought a greater
indulgence than could stand with reason of State, had not a con-
sumption, and wearinesse, through our long civill and intestine dis-
sentions at home occasion'd it. For the inhabitants of both Countries
wanted not pretext to dispute the right of their Princes: In *Portu-
gall* Reigned *Manuel* of whose matches having formerly spoken, I
shall adde little more, than that he had already made divers disco-
veries towards the *East Indies*.

In the Low-Countries, *Margaret Dutchesse* of *Savoy*, being by her
Father *Maximilian* appointed Regent thereof, and having also the
charge of her Nephew *Charles* his Education (who was borne at
Gaunt 1500) recommended to her, she many wayes approv'd her-
self a discreet Lady; as appears, not only by the bringing up of her
Nephew; (to whom in that part of learning call'd *humaniores Literæ*,
she gave *Adrian* of *Utrecht* (afterwards Pope) for Tutor; and for
State-businesse *Anthoine de Croy*, *Seigneur de Chieures*, an able Per-
son, who instructed him therein as soone as possible he was capable
of it;) but also by the many good offices she did afterwards to our
King, and all other Christian Princes.

In the Papall See *Julius* the second, a warlike Prelate, presided;
who having far more and other designs than stood with the dignity
and function of an Ecclesiasticall Person, adventured to trouble all
things. As supposing himselfe not onely priviledged, by his Place,
from all attempts of Forraine Princes; but that the power of Peace
and War did so immediately depend on him, as he should, at least,
not want occasion, to exercise his charge of Arbitrator of their diffe-
rences. Towards which also, because he knew how much our King
could contribute, he passionately desir'd a strict League with him,
which likewise was embrac'd, as will appear hereafter.

1509.

1503.

Dec. 16.

1508.

1501.

1508.

1500.

1509.

As for the Great Turke *Bajazet* the second, though now grown a formidable Enemy to Christendome, our King look'd on him at a distance, and no otherwise then as he stood in Relation to his confederates.

1508.
Dec. 9.

Having thus survey'd the present Monarchs in particular, he forgot not, to take into his speciall consideration the State of *Venice*, which about this time did much enlarge it's Territories, so that, notwithstanding the opposition not only of the chiefe Christian Potentates, but even of the Turks themselves, they extended their Dominions every way: Insomuch, that the Pope, *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* and *Louis* the twelfth had, the last yeare, being 1508, entered, at *Cambrai*, into a League against them, the conditions whereof were; That they should not desist untill they had recovered all those places which the *Venetians* had taken from them; upon confidence yet, that the first Conqueror should restore to any of the confederates that which belong'd to him. And that *Louis* the twelfth should be Generall of the Armyes; and Personally present in the Expedition. To which also he was the more dispos'd, that the *Venetians* had gotten from him sundry places belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*. Howbeit as these affaires did not directly concerne our King, so he tooke the more leasure to attend the event, and to prevaile himselfe thereof.

15¹⁰₀₉
Regni. 1.
Jan. 21.

By this time it was thought fit, for many reasons, but especially for contenting the Commonalty, which seemed to be wholly alter'd by the rigorous proceedings of *Henry* the seventh, to call a Parliament, which began in *January* following. Here then *Empson* and *Dudly*, formerly not only exposed to the revenge of all men, but publicquely condemned (as is above related) were attainted of High Treason. And here, I shall, in sequence of some before me, touch a little upon the Lawes enacted the first yeare of this King, as far as they may concerne the more Historicall and Politicall parts. I find, therefore, divers of these Statutes, by which King *Henry* the seventh took advantage of the People, Repealed, explained, or limited. Among which the Benefit of Forfeitures for Penall Lawes was reduced to the Terme of three yeares next preceding. Insomuch that the principall scope of this Parliament seemed to have reference to *Empson* and *Dudly's* businesse, which was so represented, (by the Lower-House of Parliament chiefly) that the King was willing to restraine his owne Authority in some sort, that he might enlarge the Peoples confidence and affection towards him. Lastly in this kind, some untrue Inquisitions found by *Empson* and *Dudley*, as also some assurances of Lands past to them were annihilated and made voyd. Besides which, I find little materiall, save only that a Sumptuary Law against excesse of Apparell was repealed, and a new one, a little more decent subrogated.

As now then our King was in high esteeme with his people for Justice, so was he no lesse redoubted abroad, for the hopes hee gave,

gave, of being an Active and Courageous Prince. All which was the more regarded, that his Treasure was so great, as he might be thought able, suddenly, and without the delays usuall in raising of moneys, to execute his Designes.

Therefore divers Ambassadours repaired to him from *France*, *Denmarke*, *Scotland*, and other places, who were magnificently entertained.

The businesse of the French King (*Loüis* the twelfth) was chiefly to keepe good correspondence between the two Countries, while himselfe went on with his wars in *Italy*. In sequence hereof also *Tillet* saith there was a peace made between *England* and *France* this yeere *March 23*. And, whereas at the Treaty of Peace in *July 1498*. *Lo is* the twelfth had given caution unto *Henry* the seventh to pay that which remained of 745000 Crownes, due according to a Treaty made between *Charles* the eighth, and the said *Henry*, *13 Novemb. 1492*. Now the said *Lo is* the twelfth did stipulate to pay the remainder of the said sum.

That of *Scotland* was Congratulation in King *James* the fourth his Brother in Law and sisters name, with confirmation of the late treaty of Peace; Containing also some propositions tending to the penetrating of our Kings present designes, that they might frame their Counsels accordingly, which was with some relation to *France*.

That for *Denmarke* was chiefly to establish a better course for trade; for which purpose a * Statute was repealed at this Parliament, which did inhibite our men other Traffique towards *Denmarke* and *Ifeland*, then to a place called *Northbarne*.

The King finding now all things safe both abroad and at home, took those liberties which became his youth; yet were not his exercises sportfull aloe, but had in them a mixture of Letters and Armes. Therefore though some relate that he used singing, dancing, playing on the Recorder, Flute and Virginals, making Verses, and the like: yet his more serious entertainments were study of History and Schoole-Divinity, (in which he especially delighted,) Jufts, Turneys, Barriers, and that not in an ordinary manner, but with the Two-handed-Sword, and Battle-axe. These, againe, were set forth with costly Pageants and Devises; and those so frequently, that it tooke up not onely much time, but consumed a great part of the Treasure. Of which who desires to see more may peruse *Hall* and *Hollinshed*, who have many particularities worth the looking on, for him that hath so much leasure. Together with these yet he used sometimes Tennis and Dice; at which certaine Strangers used to play with him; till, finding their cheatings, at length he chased them away.

Empson and *Dudley* lying now in prison, condemned and attained by Parliament, the importunate clamours of the People prevailing with the King in this yeeres Progresse, he not onely restored divers Mulcts, but for further satisfaction to the Commonalty

15¹⁰/₀₉.

March 23.

1510.

1498.

Tillet.

1492.

March 23.

*8 *Henry* the sixth.

1429.

(by

1510.
Aug. 18.

(by a speciall Writ) commanded to have their heads stricke off, August 18. doing therein (as thought by many) morelike a good King, then a good Master.

Feb. 24.

Speed.

Sept.
Dupleix.

Julius the second having recovered what he desired in *Italy*, by his wars the last yeere, was contented now to accept the submission of the Venetians, with whom (his Confederates being not privy thereunto) he made peace Feb. 24. 1510. being jealous of the greatnesse of the French in *Italy*, (with whom he had also this quarrell that they defended *Alfonso d' Este* Duke of *Ferrara* against him) he endeavoured all he could to oppose them; And to this purpose he inclined *Ferdinand* by giving him the Investiture of *Naples*, King *Henry* the eighth he sollicitated by calling to his minde the glory of his Ancestors, &c. and offering him the honour to be *Caput fœderis Italici*, Our King upon this sends *Christopher Bambridge* Archbishop of *Torke* to reside at *Rome*, and treat of these matters. In the meane while the Pope and the Venetians proceed, and attempt *Ferarra*, *Genoia*, and other places. But, as they prospered not, he layes hold on his spirituall Sword, and excommunicates *Este*, with all his Adherents. *Loüis* the twelfth on the other side calls a Synod of the French Church at *Tours* in *France*; where certain Questions touching the Popes late actions and his Authority were proposed, and resolved against him, and his Excommunication pronounced voyd. It was also decreed, that an Admonition should be sent to him, to imbrace Peace, and Moderation; which if he refused, he should be summoned to call a Free and Generall Councell (according to the Decree of the Councell of *Basile*.) *Loüis* having proceeded thus farre, communicated the matter to *Maximilian* (whom as yet the Pope had not wonne from him) and joyning also with themselves the Cardinals *Bernardine*, *Brisonet*, and others, they summoned a Councell to be had 1 Sept. 1511. at *Pisa*, commanding the Pope to appeare there. While these things were doing, the French under *Chaumont*, came before *Bononia*, where the Pope now lay sick, and besieged it, forcing him to such hard conditions, as upon the comming of reliefe he would not stand to. Howsoever, this besieging of the Pope being given out, sounded so ill, that our King presently made a League with *Ferdinand* for his defence; which was an engagement for greater Actions hereafter, as we shall see in its place.

I $\frac{10}{11}$
Jan. 1.

The first day of this yeere, being 1511, the Queen was brought to bed of a sonne, which therefore in the name of a New-yeeres-gift was by her presented to the King. But as the Childe lived not fully to the latter end of the next moneth, so the greatnesse of Joy did more then expire in the shortnesse. Notwithstanding which, it is said the youthfull Parents were soon comforted, repuniting with themselves, that in Children (as in Silver vessels) little is usually lost, but the fashion. But it fell not out so well, for it pleased God, that no Heires Males should remaine betwixt them

two.

of King Henry the eighth.

two. In the mean time *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* being not ignorant in what estate his daughter was, sent Ambassadors to performe his due Complements on that occasion, and withall to sollicite the King for Assistance against the Moores in *Africke*. He had already conquered those in the Province and City of *Granada*; through the streets whereof as he rode triumphantly 1492, assured news of those great Riches, discovered in the Indies by *Columbus*, was brought him. Which I therefore remember, because (to use the Spanish phrase) I thinke it the greatest *Coyuntura* that ever happened; he having at the same time reduced his dominions in *Spaine* to an intirenesse, and received news of that immense Treasure in another World. His demand was presently granted by our King, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy* sent with 1500 Archers (the Souldiers then in request) to *Ferdinand*, with whose helpe he intended to revenge the losse received the * last yeere at *Gelves* in *Barbary*. Howbeit, as *Iulius* the second being much pressed by the French (whose affaires prospered in *Italy*) required the help of *Ferdinand* against them; He desisted from his enterprize, and resolved to succour the Pope; whereupon also our men, richly rewarded, did returne home.

In like manner *Margaret* Regent of the *Low-countries* obtained of the King 1500 Archers to assist her against the Duke of *Guelldres*, though Confederate of *Lewis* the twelfth, and *James* the fourth. These therefore under the command of Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight of the Garter, lately * made Warden of the Cinque-ports, presently after their landing were met by the said Lady Regent, and thereupon united, and recommended with much favour and particularity to the rest of her Army. The Exploits done by this brave Cavaliere, and our English, I have not expressly set downe, both for that the Lady Regent joyn'd not any considerable forces with them, for the exployting great Actions; and that themselves were not free to attempt any thing by themselves. Howsoever, I finde they were licensed to return, (not without great testimonies of their worth) and that, upon review of the Troups, Sir *Edward Poynings* found that not fully a hundred of his men were wanting.

The Kings Authority over the Narrow-Seas (studiously conserved ever by his Ancestors) was about this time somewhat lessened by the Piracies of *Andrew Breton* (whom our Chronicles call *Barton*) a Scottish-man. This *Breton*, in revenge of his Fathers death, as also other Injuries, having in vaine sought redresse in *Flanders* for a Ship taken from his said father by some Portugals, obtained Letters of Merke from *James* the fourth, upon condition yet, he should not exercise Piracy. Notwithstanding which, he seized on divers of our lesser Barques (upon pretence of carrying Portugals goods) and pillaged them. For remedy of which inconvenience, the two sonnes of *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* (Lord Treasur-

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15¹⁰/₁₁
Feb.

1492.

June 1.

Aug. 30.
1510.

May.

June 9.
1509.

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1511.

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Aug:2.

Jan.2.
I. de Serr.
May.Feb. 4.
1512.

rer, and Earle Marshall of *England*) were imployed. The younger called *Edward*, being Lord Admirall, commanding in one Ship; and *Thomas* the elder brother, in another. Thereupon (in severall places, though at one time) they invested *Bretons* two Ships; which, though the Scottish Writers make to be farre lesse then ours, maintained a cruell fight: the obstinate Pirate (though so grievously hurt that he died on the place) encouraging his men with his whistle, even to his last breath. But our English pursued their point so, that at last they forced these Ships, and brought them (together with the men that remained) away, and presented them to the King; who, upon their submission, graciously pardoned them; so that they would depart out of his Kingdome within 20 daies. *James* the fourth hearing of this, sent to require satisfaction, as being against the Treaty betwixt them. But it was answered, That it did not become a King to impute breach of Treaty to his Confederates and Allies, onely for doing Justice on a Pirate. The Messenger, rather silenced with this answer, then satisfied, returns to his King; who, when occasion was offered, failed not to shew how ill he took the death of *Breton*.

The Pope being freed from siege at *Bononia*, proceeds in his wars against the French; goes in Person against *Mirandola*, and by composition takes it; but, not long after looses *Bononia* to the French, led by *Gaston de Foix*, his whole Army being routed. Yet was not this a greater affront to him, then the Councell to be held at *Pisa*, a City now in the hands of the Florentines, whom therefore *Julius* presently interdicts, and shortly after expelling *Soderinus* (Governour thereof by meanes of *Charles* the eighth of *France*) restores the family of the *Medices*, who were formerly expelled. The Princes also and the Cardinals who summoned this Councell being Excommunicate, &c. notwithstanding which they proceed. But being sleighted by the Citizens of *Pisa*, they translate the Councell to *Milan*; but finding no better respect there, they remove it to *Lyons* in *France*; where they summoned *Julius* to appeare, and answer, and finally suspended his Authority. Upon this, the Pope thunders against *France*, exposing it, (together with *Navarre*, whose King favoured *Lewes*) to the Conquerour; and, to abrogate the Councell of *Lyons*, he summoned another to be held at the Lateran in *Rome*, April 19. 1512. Unto this Councell our King sent his Commissioners, being *Sylvester* Bishop of *Worcester*, *John* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Docwra* Lord Prior of *Saint Johns*, and *Richard* Abbot of *Winchelcombe*, Febr. 4. 1512, as appears by our Records. In this Councell the sentence of Excommunication was confirmed against the Authors of the other Councell, and the Acts of it reversed. Not content herewith, he sent also to *Ferdinand*, and to King *Henry* the eighth (who had already privately mediated a League with him) to take open Armes, and fall upon *France*. Not neglecting together to use all meanes for withdrawing

drawing *Maximilian* from the French party. For though he had joyn'd with *Lewes* to call the Councell at *Pisa*, (first rough-hew'd at * *Tours*) and did still adhere to him: yet, as the Pope and *Ferdinand*, whom he would not disoblige, offer'd him more advantageous conditions, he was gain'd at last to the contrary party, and *Lewes* exposed to the danger. The principall Agent which the Pope used to our King was *Christopher Bambridge*; who had resided a while at *Rome*; and for this service was thought to deserve the Cardinals Hat, which also he obtained in *March* 1511. In the mean while, the businesse being brought to our Councell Table, some spake in this manner.

That a fairer opportunity was never offered, whether he desired to maintaine the Authority of the Pope, or to recover his owne Right in *France*. That either of these were just considerations, but both together not to be pretermitted. To further these designs, he should not onely have the Assistance and Blessing of his Holinesse, but of his Father in law. Besides which, it was possible *Maximilian* the Emperour might joyn herein; however he and *Lewes* the 12th, had of late concurred in their designs. That it was probable, his Subjects in *France* retained still a due memory not onely of their Allegiance, but of the benefit received from the Crown of *England*. Besides, that in *France* their never wanted discontented Persons, who would joyn with his Forces. And for his Coffers, they were not so full in any Kings time; to which againe he could not doubt but a large supply would be given by Parliament, which never fail'd in contribution when there was no question of warre with that Countrey. As for the Difficulties he should finde in the Enterprise, they were not considerable. *Louis* the twelfth being not onely deeply engaged in a warre in *Italy*, but having lost his best men there; so that before he could give order for his affaires at home, he might be oppressed; or, when he would leave his pretences on *Italy*, to look to his own Countrey, that would yet free the Pope from the danger he was in, and consequently give his Majesty the Honour of performing his intentions.

Some yet, that did more seriously weigh the businesse, opined thus; That the Kings Title indeed in *France*, especially to the hereditary Provinces, was undoubted; the occasion faire; and many circumstances besides conducing to this great businesse: yet that all these were not sufficient for the making of a war against so potent a neighbour; unlesse there were more then possibility of effecting our purposes. This they might consider by comparing these times with the former. And if, when all *Guyenne*, *Anjou*, *Tourane*, and for a long while *Normandy* was ours; And when, besides this, the Duke of *Bretagne* was our friend, and the house of *Burgundy* an assured Ally and Confederate to this Kingdom, we yet could not advance our designs in that Countrey, what hope is there now to

D

attaine

1511.

1510.

Sept.

Hist. Pont.
Ciaconii
&c.

1511.

attaine them? Are we stronger now then at that time? or can we promise our selves better successe? Let it be granted, that as many Battels as we have fought against the French, have been almost so many Victories; what was this Kingdome the better for them? Who can say he made a Fortune thereby? Had we ever a more glorious time then that of *Edward* the third; and was yet the Countrey ever more poore or weary of the wars. If you will not believe our Histories, looke even on our Records, and you will finde not onely how the Treasure of our Kingdome was much exhausted, but even the people themselves glutted with their prosperity. And shall we trust now to better daies? what though with our 12000. or 15000 we have oft defeated their Armies of 50000. or 60000? stands it with reason of Warre to expect the like successe still? especially, since the use of Armes is changed, and for the Bow (proper for men of our strength) the Calievery begins to be generally received. Which, besides that it is a more costly Weapon, requireth a long practise, and may be mannag'd by the weaker sort. Let us therefore (in Gods Name) leave off our attempts against the *Terra firma*. The naturall scituation of Islands seemes not to sort with Conquests in that kind. *England* alone is a just Empire. Or, when we would inlarge our selves, let it be that way we can, and to which it seems the Eternall Providence hath destin'd us; which is, by Sea. The *Indies* are discovered, and vast Treasure brought from thence every day. Let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherwards; and, if the Spaniard or Portugals suffer us not to joyn with them, there will be yet Region enough for all to enjoy. Neither will a Piety, equall to that of succouring *Julius* the second, be wanting; Since, by converting those Infidels to the Christian Religion, there will be a larger field opened for doing of good, then by establishing a doubtful and controverted head of the Church: the Councell of *Pisa* having determined both to depose him, and substitute another.

But our young King, with whom zeale to doe the Pope service, and Ambition to recover that Patrimony whereof our King *Henry* the sixth was in possession, and which our Civill-warres onely lost, declin'd this sober advice, and adheared to the former. And that, especially, for two reasons, urged by way of supplement; whereof, the one was, that there was new hope *Maximilian* the Emperor would be wonne to his side. The other was, that he understood from *Rome*, the Pope had an intention to take away the Stile of *CHRISTIANISSIMVS* from the French, (which their Historians confesse) and transference it on him; which he thought would be a perpetuall glory to the Nation.

Hereupon it was resolved, together with calling a Parliament, to send (by *John Young* Doctor of Law, and Master of the Roules)

unto

unto *Louis* the twelfth a Monitory Ambassage, requiring him to desist from war against the Pope. But *Louis*, whether out of his own courage, or that he thought the Emperour assured to him, or that (indeed) there was no hope of a peace, (he having been privately advertised that our King resolved war) regarded not at his advice; Our King therefore, that he might have more then one Title to invade *France*, sent to require his Patrimonial Inheritance of *Anjou, Guyenne, &c.* and, in case of refusall, to denounce warre. This then being proclaimed, Leavies were commanded, and moneys granted by Parliament (which began *Febr. 4.*) were raised. While these things were doing, I shall observe my former method, and by the way touch on the Laws then enacted, which may belong to History.

That because Money, Plate, and Jewels being Transported out of the Kingdome, had impoverished it, a double value should be payd by the offenders.

There was also confirmed an Order formerly taken, concerning Escheators, Commissioners, and finding and turning of Offices; which it seems had relation to *Empson* and *Dudleys* proceedings. Because also unlawfull Games kept men from shooting in the Long-Bow, they were put down, and Archery commanded. For the better understanding of which Act, another part, whereby the Crosse-Bow also was forbidden.

There were likewise certaine great Priviledges granted to men that went beyond Sea with the King. As also Penalties ordain'd for Captaines that abridged the number of their Souldiers, or detain'd their wages; as also for Souldiers departing without License.

At this Parliament also the King was pleased to restore *John Dudley* sonne and heire of *Edmund Dudley* lately attainted. On whom, towards the end of his Raigne, he conferred the place of Lord Admirall of *England*, as shall appeare in this History.

About this time there was one *Hieronymo Buonviso* a *Lucchesse*, who, being a Bankrupt Merchant, through his friends in *Italy*, obtained so much favour from the Pope, as to be made a kinde of Agent here. This man being acquainted withall the Popes businesse, and upon his Letters of Credence, receiving likewise the Kings and Councils answers to his Negotiations, became so expert in all those affaires, that being corrupted by the French, (who gave him a Pension, as I finde in our Records) he discover'd many things that much concerned either side. And from hence it arose chiefly, that *Louis* the twelfth was so particularly informed of our designs, that he used many preventions, as may be observed in the following History.

The War with *France* being thus determined, it was consulted in what part we should begin. And though that of *Callais* seemed the most ready way, yet, because *Ferdinand* promised to joyn with

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Curita.

June 3.

the King in this war, (which was call'd *Holy*) it was by his consent resolved to land somewhere in the Spanish Dominions; and that from thence both their Armies (being united) should joyntly invade *Guyenne*. For better understanding of which project, I must observe, that both the Kings (besides that of vindicating of *Julius* the second) had their severall designes, as will appeare afterwards. The Generall named by the King was *Thomas Grey* Marquesse of *Dorset*, with whom went besides his three Brothers, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, sonne and heire to the Earle of *Surrey*, the Lord *Brooke*, Lord *Willoughby*, and Lord *Ferrars*, and divers Knights and Squires, all of them brave Persons, and about 10000 Souldiers; among whom I finde in the Spanish History, there were about 5000 Archers, who besides their Bowes and Arrowes, carried Halberts, which they pitched on the ground till their Arrowes were shot, and then took up againe to doe execution on the Enemy. An excellent part of Military Discipline, and yet not remarkable by our English Chroniclers. These men about the third, or as the Spaniards have it, the eighth of *June*, (being shipt in Spanish Vellels) arrived at *Passage*, a Port in *Guipuscoa*, where one *Faderique* Bishop of *Signenca*, (an able person) attended them. This Bishop after he had assured them of their welcome, and that the Duke d' *Alva*, Generall of the Spanish forces, with 1000 barded Horse, 1500 Gennets or Light-horse, and 6000 Foot would shortly joyn with them, did much cheere our men after their long Sea-voyage. In the mean while *Iohn d' Albret* (King of *Navarre* in the right of his wife *Catharine de Foix*) having the Spanish Army in *Arragon* on the one side, and the English on the other of his Kingdom, thought himselfe in some straits. And the rather, that the Pope having lately excommunicated him, for assisting the French, and by a Bull dated *March 1. 1512*, exposed his Kingdome in prey to the Conqueror; He suspected *Ferdinand* had some designe upon him. Neither was he deceived; For, that he might be drawn away from *Louis*, or at least that a quarrell might be pickt against him, *Ferdinand* sends to require that he would declare himselfe; pretending some jealousy of his proceedings ever since *Louis* the twelfth (who was advertised of this Holy League, as it was termed) had required his helpe, or when he would refuse, threatned him with taking *Bearne* away, as being a Feud held of *France*. To comply with *Ferdinand* also, the English Generall sent to him, not onely to remember the ancient League and friendship betwixt the two Nations, when the English were in possession of *Guyenne*; but, thereupon (as well as in the name of the Church) to require his helpe in this Holy warre. The King of *Navarre* in this perplexity (for he was urged no lesse to the contrary by the French) protested that it concerned him to be Neutrall, he being as much in danger of loosing *Bearne* on the French, as *Navarre* on the Spanish side. Yet, whether to gaine time, or indeed really to shew his forwardnesse,

ness in this Church affaire, he offered (upon security given that neither *Ferdinand* nor the English should molest him) that for four moneths space, the States of *Navarre* should (by their Oathes) solemnely assure him of all amiable usage in that Country; and before that time he doubted not, but *Bayone* (which was the key to *Guyenne*) would be taken by *Ferdinand* and the English. But this was not thought sufficient; therefore it was demanded that the King of *Navarre* would depositate some Townes as cautionary on that behalfe. But as he still excused himselfe, the English and Spanish (who had separatly treated before) thought now joyntly to send their Agents to the King of *Navarre*, so that *Antonio de Acuna* Bishop of *Camora*, and Sir *Iohn Stile* (resident Ambassadour for our King in *Spaine*) were presently dispatch'd to him. Being admitted to audience, their demand was, to have the Fortresses of *Estella*, *Maya*, and *San Juan*, consigned for their security in the enterprise of *Guyenne*. But the King of *Navarre* protesting still that it concern'd him to hold Neutrallity, was at last pressed to make a finall answer. Here then hee agreed that *Viana*, and some other places of lesse strength than those demanded, should remaine as pledges of his fidelity: Yet, before this could be settled, the French were come to the Confines of both Jurisdictions: where the English, being desirous to give some proof of their valour, without any order from their Generall, passed over the River of *Vidassona*, which divides *Guipuscoa* from *Guyenne*, to skirmish with the French. This grew at last so hot, that the Marquesse was constrain'd to passe over the rest of his Army to disingage them, which being done, he retir'd againe to his Campe neere *Fuentarabia*, in good order. Hereupon the Marquesse of *Dorset* began to complaine, that the delay of *Ferdinand* had given the French time to raise these Forces to oppose them; and together demanded briefly his cleere resolution, what he meant to doe in the point of invading *Guyenne*: But he was answered, that, since the King of *Navarre* would not admit a way through his Dominions, he must be forc'd; neither did hee thinke that *John* would take it ill to suffer a little violence, when it were for nothing else, but to shew the French, that he did not voluntarily consent thereunto. The Marquesse replied, that, this being no part of his Commission, hee must first acquaint the King his Master with it. But *Ferdinand* finding that both the French Army increased, and that the suffering them to come nearer might frustrate his designs in *Navarre*, commanded the Duke of *Alba*, without more delay, to invest *Pamplona* the chiefe Towne of *Navarre*, entertaining in the meane while *Iohn's* Ambassadours with hope of an Accommodation, who seemed also to beleeeve it, untill they heard of the Seige. The industrious *Ferdinand* that he might draw also the Marquesse *Dorset* to assist him, used these reasons, That the passage to *Bayone* by the way of *Fuentarabia* was narrow having the Sea on one side, and on the other side the huge Mountaines of

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Navarre and *Bearne*; so that, if they should undertake the Seige at *Bayone* without assuring themselves of the Countries behind them, they might be shut up on every side, whensoever *John* should declare himselfe for the *French* party. Therefore that he should proceed according to military rules, and prevent this inconvenience by seizing first on all the *Avenues*. The Marquesse of *Dorset* hereupon calling a Counsell of warre, returned this answer; That hee desired to loose no time, and therefore thought it the best course for both to divide the Armies: And that *Ferdinand* should enter *Guyenne* by *Navarre*, while he tooke the way of *Bayone*. Yet the King who still pursued his Designe, seeming not satisfied herewith, desired rather that both the Armies might passe joyntly through *Navarre*. The Spanish marching still first, and making way for the English to follow. But the Marquesse of *Dorset* answer'd againe, he might not transgresse his Commission, which permitted him not hostilely to enter into *Navarre* upon any termes. Insomuch that now almost six weekes were spent in those Treaties.

Ferdinand finding no more to be expected from the English, resolves alone to invade *Navarre*, promising the Marquesse yet from thence to fall on *Guyenne*; not doubting (on this assurance) but the Marquesse would stay, and at least serve as a Countenance to his enterprise. Hereupon the Duke of *Alva* being Commanded to * proceed, (without hurting any yet but those who resisted) soon after * took *Pamplona*, which when our Marquesse heard, he testified much discontentment, both as he found *Ferdinand* kept not his promise, and as his victuals were much shortned on this occasion, he having been abundantly supplied before from *Navarre*.

In the meane while *Ferdinand*, to prevent that ill Intelligence, which the Marquesse might give, sends to *England* a Messenger on purpose, with account of his Actions, and to desire a more ample Order to the Marquesse to assist him; not neglecting, the while, any occasion either for reducing the best part of *Navarre* to obedience, or * entitling himselfe to the Right thereof, as our Records tell us: Which in all particulars of this affaire, do much confirme the Spanish History.

Being thus advanced, He thought fit againe to sollicite *John* King of *Navarre* (now retired towards *Bearne*) that he would joyn in this Holy-warre. And that he might doe so the better, He temper'd Threats and promises in a more effectuall manner: The Bishop of *Cambray* and Sir *John Stile* hereupon were dispatch'd again, requiring his finall Answer. But the Duke of *Longueville*, being come with puissant forces neere to those parts, they made bold to detaine the Bishop, not without terrifying him, with worse usage; giving leave yet to Sir *John Stile* to returne. Things being brought to these extremities, *John* King of *Navarre* thought fit to go to the French Court, to excuse himselfe for suffering the Spanish to become so soon Masters of *Navarre*. Neither had he, it seemes, any way

* July. 22.

* July. 25.

July. 31.

August.

way to make this so credible, as by permitting the French with the same facility to seaze on *Bearne*. Thus was this King, in short time, dispossessed of all his Estate, only for not knowing how to behave himselfe, either like a friend or enemy.

Now *Louis* the twelfth, though not so much as hoping that the English and Spanish should stand thus devided, yet as he desir'd rather a Warre in that Country, than his owne, so he prepared as if he were at once to sustain both their Forces; commanding the Duke de *Longueville*, to proceed warily. But the difficulty was not great. For though *Salvatierra*, was kept by *Iohn*, as long as hee Treated with *Ferdinand*; yet now he abandoned it to the French, and retir'd himselfe to *Paris*. Betwixt this Town and *Bayone* then the French enquartered their Army, though for having 5000 in that City (daily reinforced by new Levies) it seem'd not to stand in so much need of defence. This while the Duke de *Alva* requires an Oath of obedience from those of *Pamplona*, and in generall from the rest of the chiefe Inhabitants of *Navarre*. They again offer it, upon the termes agreed on, which was for foure monethes, and till they had given proof of their Neutrallity in the businesse of *Guyenne*. But the Duke replied, that King *Iohn* being fled away to the French, and therein having declar'd himselfe an enemy both to him and this Holy-warre, He would now accept no Oath, but that of a simple Obedience to his King and Master: Upon this ensued disputes and diversities of Opinions; All which yet were moderated by the Spanish Army, which did not much insist upon reason having power in their hands.

Navarre being thus in a manner reduced, *Ferdinand* sends the Mareschall *Aquilera* to the Marquesse *Dorset*, protesting that his Army should passe the Mountaines at *Saint Juan de Pie del Puerto*; And this he did to try whether it would move him yet to joyne Forces. But the Marquesse, who was informed that the place did lead to *Bearne* (which remain'd only for an intire Conquest of the Dominions of *Iohn*) as well as to *Bayone*, thought fit to attend more certainty, concerning the way of the Spanish Army. *Ferdinand* on the other side, taking this as a delay, would not omit the prosecuting of his intentions, laying (in the meane while) all the fault on the Marquesse slacknesse. But no man ought to blame any Generall in this kind, unlesse he knew his Instructions. *Ferdinand* therefore was too forward herein. But the Duke de *Alva* who considered of what moment diligence is in great Affaires, sends some away presently to seize on *Saint Juan de Pie del Puerto*; which accordingly was performed; though the French were now entring that Country. To make this good also, the Duke himselfe (by the King his Master's Commandment) followes with the Body of his Army. And now *Ferdinand* again sends to invite the Marquesse. But as the English could not passe thither, but by a place call'd *Maya* (a rough and almost untrodden passage) or another way farre about (for either

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ther of which, they wanted Horse to draw their Ordnance) so was there a new difficulty interpos'd, for joyning the Armyes. Howsoever, it concern'd *Ferdinand* (after many delayes) to acquit himself so farre, as to seeme at least roundly to goe on in the invading of *Guyenne*. And his Master-peice was, together with performing his own intentions, now to have brought his offer to our King, within the compasse of probability. He considered also, that, alone, he was to weake for the French Forces, so that he had more then one reason to sollicite the English Army.

Curita.

Being in this Posture, he begins to thinke what remain'd to be done : On the one side, he had the honour of diverting the French from their great designs in *Italy*, (for *Louis* began now to attend his home Affaires) and therein to have freed the Pope. On the other side, having reduc'd all *Navarre*, (only *Estella* excepted, which he took afterwards) and passed the Mountaines, He seemed engaged to secure his Conquests. Therefore he thought on nothing now but going on ; trusting, for the rest, to the Negotiation of *Martin de Ampios* whom he had sent to our King. And this Man (if we may beleve the Spanish History) obtained that the Marquesse *Dorset* should doe whatsoever he was advised by *Ferdinand* for the Holy-Cause. But, before this Instruction could come, the Marquesse, who saw winter now approaching, and very neer 3000 of his Men sicke or dead of disorder, and drinking those hot Wines, and for the rest suffering much for scarcity of victualls, and lastly being advertised that the French had fortified *Bayone*, and planted a great Army before it, thought it too late to begin any great Enterprize. Therefore hee sent the Treasurer of his Army, and Sir *Iohn Stileto Ferdinand*, to represent those difficulties, and to acquaint him with his determination to be gone. At last, though with much ado, *Ferdinand* (according to an Article of the Agreement) provided some Ships for the English ; But before they could depart, the Marquesse, betweene discontent and ill diet so distempered himself, that he fell sick, the Lord *Howard* being substituted, in the meane while, for Command of the Army. While yet they made ready for their Journey, Letters came from our King by *Windsore* the Herald, commanding the Army to stay ; promising withall to send a New supply under the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlaine. But the Souldiers so mutined, that at last the Generalls were constrain'd to embarque themselves and come home (about the end of *November*) to *England*. Whereupon, *Ferdinand* (who desired now only to maintaine what he had gotten) turnes himself to other Arts; labouring (by *Maximilians* mediation) to withdraw the French from assisting *Iohn*. The conditions being that *Charles* Prince of *Castile* their Grand-Child should match with *Reynera*, or *Reynce*, second daughter to *Louis* the twelfth (which yet was but colourable as appears in their Histories) and, that the French should condescend hereunto, it was no little motive, that they

Sept.

Novemb.

they had acquired so much in *Bearne*; so that keeping their possessions on either part, much Treaty pass'd, without any other effect, than that *John* on both sides was outed: Though, for ostentation, *Richard de la Pole* (calling himselfe Duke of *Suffolke*) as I find by our Records, was appointed by *Louis* to attempt the recovery of *Pamplona* though in vaine. And thus ended this voyage, to the grief of our King, who seemed so much offended with the ill successe, that hee purposed once to punish the principall Authors of it. But his Generall excus'd himselfe by the narrownessse of his Instruction, and partly layd the fault on *Ferdinand*, who being bound by promise to furnish the Army with many necessities, yet failed. Lastly they made it appear that *Ferdinand* never intended any thing but the Conquest of *Navarre*, (which therefore his successors hold to this day.) ¶ Though this voyage were improsperous, yet I find by *Polydore*, that Sir *Edward Howard*, who Conducted the Marquesse to *Spaine*, having with the Fleet first Cleared the Seas from Enemies, Landed at a little Bay in *Brittaine*, and Marched seven Miles into the Country, whence (after burning some Townes) hee brought away rich spoyles. Not Contented herewith yet, he put his Men on shore at *Conquet*, and divers other places; where the *French* still receiving the worse, they at last desired a Parley. The substance whereof was, That the English would leave off this kind of desultory, and Cruell Warre, which tended onely to the burning of Villages, and ransacking the poore. But hee replied, Hee was not to take his directions from them. Besides, that it was the part of brave Gentlemen to defend their Country, and not shamefully to sue for Mercy. After which, and a banquet in his Ship, they were dismissed, and our Admirall return'd home. ¶ The *French*, in the meane while, making great preparatives by Sea, Our King thought fit to reinforce his Fleet, adding to Twenty Ships under the Command of his Admirall, Five and Twenty more under the command of the choycest of those Gallants that attended him; placing in the chiefe Ships call'd the *Regent*, Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Master of his Horse, and Sir *John Carew* in the *Soveraigne*; Sir *Charles Brandon*, and Sir *Henry Guilford* went with sixty of the tallest Yeomen of his Guard. This brave Fleet, chancing to meet thirty nine Saile coming out of *Brest* in *Brittaine*, assaulted them; where two of the greatest Ships on both sides being grappled, fell on fire by some accident, or as the *French* will have it, by the desperate Courage of *Primauguet* (barbarously, as I conceive it, styl'd by our Chronicles Sir *Piers Morgan*) and so were consumed. The Capaine of the English Ship (being the *Regent*) and of the *French* (called the *Cordeliere*) together with the Souldiers in them, perished all, save only a few *French* who saved themselves with Swimming. Howsoever,

1512.

October.

May.

May. 23.
Hall.

June. 1.

Aug. 10.
Bellay.

1512.

1506.

April. 11.

Sandov.
Vida del
Carl.v.

the rest of the *French* were so terrified herewith, that they made away presently, some to *Brest*, and some to the *Isles* adjoyning, To repaire this losse, our King built a Ship, the greatest ever knowne before, though *Buchanan* and *Lesle* say, that *James* the fourth, King of *Scotland* made one; whom the *English* and *French* King desiring afterwards to imitate, failed so much, that they were not able to make it steer.

The King finding now that businesses were growne to some extremity, betwixt the two Nations, discloses his designe of going in Person into *France*, as choosing rather to make warre in his enemies Country, then to attend it at home. This also that he might the better performe, He is advised to discover what correspondence he might expect from his Neighbours and Confederates. Therefore he had sent a good while since *Sir Robert Wingfield* to Negotiate with *Maximilian*, and draw him to his party, neither found hee much difficulty therein: The Emperour being glad that the warlike disposition of our King turn'd it selfe against *France*: So that, with assurance of his affection, he encourag'd our King to goe on. For *Maximilian* was now faine off from the *French*, both that the Pope strongly procur'd it, and that he thought it best to adhere rather to *Ferdinand* and his Grand-Child's interests: For pretext whereof yet alleadging only some breach of Article of the Treaty of *Cambray* on *Louis* his part. The *French*, on the other side, joyning with the Duke of *Ferrara*, prepared to defend themselves; raising for this purpose a puissant Army, under the command of *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, Governour of *Milan*, who (in the name of the *Pisan* Councell) fought the Battaille of *Ravenna*, which being wonne for his King, he lost for himselfe, as dying (almost wilfully) against a little Body of the Enemies, when the victory, for the rest, was gotten. Howbeit, the *French*, under *Monsieur de la Palisse* proceeding took *Ravenna*, and divers other places, which they delivered to a Cardinal Legate in the name of the *Pisan* Councel, so that they were now (together with this City) Masters of *Milan*, *Genoia*, *Bononia*, and *Florence*. Neverthelesse, as the Contrary part, led by *Raymond de Cardona*, (Vice-roy of *Naples* under *Ferdinand*) had in the name of the Holy-League, brought huge Forces into those parts, the *French* were forc'd to quit all those places, within the space of two Moneths: (as *Sandoval* hath it,) *Maximilian Sforza* (sonne to *Lodovico*) whom the *French* had divested, being reïnplac'd in *Milan*, to hold it in the name, or at least under the protection of the *Suisse*, whereupon also the Duke of *Ferrara* (unable any longer to subsist) humbled himselfe to the Pope, and was pardoned. *Maximilian* yet, not content with these victories, would have added to them *Vicenza* detain'd by the *Venetians*. But they refusing, the Pope, whether desirous to conserve *Maximilian's* friendship at what price soever, (since he had now disavowed the *Pisan* Councell) or that perchance hee thought

thought not himselfe sufficiently reveng'd on the *Venetians*, joynes in the Enterprife.

1512.

Ferdinand in the meane while, (according to his wonted manner) makes a double treaty. On the one side therefore, he not only joyned offices with our King to *Maximilian* for this purpose, but incourag'd him to repaire the imputation of slacknes laid on the English in their voyage to *Spaine*, desiring yet that if he sent any Army againe into those parts, it might be under the Command of his Generall. While, on the other side, he secretly Treated with *Loüis* the twelfth, for the Match above mentioned; promising also to assist him in his affaires in *Italy*. That Politique King's intention being, by one meanes or other, to divert the French from aiding King *John* to recover *Navarre*: (who yet I find * dyed of griefe not long after.) Lastly our King remembring how the Scots have usually holpen the French, and being inform'd, besides, that *James* the fourth did resent still the death of *Breton*, and some other Affronts, he sends *Nicholas West* Deane of *Windsor* and Doctor of Law, to know how he stood affected: and the rather, that he was informed King *James* had an Army on Foot. To which he answered, That he loved and esteemed alike, both *Henry* the eighth, and *Loüis* the twelfth; and therefore that he thought it his best, to be Neutrall in any difference betwixt them. *West* replied, that he might do well to signifie thus much by Letters. But King *James* said, that the sending any Declaration of Neutrallity under his Hand might argue he inclin'd a little to the English side, and consequently might breed a suspition; especially when *Loüis* the twelfth could not bee Ignorant of the favourable audience given him, and there withall dismiss him. Upon whose return; our King taking this Cautelous answer into mature consideration, found it arose from a private League betwixt *Loüis* and *James* (which our Records furnish us) to this effect.

1516.

Because the King of *England's* Predecessors have often sought to endamage both Princes and Realms, therefore they Combine to resist the same; and one to aide the other perpetually against the said King.

May. 22.

I.

If the King of *England* shall at any time wage warre against the King of *Scots*, the King of *France* and his successors shall wage war withall their power against the King of *England*, and the Scottish King promisseth the like.

II.

Neither King shall suffer his Subjects to serve or aide the King of *England* against the other.

III.

Neither of the two may take Truce with the King of *England* without the other give his consent, or be comprehended therein if he please.

IIII.

If the said *Loüis* decease without Children, and there be strife about the succession, the King of *Scots* shall not intermeddle, but

V.

1512.

accept him who shall be made King, for his friend, and defend him against his adversaries, if the King of *England* assist them. And the same *Louis* promises to doe, if the *Scottish* King decease without Issue.

This Convention shall be confirmed by the Pope, and neither of the Contrahents shall procure nor accept any absolution from the Oath.

Regni 4.
Novemb. 4.

Our King understanding this, Resolv'd to send his Treasurer *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* into *Yorkshire*, and the Northerne parts, to have an Army in readinesse, in Case the Scots should stirre in his absence. Together with all this provision, He thought fit to call a Parliament, where, besides enacting divers good Lawes (whereof I shall hereafter mention some) He obtained two fifteenes and foure demies. He had also a kind of Subsidy, called Head or Poll-money, That is, of every Duke ten Markes; an Earl five pounds, a Lord foure pounds, a Knight foure Markes, every Man valued at eight hundred pound in Goods, foure Marks: and so after that rate till him who had forty shillings in wages, who paid twelve pence, after which every one who was above fifteen years of age, paid foure pence. Order was also given that Bulwarkes, Braye, and Walls, should be rais'd in his Castles and strong-holds on the Sea side, wheresoever it was needfull,

1513.
Feb. 21.

Jan.

Julius the second, expecting now the successe of that warre hee had kindled against the French, * dyes; In whose place was chosen Cardinall *Giovanni de Medici*, by the name of *Leo* the tenth. This Pope, pursuing his Predecessors designs, encourageth our King to warre against *France*. But He having now accomplish'd the Age of twenty one years, needed little invitation and the rather that he was assured by his Ambassadors, *Sir Edward Poynings*, *Sir Thomas Bolen*, and *Iohn Young*, that *Maximilian* would really performe his Treaty with him; Only he suspected *Ferdinand*. Therefore (I find by our Records) he sent into *Spaine* *William Knight* Doctor of Law; commanding him, together with *Sir Iohn Stile*, to use all Arguments to perswade *Ferdinand*, that the returne of the English Army was contrary both to his will and command; Offering further, that if he might have assistance against *France* for the conquest of *Guyenne*, that 100000 Crownes should be given in hand to *Ferdinand*, and as much more, when it was gotten. For this purpose also promising pay for 6000 Men at six pence *per diem* for six moneths. But *Ferdinand* now, to whom nothing was dearer, than the Conservation of his Conquest in *Navarre*, cunningly declyn'd this proposition; as hoping, by a Treaty with *France*, to effect his purposes; howbeit he advis'd our King to send his Standard Royall with some Forces to *Guyenne*; and to try whether the People would follow it; since, he said, they were very affectionate unto him. But our King gathering hence, as well as by some private Advertisements, that *Ferdinand* Treated secretly with *France*, resolv'd to presse him to declare

declare himselfe, and therefore by Letters, June 17. he requires *Ferdinand* to seale a Treaty against *France*, to which his Ambassadors here had consented. But *Ferdinand* disavowing his Ambassadors proceeding, since the Holy League (as he said) became voyd, upon the return of the Kings Army, discovers withall that he had made a Truce with *France* for one whole yeere, which he advised our King also to accept. The Treaty to which *Ferdinands* Ambassadors entered at this time, was the Treaty here set down, which I finde among our Records, and have mentioned, as being full of designe, how ever eluded.

The first Article of the Confederation made between the Pope, Emperour, Kings of *England* and *Arragon*, against *Loüis* the twelfth, was, to be Friends of the Friends, and Enemies of the Enemies, &c. to give mutuall ayd. at the Charges of the Demandant.

To denounce Warre within 30 daies after the date hereof, and within two moneths to invade him. viz.

The Pope in *Provence* or *Dauphin*.

The Emperour in some other fit place.

The King of *England* in *Aquitayne* (or *Guyenne*) *Picardy* or *Normandy*.

The King of *Arragon* in *Bearne*, *Languedoc*, and *Aquitane*. Not to desist from Hostility, or make any Truce without common consent.

That the Subjects of the Confederates, serve not the Enemy under pain of loosing life and goods.

That the Emperour (if he have not yet done it) shall recall the Authority by him given to the Schismaticall Cardinals, and their Conventicle, and within a moneth after the date of this, signifying his pleasure to them, shall Voyd and Nullifie all their proceedings and Acts in the same.

The Pope shall (at the request of the Confederates) fulminate his Ecclesiasticall Censures against all that oppose this League.

The King of *England* shall give the Emperour (towards the great charges he shall be at) 100000 Crowns.

Yet the Emperour by this Treaty will not engage his Grandchild *Charles* (now under his tuition) into this war with *Loüis*.

But this Treaty being refused by *Ferdinand*, our King proceeds by the helpe of his other Confederates, to the war with *France*; the Pope, for the more declaring himselfe, both confirming an Excommunication granted by *Julius* the second against *James* King of Scots in case he should break the Peace and Treaty with the King of *England*, and * granting an Indulgence to all that should assist King *Henry* and the other Confederates, against *Loüis* and the Schismatiques of the Councell of *Pisa*.

All things here being thus disposd for a war, *Maximilian* with some patience attends the coming of our English Army, as being confident, however the businesse succeeded between the two Na-

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tions, he could make his advantage thereof. That he might doe this the better, he thought it not amisse to enterpose some difficulties. Neither could he be wholly wonne, till he had obtained of Henry 120000 Duckats towards his charge in bringing 3000 Horse and 8000 Foot which should enter *Burgogne*, as soon as the King attempted *Picardy*.

While these preparations were in hand, our King, to take off *James*, sends Doctor *West* againe into *Scotland*, where in stead of all other Offices, that King exhorted ours to a peace with *France*, promising on those termes his friendship. But our King being resolved to proceed, thought fit in the first place to cleare the Sea from the French Navy. And therefore sends his Fleet, being compos'd of forty two Sayle, besides lesser Barques, against them. The French being informed hereof long before, had gotten one *Pregent*, a Knight of *Rodes*, (called by our Historians Prior *John*) with foure Gallies to passe the *Straits*, and come to *Britany*, where many good Ships were appointed to joyn with them. And till they came, it was thought better to keepe within the Haven of *Brest*, then to encounter our Navy lying at Anchor in sight of them. Our men therefore resolve to attempt them in the middle of their Defences; while they intend this, one of our Ships (under the command of *Arthur Plantaginet*) was cast away on a blinde Rock. This staid our men a while; at last they pursue their designe, and enter the Haven, where the French Fleet lay under the covert of many Platforms that were raised on the Land. Besides, they had joyned twenty four Hulkes together, with purpose to set them on fire, and let them go adrift with the Tide, when our English should approach them; or (as our Records have it) to keepe the fire from theirs. Lastly, they moored their ships as neer the Castle as they could, and so attended *Pregents* comming. Being prepared thus, the Lord Admirall *Sir Edward Howard* considering the order in which the French lay, thought fit to advertise his King and Master thereof, advising him withall to come in Person, and have the glory of this Action. But our Kings Councell taking this message into consideration, and conceiving that it was not altogether fear (as was thought) but stratagem and cunning, that made the French thus attend their advantage, thought the King was not so much invited to the Honour, as danger of this Action, and therefore rejected the overture. Thereupon they write sharply to him againe (as our Historians say, though our Records mention not this particular), commanding him to doe his duty. Whereof that brave Cavalier was so sensible, as it caused him to hazzard his person afterwards so rashly, that it occasioned his death; the manner whereof was thus, as it is drawn out of our Records: where, by a Letter dated from him, *April 17*, it appeares, That, after he had come before *Brest* with his Navy, he sent out his Boats, to make a shew of landing; whereupon the French flocking to the shore, to the number of

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of above 10000 (the English in all the Boats being not above 1500) he thought fit to land over against *Brest*, where he burnt the Countrey in the sight of the Castle; the French ships (the while) lying beneath it, being defended with their Hulks: And that he thought not fit to do any more, till Victuals came, whereof he stood then in need, though he said he had them at a great advantage, their Gallies being not yet come. Together with which dispatch unto the King, he sent Mr. *Arthur Plantagenet*, much discouraged as he said by the casting away of his Ship; and disabled to serve in any other kind, because his souldiers that remained were bestowed elsewhere. After which I finde by another * Letter of Sir *Edward Echingham* (who was present in the Expedition) that, *April 22.* six Gallies of the Enemies, (being two more then were expected) and foure Foysts under *Pregent*, put into *Blanc-sablon-bay* neere *Conquett*, a little below *Brest*; which being notified to our Admirall, he himsele, being attended with foure choice Captaines, resolv'd to board them *April 25.* Whereupon entring himsele into one of the two Gallies (which onely the English had at that time) and committing the other to *Walter Devereux Lord Ferrers*, he advances with two Row-barges and two Crayers; in the one of which was Sir *Thomas Cheney* and Sir *John Wallop*, in the other Sir *Henry Sherborne* and Sir *William Sidney*; *Pregent* (this while) lying betwixt two Rocks, that had Bulwarks on them, full of Ordnance. All which yet could not deterre our Lord Admirall, who therefore about foure in the afternoon (the same day) boarded the Galley in which *Pregent* was, and enterd it with his Sword and Target, one *Carroz* a Spanish Cavalier and seventeen English more attending him, commanding together his Galley to be fastned or grapled to his Enemies; but whether the French hewed asunder the Cable, or our Marriners let it slip for feare of the Ordnance, the English Galley fell off, and this Noble person was left in the hands of his enemies; Of whom therefore our men could give no other account, but that when he was past all hope of recovering his Gallies, he took his Whittle from his neck, and flung it into the Sea. The Lord *Ferrers* in the mean time (who was in the other Galley) sayld not to do his part, untill having spent all his shot, and seen the Admirals Galley fall off, he retired; which the Row-Barges also did, as not knowing but the Admirall was safe. The sad newes of whose losse yet being at length made known, it was thought fit to send to the French Admirall, to know what was become of him. Whereupon Sir *Thomas Cheyny*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, and Sir *John Wallop* came to know what prisoners were taken; to whom *Pregent* (or Prior *John*) answered, None, but a Marriner, who told him, that a certaine person they bore overboard with their Pikes was their Admirall. Lastly, he added (in the Letter) that the French in *Bourdeaulx* had made six new Gallies, which were shortly expected at *Brest*, and that our Gallies,

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Gallies, as he said, could doe the French-men most displeasure.

Upon newes of our Admirals death, his place was * presently bestowed on his brother the Lord *Thomas Howard*; who, wisely considering the advantage of the French Gallies in a Calme, and number of their ships, and the danger of the Winds for us, if they blew South-west, desired of the King so many Souldiers as might both man the Ships, and make good the Landing. Put before he came our Fleet (it seems wanting one to command it) was return'd, and *Pregent* (upon notice thereof) encourag'd to land in *Sussex*, from whence yet he was quickly repuls'd, without doing more that yeere. And now the Lord Admirall having equipped the Navy Royall, scoured the Seas, and secur'd our Kings intended passage. The particularities I shall omit, untill (in imitation of *Polydore*) I have set down the description of *Thomas Woolsey* (afterwards Cardinall) a man at this time beginning to be in speciall favour with the King, the originall whereof I must deduce from his chiefe raiser and founder, *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*.

This Bishop, being made principall Secretary and Privy Seale, became not onely an able but potent Minister of State; having yet difference with the Lord Treasurer *Thomas Earle of Surrey*, a Noble-man of great courage and experience in Affaires, he stood not secure. They had often been reconciled by the King; who not onely best knew, but often suffered most for their opposition. Yet as the wiping out of blots sometimes makes them greater, so satisfactions for injuries seldome exiate them so totally, but that some impression remaines. Therefore they stood still at a distance, in which condition yet they wanted not their advantages on either side. The Bishop had abundant matter to suggest; the huge Treasure, which *Henry* the seventh left being so exhausted, that it was now almost consumed; while the Lord Treasurer in the disposing of this young Kings bounty, so ordered busineses, as in facilitating dispatches, he got him many Friends and Followers. The Lord Treasurer, on the other side, sayd, that nothing being done without the Kings speciall order, it was through envy onely the Bishop thus opposd him. In these termes then they stood still, without almost concurring in any thing, but in excluding all others from gaining on the Kings disposition; which yet they did not so much by mutuall consent, as by diminishing in their turns, every body else, that was extraordinarily in his good opinion. At last the Bishop thinking how to better his party, brought in this *Thomas Woolsey*, to which purpose also Sir *Thomas Lovell* Knight, and Master of the Wards, assisted him. This man, though of mean birth, being observed by them to be of a quick and stirring wit, and particularly famous for a Dispatch in *Henry* the seventh his time, wherein he used extraordinary diligence, was thought a fit Instrument for their purposes. He was already a Chaplaine in Household, and the Almoner, and from thence raised to the place of

of a Councillor. Being in this neernesse he knew as well how to discourse with the King in matter of learning, (the King being much addicted to the reading of *Thomas Aquinas*) as to comply with him in his delights; insomuch, as (saith *Polydore*) he would sing, dance, laugh, jest, and play with those youths in whose attendance and company the King much delighted. Briefly, (to use *Polydore's* words) he made his private house *Voluptatum omnium Sacrarium, quo Regem frequenter ducebat*; He omitted not yet in the midst of all these jollities, to speak seriously, representing so all businesses to the King, as he got much credit with him. And this, again, was confirm'd by those Gallants, who contributed no little thereunto. Whereupon he began to tell the King, that he should sometimes follow his studies in Schoole-Divinity, and sometimes take his pleasure, and leave the care of publique affaires to him: promising that what was amisse in his kingdome should be rectified. Likewise, he omitted not to infuse feares and jealousies of all those whom he conceived the King might affect. Whereby he became so perfect a Courtier, that he had soon attained the heighth of favour. For as Princes have Arts to govern Kingdomes, Courtiers have those by which they govern their Princes, when through any indisposition they grow unapt for affaires. These Arts being hopes and feares, which as doores and passages to the heart, are so guarded by their vigilancy, that they can both let themselves in, and keepe all others out: and therefore may be termed not onely the two ends of that Thred upon which Government depends, but through their dexterious handling, may be tyed upon what knot they will. Particularly, he desired to reduce all businesses to himselfe; for which end he spake in this manner:

Sir, Your Highnesse hath now sufficient experience of strange effects which contradictions in Councils bring forth: It is unsafe to believe singly either of those on whose advice your Highnesse most relyes, and impossible to believe both. May your Highnesse therefore choose some one, who, being dis-interessed, may have no passion or thought but to serve your Highnesse. All those strong reasons of State which conclude Monarchy the best forme of Government, make for a Favourite in the next place. Insomuch, that of supream Authority, as of those Pyramidall heights on which the Statues of Princes were anciently placed, I dare say, there can be none well raised, that from the lowest foundation is not sharpned by degrees unto its poynt. But, lest this should be thought looking upwards onely, be pleased a while to looke down, and consider things the other way, and the Prospective will hold its proportion. For how, *Sir*, should a King conserve his Power, if he divide and let it fall at once on divers inferiour persons? Believe me, *Sir*, to diffuse it oversuddenly, is to take away not onely from the Dignity, but even intirenesse of it: it being with Authority, as with a Spring or

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Fountaine, which, that it may keepe his Course and Name, must be cherish'd and entertain'd, till it grow great, by the Contributions and Concurrences of those lesser Heads that runne into it. Kings must never descend but by steps. The more orders are under them, the higher still they stand. Neither will your other Councillors thinke themselves much lessned this way; for when they may use the ordinary power and sway allow'd them over their inferiours, they will not thinke themselves much concern'd for the rest. Besides, your People will be glad of it, as knowing which way to addresse their suits. To leave them more at large, were to expose them to those delays and uncertainties they would never patiently endure. Again, it would be impossible any other way to keepe secrecy in businesse, (which yet is the life of Counsell) or almost to finde out who is the divulger. Moreover, when your Highnesse, in some great and perplex'd affaires, hath occasion to acquaint your Councillors onely with some part of your meaning, what instrument can be so apt as a Favorite? While, if things succeed ill, or otherwise that your Highnesse would not seem to have the advice proceed from you, how easily may your Highnesse disavow all, and lay the fault on him? Thus may your Highnesse finde the many uses you may make of your Favorite. Yet, *Sir*, let me say, I should never advise your Highnesse to see by his Eyes, or heare by his Eares onely. This were to keepe you in too much darknesse and subjection. To prevent this therefore, be pleas'd to appoint able Persons, and such as may not know of each other, by whom your Highnesse may be inform'd, not onely what is done, but even said vulgarly. Thus shall your Highnesse take order not to be deceiv'd. As for the more doubtfull and intricate parts of businesse, which require particular scrutiny and examination; your Highnesse, in my opinion, may doe well to have three or foure confident Persons, not yet of the Body of your Councell, with whom separately your Highnesse may advise, before those difficulties be brought unto them. This will enable your Highnesse to speake thereof when you transferre it to the Body of your Councell, and make you discern their opinions. Onely, if any thing be determined, let your Favorite still be the chiefe Actor in the execution. Hereof then your Highnesse may please to advise. Neither will I presume to nominate my selfe otherwise: Onely I will crave leave to say thus much, that, when your Highnesse would, out of your own election, think fit to use my best service herein, I should not doubt but so to establish and conserve your Highnesse Authority, as to make you the greatest and happiest Prince living. Neyther should I feare to fall when any benefit might grow to your Majesty thereby. The young King being perswaded thus, without other advice or consideration adopted *Woolsey*, and thereupon orders him to dispatch his chiefeest affairs. This got him not onely estimation and addresses, but Pre-

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sents and rich Gifts from the greatest Persons. They again brought him to that insolvency, that he seemed not onely to forget his birth, (being a Butchers sonne) but all his former friends; insomuch as no man (saith *Polydore*) durst remember him of an ancient acquaintance. A Badge or Livery whereof (he saith) appeared in his outward garment, he being the first (saith the same *Polydore*) among all Priests, Bishops, and Cardinals, that ever wore Silke for his uppermost Vestment. Yet was it not alone; for as divers other Priests imitated him, some envy was raised on the whole Clergy. But this was when Silke was either more rare, or more esteemed; it being in this age so common, that it is become the wearing of every meane person. The Gallants of the Court finding now the Kings favour manifestly shining on *Woolsey*, applyed themselves much to him. And especially *Charles Brandon*, who, for his goodly person, courage, and conformity of disposition, was noted to be most acceptable to the King in all his exercises and pastimes. Notwithstanding all which (saith *Polydore*) the King sadly examined businesse himselfe; and, howsoever the chiefe trust was committed to *Woolsey*, did not omit yet (as far as his youth would suffer him) to use his own judgement in his weightiest affaires.

All preparations for the expedition to *France* being now hastened, amongst which that of victualing the Army was (not without a Sarcasme to his birth) recommended to *Woolsey*, it was yet controverted whether the King should goe in Person. They who oppos'd it, urged, first their due affection to, and tendernesse over him; saying further, that, if the King should die without issue, (however the succession were undoubted in his sister *Margaret*) yet that the people were so affected to the house of *Norke*, as they might take *Edmund de la Pole* out of the Tower, and set him up. That the warre in *France* was not of that consequence (especially since, with the death of *Julius* the second, it seemed the chiefe causes of dissention ceased) that the King should goe in Person, and dissent his owne Kingdome. On the other side it was alleaged, that to commit an Army, wherein the flower of his Nobility and Kingdome was, to any one Subject, was not onely unsafe, but to the prejudice of many worthy Competitors for that honour. That it was no new thing (whether they regarded the ancient Kings of *England*, or the moderne Emperor, and two French Kings successively) to goe in Person, with a Royall Army. That the same providence ruled every where. But it was replied, that, till the King had more Issue (and that Masculine) it was against all reason of State to hazzard the Kindome to those tumults which might follow; to which opinion, as the best, it is likely the King would have condescended, had not fresh Letter arrived from *Maximilian*, in the Popes name exhorting him, speedily to come; and promising that he would not onely give him meeting, but take pay under him. In the meane while it was

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thought fit that *Edmund de la Pole* (sonne of *John de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolke*, by *Elizabeth* sister to *Edward* the fourth, who had been made prisoner by *Henry* the seventh, and so continued many yeeres) should have his Head * struck off; Our King therein but executing what his Father *Henry* at his departure out of the World commanded, (as *Bellay* hath it.) And true it is that he was of a turbulent and audacious spirit: but whether any late matter was alleag'd against him, doth not sufficiently appeare to me, by any Record. Though some correspondence with his younger brother *Richard de la Pole* (who I finde by the French Writers commanded 6000 French at the siege of *Theroüene*) might perchance accelerate his end.

Hall.

The King resolv'd now to goe in Person, thought fit yet to send his Vanguard before. This was commanded by *George Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, High Steward of the Kings Household, who was accompanied with *Thomas Stanley* Earle of *Derby*, *Thomas Docwra* Lord Prior of the Order of *St Johns*, *Sir Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitz-water*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Cobham*, *Sir Rice ap Thomas* Captaine of the Light horse, and many other brave Knights and Esquires, and the number of above eight thousand, who came to *Calais* in Mid May. These being followed again with the Middleward of about six thousand more, commanded by the Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberlaine to the King (whom also the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, and *Wiltshire*, the Lords *Audley* and *De-la-mare*, the Barons *Carow* and *Curson*, and divers other worthy Knights and Esquires, accompanied) arrived at *Calais* fifteene daies after. These two Lords attending the Kings further directions, stayd there till June 17. when they both in good order of Battell marched towards *Theroüene*, before which Town they arrived upon the two and twentieth following, pitching their Tents about a mile off. This Town was fenced with a large Ditch, strong Bulwarkes, and quantity of great Ordnance, which shot freshly, in somuch that the Baron of *Carow* Master of the Ordnance was the first night killed by a Bullet in the Lord *Herberts* Tent, which came so neere him, that the French (though erroneously) write he was Raine there.

May.

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The Earle of *Shrewsbury* planted himselfe on the North-west, and the Lord *Herbert* on the East side of the Town, whence they made their approaches. In the Towne was a Garrison of about two thousand Foot, and two hundred and fifty Lances, commanded by *Monsieur Francois de Teligny*, and *Anthoine de Crequy* *Sr de Pondorny*. To relieve them againe, the French raised a puissant Army, to which ten thousand men under the Duke of *Guelldres*, and six thousand more under *Richard de la Pole*, brother to *Edmund* lately beheaded, were added.

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In the meane while our King, having constituted *Queene Katharine*, Regent, passeth the Sea to *Calais* upon the last of June; bringing

bringing with him the rest of his Army, which was transported with about 400 Saile: With him came also the *Almoner*, and new Favorite, *Thomas Woolsey*, who, for having lived long in that Town under the Treasurer thereof, was perfectly acquainted with the addresses of it. The King being visited by the Ambassadors of the Emperor, the Regent of *Flanders*, and Duke of *Brunswic*, stayed here till the 21 of July, when, hearing, that the French meant to relieve *Therouene*, under the Command of *Loüis Duc de Longueville*, and *Marquesse de Rotelin*, whom *le Seigneur de la Palisse*, as also the famous *Bayard*, *la Fayette*, *Clermont d'Anjou*; and *Buisse d'Amboise* accompanied, he hastned his departure. His Army consisted of about 9000 good fighting Men, besides those who belong'd to the carriages, which were some 2000 or 3000 more. Sir *Charles Brandon* (a little before * Created Viscount *Lisle*) had the Vantguard, whom the Earle of *Essex* (Lieutenant Generall of the Spears) accompanied. In the Battaille the King came, having the Duke of *Buckingham* on the one Hand with 600 chosen men, and Sir *Edward Foynings* on the other with a many more; Sir *Henry Guilford* carrying the Standard Royall. The Rereguard being composed in great part of the retinew of *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Woolsey* to the number of 800 men was led by Sir *William Compton*. In the spaces betwixt, the great Ordinance (among which *Bellay* mentions those call'd the 12 Apostles) was drawne, and part of the Carriages dispos'd. After all these yet came Sir *Anthony Oughtred* and *John Neville* with 400 Spears. This little but flourishing Army was scarce entred the French Confines neere *Ardres*, when news was brought that the enemy appear'd. Hereupon Sir *Rice ap Thomas* (who came from *Therouene* with 500 Light Horse to meet the King) joyning with the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir *Thomas Guilford*, who commanded 200 Archers on Horse-backe, drew towards the French, but they presently disappeared. As they Marched yet, two Peices of Ordnance miscarried, the one whereof was * lost, the other ° recovered in despite of the French. Upon the fourth of *August* the King came to *Therouene*, before which he caused a sumptuous *Pavilion* to be pitched. Sir *Alexander Baynam* Captaine of the Pioners, shortly after caused a Mine to be made under the Walls: but the French Countermining, it was well disputed, and divers kill'd on both parts. *Maximilian* being * now come to *Ayre*, it was thought fit an Interview should be made. But the day being very foule, the Ceremony was short.

About two dayes after, *Lyon King of Armes* in *Scotland*, in his Heraulds Coate, comes to the Campe, and desires leave to deliver a Letter * to the King. *Gartier* brings him in. The King having perus'd the Contents (which were, Expostulation for some pretended Injuries, and thereupon denunciation of Warre unlesse he returned) makes a sharp Answer by word of mouth, among other things telling him, that he had left an Earle behind him in the North,

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* July. 28.

° July. 29.

Aug. 4.

Aug. 9.

Aug. 11.

* Dat. Jul. 9.

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Aug. 12.

North, who could very well defend his Kingdome against the attempts of his Master. But *Lyon* refus'd to carry any verball Message. Whereupon our King thought fit by Letter again to answer to this purpose, That he understood this expostulation to be nothing but the picking of a Quarrell to assist the French, and invade him, in his absence. That hee wished him to call to mind how *John* King of *Navarre*, for ayding the French in the same manner, lost his Kingdome; and advised him to take that for a warning. Lastly, he bid him be assured, that what he did to him or his Realm now he was absent, should be remembred, and requited againe in like measure. Before yet these Letters could be delivered by *Lyon*, his King and Master *James* the fourth was kill'd, as shall be afterwards related.

Aug. 12.

Upon the twelfth of *August* *Maximilian* the Emperor came to the King, in the quality of his Souldier, and therefore not onely wore the Crosse of Saint *George*, but receiv'd his pay duly, which I find, by some, to have been a hundred Crownes *per diem*. Notwithstanding which, that all due respect might be rendered to his Person, the King gave order to lodge him according to his dignity, in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, for the rest most sumptuously entertaining him the space of two dayes that he stayed in the Campe. *Therouene* was not yet so streightly beseiged, but that on the one side which was toward the River *Lys*, there was a way open, on which part the French intended to releive it. The King therefore commanded five Bridges to be instantly made over the said River, by which himselfe with *Maximilian* (who was now * return'd again) and a great part of his Army pass'd*. This was scarce done, when our Light-horse brought word, that the French were in sight. Our King thereupon marched towards them. The French at first came, as if they meant to fight; but, after a slight skirmish, fled away in much disorder, which seemed the stranger, that the fight was between the Horsemen only, and many of the bravest of their Nation were among them; Our Men pursued, and tooke *Louis Duc de Longueville*, *Marquesse de Rotelin*, *Bayard*, *Fayette*, *Clermont*, and *Buisse d'Ambois*, and brought them away, together with nine Cornets. The *Seigneur de la Palisse*, and *Monsieur d'Imbrecourt* were also taken, but agreeing for their ransome upon the place were presently let free, or, as others say, escaped. This Battaille, hapning the 16. of *August*, was call'd by the French, *la Journee des Esperons*, because they made little use of any thing but their Spurs, for the good successe whereof therefore both the King, and *Maximilian* the Emperor (wearing still his Badge of the Red-Crosse) did upon the place congratulate with each other, and afterwards assisted at a solemne *Te Deum* for this easie Victory. Neither had the French better fortune, in setting upon a Convoy going with Provisions for our Army betwixt *Guisnes* and *Therouene*, they being repuls'd (as *Bellay* hath it) and *Monsieur*

* Aug. 15.

* Aug. 16.
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Aug. 16.

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de Pleffis flaine. While the French held Battaile with our King, as is aforefaid, part of their Cavaliery which had devided it felfe that it might the better bring in Provision, fell on the quarter of the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas* on the other fide of the water; but they were alfo foone repuls'd, though the Garrifon, and Townes-men taking this occafion, fallied forth upon the Trenches of the Lord *Herbert* to make a diversion; For that Lord being prepar'd to receives them, they were quickly beaten in again. Few dayes after the *Seigneure de Pontdoring* defpairing to keep the place long* yeelded both it, and the Ordnance to the King, upon Condition they might depart with their Armes, Bagge and Baggage, and Drums beating in Military Order. Which being done, our King and the Emperor (who as I find it confirm'd in Ancient Manuscripts Diary extant in our Records, ftill gave our King the precedence) entred the Towne, *Auguft 24.*

This City being gotten, it was now difputed whether our King fhould hold it; A queftion which could not but feeme ftrange as well to the Authors of the Councell as Complices in the hazard, efpecially fince it coft fo much, as *Guicciardine* doubts not to call it *Spesa intollerabile et infinita*; Howbeit it was at laft refolv'd that becaufe it fo confin'd on *Maximilians* Territories, and that the Garrifon infested his fubjects by frequent incurfions, that at *Maximilians* intreaty, the Town fhould be razed, fave only the Church and Religious houfes; fo much did our King deferre to the Emperour *Maximilian* for being his Souldier and taking pay under him. Befides, our King confidered that to leave any Troops behind wou'd difable his further defignes, for which motives therefore he gave the Towne to *Maximilian*, who levell'd it, which yet I find was not fo done, but that the French did fhortly after repaire and put it into defence. From hence then the King (being perfwaded to it by *Maximilian*) refolves to beseige *Tournay*; But, by the way, being diverted by the Princeffe *Margarites* perfwasions (who desired much to fee him at *Lile*) he paffed three dayes in her Company, and the many faire Ladies that attended her; when remembering himfelfe, that it was time to vifit his Army (which lay at fome diftance from him ftrongly encamped) he takes leave of the Ladies. Being now out of the Gates a mile or two, fome fuch mift hapned both to him and all his Traine, that they had loft themfelves; neither could they refolve which way to turne, untill a Viſtualler coming by chance from his Army, both inform'd him where it lay, and conducted him thither, to the great rejoycing of them all. The 15. of *Septemb.* the Army (which *Maximilian* had now left, upon pretence of I know not what unfatisfaction which yet was fhortly repaired,) fet downe before *Tournay*, which thereupon was summoned to yeeld; but the greater part refufing, the King encamping on the North, the Earle of *Shrewsbury* on the South, and the Lord *Herbert* on the Weft of the Towne began their Batteries.

1513.

Aug. 22.

Aug. 23.
Diary M.S.
Aug. 24.

Aug. 27.
Diar. I.T.

Bellay.
Sept. 12.
Diary of Io.
Tayler. M. S.
Hall.
Sept. 14.

Sept. 15.

1513.

Sept. 21.

* I.T.Diar.

Hall.

Sept. 22.

* Dat.

Sept. 23.

Diar. Io.

Taylor.

M. S. Latin.

Septemb. 24

Septemb. 25.

I.T.Diar.

Batteries. When upon the 21. a Messenger from the Earl of *Surrey* brought the Gantlet, or, as *others say, the Coat-Armour of *James* the fourth, as a Token of the Victory obtained at *Flodden*. This, as it rejoyced the King, so it put him in mind of the vicissitude of all wordly things. Therefore he temper'd his mirth with a serious consideration of the events to which Wars are subject. Howsoever, he caused *Te Deum* to be sung publicquely the day following, and a Sermon to be preached by the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, who laid all the fault on that King's breach of word. Which day also those of *Tournay* capitulated and yeelded to our King, by the name of *Roy Tres-Chreſtien* (as I find in the Originall *contract) upon condition of fidelity, and present payment of fifty thousand Crownes de *Soleil*, and a yearly Pension of foure thousand pound *Tournois* for the space of ten yeares. Whereupon the King, as *Iohn Taylor* Doctor of Law, present at the Seige saith in his Manuscript Latin Diar-y, gave them leave to enjoy their Ancient Customes and Liberties; upon condition yet they should admit a Garrison. Neither as it seems could they do otherwise; the French being so much discouraged by their late misfortune, that they did not attempt the leiving of it. Thus, on the 24 of *September*, our King entred the Town triumphantly. And here, upon consultation what was next to be done, it was resolved to surcease the Warre for this yeare, Winter now beginning to enter. It was thought fit also, to leave *Sir Edward Peynings* with a strong Garrison to keep it. Which cannot but seeme strange, to those who consider that *Theroüene* was razed; since *Theroüene* was nearer the English pale, and might bee better defended, and would, besides, have kept the passage open to this. But false Counsells are like false Gemmes; which how countefeit soever, have (when they are well set) one good light to be seene by. Therefore *Woolsey*, (who was so much Author of this Counsell as he got the Bishoprick of the place thereby) could glose his advise; with telling the King, he might now have confidence in *Maximilian*, as having serv'd under him. Besides, that the razing of *Theroüene* at his request, would put a perpetuall obligation on him. But as for *Tournay*, that it was fit it should be kept, as a trophee of his Victories; and the rather, that *Cæsar* (in his Commentaries) confesseth here, more then in any place else, to have found a valourous resistance. But how well the Arguments were grounded, the sequele will shew. The first use our King made of this Town, was, to repay the courtesies received of the Princeſſe *Marguarite*. Hereupon she, being invited, came thither, as also her Nephew *Charles* Prince of *Castile*; (afterwards Emperour,) between whom and his Sister *Mary* there had interceded a kind of contract, (as is before related) ever since the time of their Father *Henry* the seventh; which likewise for the present seemed to be confirmed betwixt them, insomuch that they came to divers particularities; Among which one was, that the King should bring her

her with him the next Spring. I find also some overture of a match between *Charles Brandon*, now Lord *Lisle*, and the said *Princesse Marguerite*; which, though it tooke no effect, was not yet without much demonstration of outward Grace and favour on her part. In the meane while, that the Ladies and the Emperour who came with them, might be receiv'd according to their quality and worth, the King, taking the said Lord for his associate, did * hold a solemne Jufts there, against all commers; which he bravely performed. And now having feasted the Ladies Royally for divers dayes, hee * departed from *Tourney*, to *Lisle*, whither he was invited by the Lady *Margaret*; who caused there a Joufts to be held in an extraordinary manner; the place being a large Roome, rayfed high from the ground, by many steps, and paved with black Square Stones like Marble; while the Horses to prevent sliding and noyse, were shod with felt or flocks, (the Latin words are *feltro five Tomento.*) After which, the Lords and Ladies danced all night.

Yet, as I find by forrain Authors, these Jollities were not the only cause of his stay. For *Ferdinand* (the first mover of these troubles) hearing that the War against *France* was likely to cease for this yeare, sends *Pedro de Orrea*, and *Juan de la Nuca*, and *Gabriel de Orti* to *Henry* the eighth, with Commission to Treat for a League, by which both Kings, with the Emperour, should severally enter *France* the next Spring: And that, for this purpose, each of them should, from their Frontieres, begin the War. That *Ferdinand* therefore from *Navarre* should invade *Guyenne*, with fifteen thousand five hundred foot, and one thousand five hundred Horse of his own subjects, and to be paid by him; and six thousand Germans, to be paid at the rate of twenty thousand Crownes the moneth, by the King of *England*. In consideration whereof, the war was to be made in the said King of *Englands* name, and for the recovery of his Patrimony in *Guyenne*. On the other side, that the King of *England* assisted by *Maximilian*, should, with sixteen thousand foot, and foure thousand Horse, from his Territories, invade *Normandy*, or *Picardy*; and that they should not relinquish this War without mutuall consent. Lastly, there was place left for the Pope, the Prince, Arch-Duke, the Duke of *Milan*, the *Suisse*, and the *Florentines*, to enter into this League; which was signed at *Lisle* on the 17. of *October* by *Richard* Bishop of *Winchester*, and the *Marquesse Dorset* on our Kings part; The *Seigneur de Berghes* chief *Camarero* of the Emperour, and *Gerard de Pleine* President of his Counsell; and *Pedro de Orrea*, *Don Luis Carroz*, and *Juan de la Nuca* Ambassadors of *Ferdinand*. This being done, and the King, for the rest testifying much satisfaction, departed thence, and two dayes after, in good order of Battaille, came to *Calais*, having in this voyage bestowed honour upon divers persons of worth. Sir *Thomas Cornwall*, Baron of *Burford*, Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Sir *Tho. Blount*, Sir *Henry Sacheverell*, &c. being made Knights,

G

Bannerets;

1513.

Diar. I. T.

Octob. 11.

Octob. 13.

Octob. 16.

Io. T. Diary.

Surita.

Octob. 17.

Octob. 17.

Diar. M. S.

1513

Octob. 24.

Bannerets; and Sir *Iohn Maynwaring*, Sir *Iohn South*, Sir *Iohn Digby*, &c. created Knights. And here the King gave order for securing *Tourney*, as well as the rest of his Possessions in those parts, which being done, and the wind proving faire, hee shortly came to his Queen at *Richmont*, who had long expected Him.

Aug.

Aug. 22.

Hall.

Aug. 27.

Sept. 4.

Buch.

Sept. 4.

Having now related the King's expedition (which I was unwilling to interrupt by any intervening occasion) I must return to the Narration of that Battaile, which was fought betwixt *James* the fourth, and *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, commonly call'd *Flodden-field*. This King, retaining in his Mind some rancour for divers Causes formerly related, thought he could not any time more seasonably revenge himselfe, or for the rest give a more acceptable testimony of his love to *Louis* the twelfth, then now in the Kings absence, by invading his Realme. Therefore, having first denounced war by his Herauld, he sent *Alexander* Lord *Humes*, his Chamberlaine, to forrage the Borders; which Sir *William Bulmer* hearing, used that diligence, that he overtooke, and fought with him in his Retrait, so that he recovered a rich Booty. The King hereupon in Person, with an Army of sixty thousand (some write a hundred thousand) Men, enters the Country, and, after a few dayes Seige, takes *Norham-Castle*. *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* hereupon hastens his Army, which consisted of twenty six thousand, appointing his Sonne the Lord Admirall to come by Sea, and meet him at or neere *Alnewick*, in *Northumberland*. This brave Lord failed not his * time, bringing with him also about one thousand Men; of whom when the Earl had taken view, and given order in what place every one should fight, he marches towards the King; who had removed his Army to an Hill called *Flodden* (or *Fluidon*) on the edge of the mountain *Cheviot*; where he strongly entrench'd himself. The Scottish writers here relate, that many of their country-men (for want of Victualls) secretly fled home, leaving the Kings Troops but thin. Our writers, on the other side, make the Scottish-men much superior in number. Howsoever, the Earle of *surrey* desired nothing more then to fight, as finding the whole Country thereabouts so forraged and spoiled that he could not long subsist. Therefore on *Sunday*, *Sept. 4.* he thought fit to send *Rouge-Croix* Herauld, with a Trumpet, and Instructions to *James* the fourth, to tell him, that, in regard he had violated his faith and League, and hostilly entred the English ground, that on *Friday* next hee would bid him Battaile, if the said King would stay so long in *England*, and accept it. The Lord *Thomas* his Son, also requir'd *Rouge-Croix* particularly to certifie the King of his Journey by Sea; and that, because hee could meet no Scottish Ships there, hee thought fit to Land, that hee might justifie *Andrew Breton's* death; And added further, as hee looked for no mercy from his Enemies, so he

1513.

he would spare none, but the King only, if he came in his hands. And to make all this good, that he would be in the Vantguard of the Battaile. Lastly *Rouge Croix* was charged, if any were remanded, he should (for preventing espiall) bring him no nearer then two miles unto the Campe. *James* the fourth * received this Message gladly, and as he was a Prince of Great Courage, by his own Herauld assures the Earl, that he did so much desire to encounter him, that, when he had been at *Edenburgh*, he would have left all businesse for that purpose: and therefore wished him to rest assured, he would not faile to abide Battaile the day named, which was *Friday*. This being done, the Herauld delivers a protestation from his King and Master, in these very words, being in answer to the former expostulation of the Earles.

Sept. 6.

As to the causes alledged of our coming into *England*, against our Bond and promise (as is alleadged,) thereto we Answer; Our Brother was bound as farre to us, as wee to him; and when we sware last, before his Ambassadour in presence of our Councell, we expressed especially in our Oath, that we would keep to our Brother, if our Brother kept to us, and not else. We sweare our Brother brake first unto us. And since his Breach wee have required divers times him to amend. And lately we warned our Brother, as he did not us, ore he brake. And this we take for our Quarrell, and with Gods Grace shall defend the same, at your affixed time, which with Gods grace we shall abide. Hereupon the Earle, advancing, came within three miles of *Floddon*; but, perceiving that the King still kept upon the Hill, which was unapproachable, He sent *Rouge Croix* againe, with a Letter subscrib'd by himselfe, his sonne the Lord Admirall, and divers other principall Noblemen and Knights, where, in respectfull termes, they provoked him to descend from his fortifications, and fight, in a large Plaine call'd *Milfeild* (which lay between them) upon *Friday* following; alleadging, for this purpose, the promise they received from his Grace heretofore. But no satisfactory Answer being given to this, and the Heralds being returned on either side, the Earle removes with his Army to such a place, that, if the Scottish-men would not leave the advantage of their Site, he might cut of their Victualls, and consequently draw them down. *James* the fourth hereupon, firing his Hutts, dislodges covertly, by the benefit of the smoake, and keeping still on the higher ground, at last he commands a stay. Presently after, the Earl also, traversing some Boggs, and Marishes till he arrived to the bottome of this Bancke, found the ascent not very steepe, and thereupon encourageth his men to fight. This done, he marcheth up; The Vantguard was led by his two sonnes, the Lord *Thomas* and Sir *Edmund*; the Battaile by himselfe, and the Rere by Sir *Edward Stanley*. The Lord *Dacres*, with his Horse, being appointed as a Reserve on all occasions. The King observing this well, and judging that it was not without much disadvantage that the Eng-

Hall.

Sept. 7.

1513.

Buck.

Hall.

Sept. 9.

lish came to fight, exhorts his men to behave themselves like brave Souldiers, and thereupon joynes Battaile. Sir *Edmund Howard* at first was in some distresse, by the singular valour of the Earles of *Lenox* and *Arguile*, but the Lord *Dacres* coming to his succour, as also one *Heron*, the fight was Renewed; The Lord *Thomas Howard* pursued his point better; yet so, as he found a brave opposition from the Earles of *Cratford* and *Mountrosse*. The Kings Battaile and the Earles likewise maintained together a long and sharp fight. This while Sir *Edward Stanley*, by force of Archers, constrained the Scottish to descend the Hill, insomuch that, for avoiding his storme of Arrows, they opened their Ranckes, and therein seemed to give one of the first overtures for Victory. The King perceiving the disorder, redoubled his courage, insomuch that our writers confesse he had almost overthrowne the Earles Standards. But the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Edward Stanley*, who had discomfited their opposites, coming to succors, and the Lord *Dacres* also flying in with his Horse, the Scottish were so hardly put to it, that, for their last defence they cast themselves into a Ring; in that order of fight doing all that valiant Men possibly could, to defend themselves. No man yet did in his Person more then the King; Insomuch, that pressing on still, he was at last kill'd on the place, as our writers have it. The Scottish writers yet say it was one *Elphinstone*, who wearing the same Armes the King did, was taken for him, affirming further that the King fled over the River *Tweed*, and was there (I know not how) slaughtered. The fight, continuing three houres, made the event doubtfull, and the execution great. In conclusion, most of the nobler sort, one Arch-Bishop, and two Bishops, besides four Abbots on the Scottish side were slaine there, and about ten Thousand others. On our side (sayes *Polydore*) there died about five Thousand, others say fewer; so that, as it was a Bloody Victory, it might be thought somewhat uncertaine, till the next morning, when the Body, supposed for the King's, and so acknowledged by divers of both Nations (as our Historians say) was found among the dead Carkasses, having Receiv'd (as our writers have it) a mortall wound with an Arrow, and another with a Bill. The Scottish lay the occasion of their overthrow chiefly on some of their Troopes, that look'd on, and never so much as gave stroak. But that we may leave these things to their Relations, I find after this Battaile the Scottish that remain'd, returned home much grieved for the unfortunate successe of that day, being Sept. 9. The Earle tooke all the Ordnance, and particularly seven extraordinary faire Culverins, call'd the seven sisters. And so after giving God thanks, dismiss'd the greatest part of his Army, and retir'd himselfe home, untill newes of the King's coming to *Richmont* brought him thither, taking order in the meane time, that the dead Body, being embalmed, should be carryed first to *New-Castle*, and after to *Shene* in *Surrey*; though, as that King was Excommunicate, it may

may be doubted, whether it were buried in any Consecrate place ; since I finde by Breve dated November 29. 1513, and extant in our Records, that our King obtained a Breve from the Pope, for transferring the body to Saint Pauls in London. Upon condition yet, that the Bishop of London should first absolve the said James, and our King *Nomine ipsius aliquam convenientem poenitentiam adimpleret.*

Our King now (the Parliament still sitting) established an Order, how the Subjects he had in his new Acquisitions in France might recover their debts from those in England, as well as the English from them. Moreover it was enacted, that every Person that would sue for the Kings Pardon, upon certaine Articles, should have it.

In this Parliament also Margaret, daughter of George Duke of Clarence, late wife of Sir Richard de la Pole Knight, petitioned, That there, by Act of Parliament, 19 Henrici 7. Edward Earle of Warwick was declared Traytor, and so his Lands forfeited; it would please the King, that she might inherit (as being Sister and next of Bloud) his State and Dignity, and so be stiled Countesse of Sarum; which was granted.

I finde little else memorable this yeere among our Historians, save onely a Commotion in London; which hapned on this manner. The Villages of Islington, Hockston, and Shoreditch having so inclosd their grounds, that they debarr'd the Citizens from their accustomed freedome and exercises; the Apprentices of London threw down the Hedges and Ditches, after this manner. A Turner running in a Fooles-coat through the Streets, and crying Shovels and Spades, was presently followed in such numbers, as all their inclosures were quickly level'd. For which therefore the Lord Major was well check'd, and command given him to prevent further mischiefe.

The French King, now finding two principall frontier Townes taken, the flowre of his Chivalry made prisoners, while the rest ran away, his best Confederate James the fourth kil'd, and the chiefe administration of Scottish Affaires devolved to the hands of Margaret Sister to King Henry the eighth, (at least untill she married againe,) A League, in opposition to him, sworn by three the most puissant Princes of Christendome; The Pope animating all this against him, under the odious name of a Schismaticke; and lastly, himselfe farre stricken in yeeres, begins to thinke how best he might come off. And, to this, he had but a Winters space; for the warre was to begin the next Spring. He negotiates therefore with the Pope first. To this end he offers satisfaction for his obstinacy; Next, he stipulates to give way to the accomplishing the Popes designs in Bononia, and elsewhere; to renounce the Councell of Pisa, and accept that of Lateran, promising withall to remand the Cardinall Bernardino, (whom as the Pope desired to have,

1513.
Novem. 29.
Records.

Jan. 3.
15¹⁴/₁₃
Regni 5.

M. S.

1514.

Decemb.

* April.
1513.

have, so he graciously pardoned.) Lastly, whereas great inconveniences might follow, not onely to his Holinesse, but all Christendome, if, by these intestine warres a passage were made open for *Selyme* the Turke to invade it, (who had lately taken eightene strong places neere *Presburg* in *Hungary*,) He promiseth his assistance against them. All which being taken by the Pope into serious consideration, makes him Relent; and, in sequence thereof, not onely recommends Peace and Unity to all Christian Princes, and particularly to our King, but, shortly after enters into a League against the Turke; for this purpose using those potent Ministers of his the Church-men, who were in favour with their severall Princes. *Loüis* the twelfth also drawes *Maximilian* off, partly by representing the danger above-mentioned in *Hungary*, which (next *Ladislaus*) most concern'd him; and partly by according the demands he made about divers pretences in *Burgogne*; and lastly urges some discontents remaining in *Maximilians* mind, ever since *Henry* the eighth and himself met last, (though in effect they were little more then *Puntiglios*, ordinarily hapning on the Enter-view of great Princes.) And for *Ferdinand* he was easily taken off, so that he might enjoy *Navarre*, and for the rest keep his Authority in *Italy*. To which therefore *Loüis* the twelfth condescended, proroguing the * last yeeres Truce with him for twelve Moneths longer. Lastly, because *Henry* the eighth was (without all these) able alone to finde him worke, he offers his Friendship, and Alliance in matching with his Sister the Princesse *Mary*, thought then one of the fairest Ladies of her time. To strengthen this proposition also, he advertises our King, that *Charles* Prince of *Castile* (afterwards *Charles* the fifth) was treating of a marriage with *Anne* daughter of *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*; And when it were in earnest, that he intended to match with his Sister the Princesse *Mary*, that yet (being but fourteen yeeres old in *February* next) he was not ripe enough for her; (concealing in the meane time that himselfe was as much too old.) He privately also acquainted the King how *Ferdinand* did but deceive him; as one, that would at all times be drawn to his Party, when he might enjoy *Navarre*. Together with which, it is probable he did reveale the aforesaid secret Truce made by the Spanish Secretary *Quintana* betwixt himselfe and *Ferdinand* for one yeere more. An Article whereof was, that, during the said Truce, *Loüis* the twelfth should not molest *Milan*. He told him, besides that *Maximilians* designs were on the Venetians, and not on *France*. And that the Levyes in *Flanders* for the warres proposed against *France* the next yeere, were and should be retarded by the Princesse *Marguerite*, purposely, because her Father had other designs. All which was represented to the King by private and confident Messengers, who under colour of treating for the delivery of *Loüis Duc de Longueville*, and the rest who were Prisoners of warre, negotiated this great Affaire. Our King here

hereupon disdaining to be twice deceived by his Father in law *Ferdinand*, and detesting withall the ingratitude and levity of *Maximilian*, agreed a league with *Louis* the twelfth upon the seventh of *August* 1514. for the term of their joynt lives and one yeere after. The effect was, That all former offences should be remitted and abolished, Traffique restored, and all Impositions on strangers since fifty two yeeres last past, extinguished. That no Letters of Merque should be granted, but against the principall Delinquents, and that onely in case Justice were denied. That no Robbers by Land, or Pirates by Sea should be maintained on either side. That Rebels and Fugitives should not be entertain'd, but rendered (within twenty daies after Requisition) to their Sovereignes. That they should be Friends to the Friends, and Enemies to the Enemies of each other. That (for mutuall defence of their present Estates) *Louis* the twelfth should furnish at the requisition of *Henry* the eighth, one thousand two hundred Lances by Land, and five thousand men at Sea, with convenient shipping. And *Henry* the eighth ten thousand Archers by Land, and five thousand men at Sea, with shipping, at the requisition of *Louis* the twelfth. But if either of the two Kings shall require ayd of the other for the recovery of his Pretensions; then *Louis* shall lend King *Henry* six hundred Lances onely, and King *Henry* him but five thousand Archers for Land service; the Sea forces retaining the numbers above mentioned. All this to be at the cost of the Demandant. Yet, if either of the said Princes shall be invaded, onely for the cause of this Confederacy, then the other shall ayd him at his own charge. If warre be made by common consent, neither Prince may make peace severally. That the English Merchants should have their ancient Priviledges at *Bourdeaux* restored. That this Treaty should be published and ratified by the Pope, (by whom it was chiefly procur'd) with a Clause of Excommunication on the Infractors. Among the Allies of each Prince, the Scots also were comprehended herein, upon condition, that after *Septemb.* 15. they should make no incursion on the English by publique Authority; and if any were otherwise made, that satisfaction should be speedily given. Besides this, the French Writers confesse there was a Treaty apart, by which *Louis* promised to pay *Henry* the eighth a Million of Crowns, the said *Henry* rendring him an Obligation, by which *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* father of the said *Louis*, and other Princes of *France* were bound to pay the said summe. For, whereas *Charles* the eighth, Predecessour to *Louis* the twelfth, by a Treaty at *Estaples* 1492, bound himselfe and his Heires to pay King *Henry* the seventh and his Heires the summe of 745000 Crownes; and, after the death of the said *Charles*, *Louis* the twelfth bound himselfe and his Heires to pay so much as remain'd thereof, and this Bond was twice made by the said *Louis* the twelfth, first to *Henry* the seventh 1498, and after to *Henry* the

1514

Aug. 7.

Du Tillet.

Tillet.

Orig. Rec.
Novem. 3.
1492.

July 14.
1498.

1513.
July 22.
1510.
March 7.
1444.

Sept. 14.

Polyd. Virg.

August.

the eighth, 1510. And whereas (besides this Bond) the aforesaid Charles had bound himselfe to the Lady *Margarite* Dutchesse of *Sommerfet* Anno 1444, to pay her a certaine summe of money, which was not yet discharged. Therefore, as also for confirming the amity betwixt *Louis* and *Henry*, the said *Louis* did now bind himselfe and Heirs in a Bond of a Million of Crowns to be payd to King *Henry* the eighth, in his Town of *Calais*, at severall times, (*viz.*) November 1. next following fifty thousand Francs; and May 1. next; so much more, and so till the whole were paid. (Which Obligation I finde in an Originall thereof, dated *Septemb. 14. 1514.*) All which minuted by *Louis de Longueville* (called by some *Louis d'Orleans Duc de Longueville*) during his restraint, was at last thus fully concluded. The Princesse *Mary* also was to be consigned to him, with convenient speed; Notwithstanding (saith *Polydore*) the King had secretly destin'd her once to another, who though he gave place, when it was so much for her dignity, yet married her not long after. The condition for the Marriage, bewixt the said *Louis* the twelfth, and *Mary* the Kings sister, were these, as we finde them in our Records.

That, 1. within ten dayes following, Matrimony shall be contracted by both Persons by Proxies *per verba de presenti*. 2. After the Contract aforesaid, within two moneths, the King of *England* shall send and convey her, with Jewels and Household-stuffe fitting her Estate, to *Abbeville* in *France*; where, within foure daies following the said *Louis* the twelfth shall solemnly marry her. 3. King *Henry* shall give with the Princesse *Mary* foure hundred thousand Crowns; of which summe (in regard of the traduction of the Lady, her Apparels, Jewels, &c.) *Louis* will be content to accept the one halfe, *i.e.* two hundred thousand Crowns, and to pay himselfe the rest out of the moneys which by the late Treaty he is obliged to pay King *Henry*. 4. *Louis* shall assigne to the Princesse *Mary* a Joynture as great as any Queen of *France* (and namely as Queen *Anne* the last Queen) hath had. And this during her life she shall enjoy, wheresoever she reside. 5. If *Louis* die first, then, the Princesse *Mary* during her life, shall enjoy her Dowry and Joynture, and all Jewels which the Queenes of *France* have used to enjoy after the death of their Husbands. 6. If *Louis* survive the said Princesse, then he shall have and enjoy her Portion, Joynture, Jewels, and Goods, according to the Custome of *France*.

While these things were in agitation, the King (who called to minde many that had served him with much Fidelity, Courage, and successe in his late occasions and enterprizes) thought he could not doe any thing more justly and prudently, then to bestow some condigne Recompence upon them; It being such a Mystery of State as not onely gives the greatest lustre of Regall Authority, but of that consequence, as being used well, there will be

be little need of punishment. The reward to these brave Cavaliers he had selected out for this purpose, the King thought good to invest in honour chiefly. Therefore upon the second of February, *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* was by him created Duke of *Norfolke*; (a Title* before conferr'd on *John* his Father by *Richard* the third, and then againe extinguished.) His eldest sonne, the Lord *Thomas Howard* also being substituted Earle of *Surrey*. Together with which he had an augmentation of Armes for his Atchievement in *Flodden*-field. Sir *Charles Somerset* also, being in *Elizabeth* his wives right, (who was daughter and Heire to *William Herbert*, Earle of *Huntington*) Lord *Herbert* of *Chepstow*, *Gower*, and *Ragland*, was created Earle of *Worcester*. Sir *Charles Brandon*, Viscount *Lisle* was now also created Duke of *Suffolke*; And Sir *Edward Stanley*, not long after made Lord *Mounteagle*. Lastly, *Thomas Woolsey* Bishop of *Tournay*, was constituted Bishop of *Lincolne*.

The King, being at some rest now from transmarine Affaires, begins to look towards *Scotland*; upon which he had many advantages. For as the two Princees, left by King *James*, were very young; his sister Queene *Margaret* (their mother) in Estate of administering all the Affaires there; the chiefe and most active part of their Nobility kil'd; there wanted not many occasions to prevaile himsele of; whereupon also, either by gentle meanes or otherwise by force, he resolv'd to procure an interest in the Government of that Kingdome. To this it conduced not a little, that those Nobles which remained, betwixt Envy and Ambition, were distracted among themselves. The Queene foreseeing well, that, in this ill condition of Affaires, many inconveniences might follow, in a Countrey, whereof (by speciall Clause of a Testament made by the King before the last expedition,) shee was declared Regent, as long as shee continued unmarried, sends to the King her Brother, to crave his advice and assistance; beseeching him withall, that he would desist from Hostility. The King most generously answered, that, if the Scots would have peace, he would keepe peate; if they would have warre, hee would likewise have war. Thus were all things composed for the present, and *James* the fifth (being not two yeeres old) in Parliament declared King, in February 15¹⁴. Yet as, not long* after, shee tooke to Husband *Archibald Dowglass* Earle of *Angus* (one both for birth and other perfections the eminentest shee could choose in that Countrey) some Innovations and troubles ensued. For while *Dowglass* laboured by his private Power to supply that Authority, which by marrying him, she seemed to have lost; the Kingdome was broken into factions. The favourers of *Dowglass* alleadged, there was no other way to keepe peace, but by submit-

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1514.

Feb. 2.
* 1483.

* Aug. 6.
Feb.

1514.

ting all to Queen Margaret; for, since the King of England did therefore onely desist from pursuing his Victory, because the administration of Affaires was in his Sisters hands; it were best to leave them there; to erect any other forme of Government, were to draw the English in againe; And when all their forces united were not able to resist him absent, what might they attend from him present? Especially, when not onely their chiefe strength was left in the late Battaile, but Henry should finde a party with his Sister, (both in her owne name, and in the King her Sonnes) would make for him. The other faction (whereof Alexander Humes was chiefe) urged the Ancient Custome of Scotland, which in these cases, he sayd, did alwaies choose some Protector or Vice-Roy. Neither did it hinder, that they had hitherto deferr'd so much to the Vertues of the Queen, that, as long as possibly there was pretext for it, by the Kings Testament, they had admitted her for Regent: for now, since by marriage of Dowglassse, she had voluntarily relinquished that Power; that the Countrey therefore should resume their wonted Right and Priviledges. For, if in the most quiet and serene times, women had beene excluded from Government, how much more now? Yet was not this the onely reason that moved Humes. For, while hee doubted least the ancient followers of his House should by the Power of Dowglassse be now drawne from him, he left nothing unattempted that might diminish and weaken either him or the Queenes Authority. Therefore he recommended every where John Stewart Duke of Albany, Cousin-German by the Father to James the fourth; who, though then in France, was yet of great esteeme at home. This, againe, was seconded by the Arts of the French, who could by no meanes suffer the good Affection of that Nation to be divided, much lesse drawn from them. Howbeit Louis thought not fit openly to discover himselfe, as fearing to offend our King, with whom he was now contracting a strait League and Affinity. Therefore hee would not suffer the Duke to come into Scotland, though not long before * elected Governour; by the Queenes consent as was pretended; which yet may be doubted; She protesting * to our King, afterwards, it was extorted from her.) Howsoever, after the death of Louis Hee was sent over, (as shall be shew'd hereafter) well furnished both with Men and Money, to take Possession of the chiefe Government of all things, during the minority of the Prince.

* March 13.
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March.
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While busineses were now in preparation for Peace and Alliance betwixt our King and Louis the twelfth, it was thought fit, for discharge of the Kings engagement and honour, to send to Flanders,

Flandres, to discover how in those parts their affection stood towards the match proposed betwixt Prince *Charles* and the Princess *Mary*; and withall to require men for the warre intended the next Spring. But, *Charles* having already broken two Articles of the said Treaty of Mariage; one whereof was, that when he came to fourteen yeeres of age he should send a Proxy into *England* to contract the Princess *per verba de presenti*; the other, that at a day appointed he should come himselfe to *Calais* to espouse her; And our Ambassadors, finding for the rest nothing but delay, and irresolution; the King would no longer omit to give order that his Sister should neither be sleighted, nor his Affairs otherwise suffer detriment. Therefore, after a short protestation, whereby the fault was laid on them; (without yet, that any intention was disclosed for disposing the Princess *Mary* in any other place, or of making a League with *Louis* the twelfth) the King proceeds more roundly in his businesse. Before yet this could be effected, *Pregent* with his Gallies comming to *Sussex*, by night, and landing there, after a short stay was driven backe, and in the retreat, shot in the face with an Arrow. Sir *John Wallop* hereupon being sent into *Normandy*, burnt divers ships, and one and twenty Villages, landing many times in despite of the French, which seemed the more strange, that his Souldiers exceeded not eight hundred men. The French also appearing in some numbers neer the English Pale, Sir *Thomas Lovell* was sent with certain Troops to *Calais*, for the better strengthing of the place; and the rather that *Richard de la Pole* was now gathering forces for some great designe. But before hee could doe any thing, the Treaty and Peace was made; Among the Articles whereof, though the remanding of *Richard de la Pole* was propos'd, yet *Louis* would never consent to it, but sending him out of *France* gave him an yeerely Pension.

Louis de Longueville having now power from his King to contract Marriage *par parole de present* with our Kings Sister, She also sent * her procuration to the same effect, the Ceremony whereof was solemnly held at the Celestins in *Paris*, *Septemb. 14.* News whereof was no sooner brought, but our King, together with the Queen conducting her to the Sea-side bid her farewell, and recommended her to the Duke of *Norfolkes* care. Shortly after which, landing at *Boulogne*, and being met by some principall persons deputed by the King, she was attended on, and guided towards *Abbeville*; In the way to which, the old King on horsebacke met and saluted her, and afterwards retired himselfe privately, while shee was received into *Abbeville* with much Pompe. Where, on Saint *Dennis* day, *October 9.* shee was in Person married to *Louis* the twelfth; who, after bestowing many Jewels on her, and rich Presents to those who came along,

1514.
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August 22.
Sept. 14.

Octob. 3.

Octob. 9.

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May 18.
1514.

Hall.

Novem. 5.

dismissed all, save a few Officers and Attendants, amongst whom I finde Mr^{rs} *Anne Bollen* daughter to Sir *Thomas Bollen*, as one. Howbeit, occasion was given of bringing over some of our prime Nobility and Cavaliers to *Paris*, not long after.

Francois de Valois, Duke of *Angoulesme* and next Heire male to the Crown (having in *May* before married *Clonde* eldest daughter to *Louis* the twelfth by *Anne* who was Inheritrix of *Bretagne*) desired now, in the Kings declining age, to give some prooffe of his valour. Therefore, before the English departed from *Abbeville*, he caused a Jufts to be proclaimed; which, for being so extraordinary (the persons and manner considered) I thought worth the relating. The effect thereof was, that, in *November* ensuing, he, with nine Ayds, would answer all Comers, that were Gentlemen of Name and Armes, on Horse-backe and on Foot. The Laws on Horsebacke were, that with sharpe Speares they should runne five courses at Tilt, and five more at Randon, being well Armed and covered with pieces of Advantage for their best defence. After this to fight twelve stroakes with sharpe Swords. This being done, he and his ayds offered to fight at Barriers with the same Persons, with a Hand-speare and Sword. The conditions were, that if any man were unhors'd, or fel'd fighting on foot, his Armour and Horse should be rendred to the Officer of Armes. That for this purpose an Arch Triumphant should be set forth, at the *Tournelles*; neere *Rue Saint Antoine* in *Paris*, on which foure Shields should be placed. That he, who would touch any of them must first enter his name and Armes. That he, who touched the first, which was Silver, should run at Tilt, according to the Articles. Who touched the Golden Shield, should run at Randon, as above mentioned. He that touched the black Shield should fight on foot with Hand-speares and Swords for the one hand; six foynes with the Hand-Speare, and then eight stroaks to the most advantage (if the Speare so long held,) and after that twelve stroakes with the Sword. He that touched the Tawny Shield, should cast a Speare on Foot with a Target on his Arme, and after fight with a two-handed Sword. This Proclamation being made, the Duke of *Suffolke*, and *Marquesse Dorset*, and his four Brethren, the Lord *Pinton*, Sir *Edm. Nevile*, Sir *Giles Capell*, *Thomas Chenye*, and others, obtained leave of the King to be at the Challenge; which they so hastned, that before the end of *October* they came to *S. Denis*, where they found the Queen; the solemnities for her Coronation, as also for her reception at *Paris*, being not yet in readinesse. *Francois de Valois*, knowing how good men at Armes the Duke of *Suffolk* & *Marquesse Dorset* were, requested them to be two of his ayds, to which they assented. But while these things were in preparing, *Mary* the French Queen was upon the fift of *November* Crowned in *S. Denis*, the Earle of *Worcester* and Dr *West* (who were appointed for this purpose by our King) attending her in the solemnity

lemnity thereof, & *Francois de Valois* (afterwards King) holding the Crowne (which was very waighty) over her Head. The day following she entred *Paris* with great Pompe; and the morrow after, The Jufts began, of which the King and Queen were Spectators; the King being yet so weake that hee lay on a Couch. These Jufts continued three dayes, in which three hundred and five men at Armes were answered by the defendants; Among which some were so hurt, that they dyed not long after: At *Randon* and *Tourney*, the Duke of *Suffolke* hurt a Gentleman very dangerously, and the *Marquesse Dorset* did no lesse to an other. Then the Duke overthrew a man both horse and Armes, and so did the *Marquesse Francis* at last being hurt, desires the Duke and *Marquesse* to fight at *Barriers*; who therefore tooke the first place against all Comers. In the meane while, *Francis* intending an Affront (as was thought) to the Duke, causeth a German (the strongest Person in all the Court) to be Arm'd secretly, and present himselfe at *Barriers*; they both did well; yet the Duke at last with the butt-end of his speare struck the German till he stagger'd, and so the Raile was let fall. The *Marquis Dorset* also foil'd another French-man. Then they took some breath and return'd to fight againe; when the Duke so pommell'd the German about the head, that bloud gushed from his Nose, which being done, the German was convayed away secretly. Divers other brave feats were done likewise, which the reader may find elsewhere. At last our English, with singular honour, returned to their King and Master, whom they found much comforted for the *birth of another Prince, though not living long after.

But the contentment of *Loüis* the twelfth was almost as short; who being aged, and infirme, after some eighty dayes possession, rather then enjoying of his Queene, dyed *Ianuary 1. 1515.* leaving behind him no issue male; though otherwise of that esteeme among his subjects, for his care not to oppresse them with impositions longer then his necessities required, that he was call'd *Pere du Peuple*. After him succeeded *Francois de Valois*, above mentioned, a Prince of great hope. His age was twenty one or twenty two; wherein as well as in the most part of his manners, there was much conformity betwixt our King and him. Particularly, they might be thought two the goodliest Personages, not of their quality only, but of their time. This Prince was Sacred (to use the French terme) at *Reymes 25. of Ianuary, 1515.* taking on him, together with the name of King of *France*, that of Duke of *Milan*. To which he seemed to have a double Title, both as he was of the house of *Orleans*, to which the claime of the said Duchy belong'd, as also being comprehended in the Investiture made by the Emperour, according to the Treaty at *Cambray*. And because he succeeded as well to the Right, as to the meanes of recovering the said Duchy, he thought on nothing more then how to vindicate the glory his Predecessors had lost in that attempt. His first care was how to assure himself of our King:

This

1514

November 6

November 7

Hall.

Novemb.

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Jan. 1.

Jan. 25,

1508.

1515.

Aug. 7.

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* 1516.

April. 5.

May. 8.

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May. 15.

Ja. 2. 15¹⁶/₁₅.

Tillet.

Febru. 3.

March.

This he procures, partly by addressing himselfe to *Woolsey*, who then prevail'd most with the King, and partly by giving great Conditions. And thus the * last Treaty of Peace with *Louis* the twelfth, (being to endure but till the first of *January* * next,) was (as I find both by ours and the French Records) renewed in the same terms, the 5 of *April* following, and prorogued for terme of their joynt lives, and one year after. Only better order was given for depredations then before; It being agreed now, that no Merchant of either Nation should depart out of their Ports, without giving Caution to their severall Admiralls, that no wrong or molestation should be done by Sea.

Upon the 8. of *May*, the French King agreed also to pay at certaine dayes a Million of Crownes to our King; (for so the French have it,) which whether it were a new stipulation, or that formerly agreed on by *Louis* the twelfth, appears not to me; and *Polydorey's* words are obscure, which import only *pretium pro pace datum*. The 15. of *May* following, the Scottish enter'd into this Treaty, (for they were comprehended under a condition of keeping the peace.) Neither did our King easily beleive that under hand they would have made any other. Notwithstanding which, the French and they did, upon the second of *January* following, privately enter into a League offensive and defensive against *England*.

Together with the proposing of this Treaty (in which the Duke of *Suffolke*, Sir *Richard Wingfeild* Deputy of *Calais*, and Doctor *West*, were employ'd,) our King sent a Letter to the Queen his Sister; wherein he desired to know, how she stood affected to her returne to *England*, desiring her withall not to Match without his Consent. She, on the other side, who had privatly engaged her affection to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*, made no great difficulty to discover her selfe to both Kings; intreating *Francis* to mediate this Marriage, and our King to approve it. Unto the former *Francis* easily agreed, (though once intending to propose a match betwixt her and the Duke of *Savoye*;) but our King, for the Conservation of his dignity, held a little off; However he had long since designed her to *Suffolke*. The Queene also, beleiving that this formality was the greatest impediment, did not proceed without some scruple, though protesting (as appeares by an Originall) that if the King would have her Married in any place, save where her Mind was, she would shut her selfe up in some Religious-house. Thus, without any great Pompe, being secretly Married, the Queen writ Letters of excuse to the King her Brother, taking the fault (if any were) on her selfe; and together, for the more clearing the Duke of *Suffolke*, professed that she prefixed the space of foure dayes to him, in which she said, unlesse hee could obtaine her good-will, he should be out of all hope of enjoying her. Whereby, as also through the good office of *Francis*, who (fearing least our King by her meanes should contract some greater Alliance) did further this marriage,

Marriage, our King did by degrees restore them to his favour; *Woolsey* also not a little contributing thereunto; while he told our King, how much better she was bestow'd on him, then on some Person of quality in *France*.

Thus having prepared all things for their departure, they tooke their leave of the French Court; the Queen carrying with her, of the Jewels, Plate, and Tapisseries of *Loüis* the twelfth, to the value of two hundred thousand Crownes, as the French have it. Among which a great Diamond call'd *Le Miroir de Naples* (as I finde by our Records) was one; though not without much reluctance of *Francis*, who would faine have redeem'd it at a great price. Order also was taken for the payment of her Joynture, being sixty thousand Crownes yearly. Whereupon the Queene and Duke with all her traine (save Mrs. *Anne Bolen*, who stayed in the French Court) * began their Journey; to the satisfaction of *Francis*, as hoping by their meanes to confirme his so much desired Peace, and Treaty with our King. Thus arriving at *Calais* 25. of *April*, and from thence coming to *Dover*, and after to *Greenwich*; they were publicquely married 13. of *May*. Thus our King's two Sisters, after their being joyn'd with great Princes, did not disdain to accept inferiour Persons for their Husbands.

But that I may returne to my proposed Method in this History; I shall set downe the Lawes enacted in the Parliament (*sexto* of this King) beginning *February quinto*; where I finde one of their chiefe cares was, to put into better order the former Lawes concerning Apparell; which yet was not so well digested, but that the yeare following, even the Law it selfe Chang'd fashion. Howsoever, that of Archery, made before, was not only confirmed, but made perpetuall; so that, notwithstanding the use of Caleevers or Hand-guns (for Muskets were not yet known) it was thought fit to continue the Bow. Wherein I cannot but commend the constancy, if not wisdom of those times; it being certaine, that, when he that carries the Caleever goes unarm'd, the Arrow will have the same effect within its distance that the bullet, and can, againe, for one shot returne two. Besides, as they used their Halberts, with their Bow, they could fall to execution on the Enemy with great advantage. I cannot deny yet but against the Pike they were of lesse force, then the Caleevers. Therefore I beleve the meaning of these times was, to command it as an exercise to the common people, and for the rest reserve it for those occasions, where they might be of use. Howsoever, Hand-guns and Crosse-bowes were forbidden under certain Penalties, to all Men that had lesse then five hundred Marks *per annum*. The wages for Artificers also was settled, and the price of Water-men. A Penalty also was impos'd on those who changed Tillage into Pasture. And very good order taken, concerning deceit in Cloth, as being the only cause they had not so good vent abroad. The Commission of Sewers extending

1515.

April 19.

April 25.

May 13.

Feb. 5.

15¹⁵₁₄
Reg. 6.

1515.

tending to the making up of the Sea-walls, &c. in *England*, the Marches of *Calais*, *Guisnes*, and *Hames*, (begun *sexto Henrici sexti*, and continued *quarto Henrici setpimi*, for twenty five years,) being now upon expiration, was continued also for ten yeares more. It was commanded also, that the River of *Canterbury* should be deepned. It was provided also, that Wool should not be carryed beyond Sea; which was to the benefit of Clothiers. No second Letters Patents also might be taken, without mentioning the first. Which was very equall, both for the King and Subject. And because divers now, being weary with sitting so long in Parliament, did depart home without License, (they only remaining who factiously combined themselves, with intention to gaine the Major part of voyces, in any thing they desired to obtain) It was ordered they should lose their wages, if they went without the leave of the Speaker, and Common house, to be entred in the Booke of the Clerke of the Parliament.

During the stay of the French-Dowager and her Husband, a Treaty also past concerning the restitution of *Tournay*, upon a sum of Money offer'd. Howbeit, as our King demanded in exchange thereof, the County of *Guisnes*, or *Ardres*, *Francis*, who desired not any enlarging of the English Pale; fell off, so that our King provided for defence. For which purpose, as well as diminishing his charge in keeping an excessive Garrison, He rais'd a Cittadell there; without that *Francis* thought fit either to interrupt the designe, or otherwise to offend our King; as hoping, by the meanes of *Woolsey*, (to whom, together with the unusefulness of *Tournay*, he represented a Cardinall's Hatt) to obtaine his desire. And it was the true bait to take him; hee being extreamly ambitious of that dignity; both as he thought it would secure his greatnesse, and as it enabled him to serve his King and Master's turne. Therefore he had many wayes attempted it, and particularly by the intervention of Cardinall *Hadrian de Castello* an *Italian* (Bishop of *Bath*, and the Pope's Collector in *England*) not omitting together to use the help of *Sylvester* (*Italian* likewise) Bishop of *Worcester*; and the rather that they were both at *Rome*, where Cardinall *Bambridge* also on our Kings part resided: But this Cardinall dying *July 14. 1514.* not without suspicion of Poyson, our King having lately * given *Woolsey* the Bishoprick of *Lincolne*, he surrendred it now, and * took the Arch-Bishoprick of *Torke*; and, not satisfied herewith, aspir'd also to be successor in the Cardinall-ship; wherein, because it seems, he conceiv'd that *Adrian* Bishop of *Bath* had not served him faithfully, he oppos'd him in the Collectorship, and put *Polydore Virgil* (his Subcollector) in the Tower (from whence he came not * suddenly, nor without the Pope's mediation) He used therefore, besides his ordinary meanes and friends in *Rome*, the help of *Francis*; who, for the more obliging of him, sent first Newes, that, in *Sept.* this yeare, his suite was granted, and the Title of *sancta Cæcilie*

March. 4.

1514.

Nov. 6.

1514.

1515.

Sept. 7.

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trans Tiberim * conferr'd on him; for the maintaining of the Charges whereof, he had at this time in Farme at very easie Rates the Bishopricks of *Bath*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, in regard the Bishops of these places liv'd beyond Sea; he got also successively the Bishopricks of *Bath*,^b *Durham*, and *Winchester*, which he so exchang'd, as hee held ever one of them with his Arch-Bishoprick; he held also in *Commendum* the^d Abbey of *Saint Alban's*, and many other Ecclesiasticall preferments, and had the disposing of most of the Benefices that fell voyd. Also, shortly after his being constituted Arch-Bishop of *Torke*, *William Warham* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, resigning to the King voluntarily the place of Lord Chancellor, and retiring himselfe from Court, by reason of his age, (or perchance some discontent) to a private life, that Place was conferred on him. Thus were dignities and wealth heaped so fast on *Woolsey*, that, being in his nature insolent, hee grew at length intolerable. Neither could those excellent parts, wherewith he was endowed, exempt him; In so much, that not onely much Arrrogance, but extreame Vanity was observed in him, whereas yet nothing commends Church-men so much as a pious Modesty: All degrees of Persons, but especially theirs, being like Coines or Meddalls; to which, howsoever vertue give the stampe and impressiion, Humility must give the weight. Yet this Cardinall, contrary to all example, is noted by *Polydore* to have used silke and Gold in his outward Vestments and even saddles: He caused also the Cardinalls Hatt to be borne by some principall Person before him, on a great height, (*Loco cuiusdam Idoli sacri*,) and, when he came to the King's Chappell, would admit no place to rest it on, but the very Altar; He had besides, his Sarjeant at Armes and Mace, and two Gentlemen carrying two Pillars of Silver, besides his Crosse-bearer; concerning which it is observed, that he did beare the Crosse of *Torke* somewhat to the prejudice of that of *Canterbury*, which perchance might be some cause of discontentment to the Arch-Bishop *Warham*. In conclusion, all his Actions were such as argued a haughtier spirit than could become in his Place (as *Polydore* will have it.)

The Pope, being intentive now to a Warre against the Turke, * requires ayde from the English Clergy, desiring our King to give his assistance therein; which they yet (in their * Synod) deprecated, alleading (by Letter to the Pope dated November 25. 1515.) that they were exhausted through their Contribution to the Warre of *France*, at the instigation of *Julius* the second; remonstrating further, that, by a decree of the Councell of *Constance*, the Pope could impose no Tributes on the Church, but in case of necessity, and by a Generall Councell.

The twelfth of this Moneth the Parliament sate againe; wherein, among other Acts, further Order was given, for preventing

1515.
November.

a 1518.
b 1522.
c 1528.
d 1521.

Polyd.

*Aug.

*Nov. 12.

Nov. 25.

Novemb. 12.
Regn. 7.

1515.

venting Tillage to be turned into Pasture. A repeale of Licenses also to strangers for carrying in of *Gascoigne* and *Guyenne* wines, or *Tholouse* Woad was enacted. Which was much to the encrease of our Shipping. A time was also prefixt, within which all Motions, Suites, Bills, Enditements or Informations popular shall be sued, either for the King or Party, and this settled a great deale of quietnesse. The Act concerning Labourers wages, made the yeare preceding, was also repealed, for as much as concern'd certaine Labourers in *London*.

Towards the end of this Parliament, Sir *Edward Poynings* desiring to be discharged from his Government in *Tournay*, and the adjoyning places of *Mortaigne* and *Saint Amand*, Sir *William Blunt*, Lord *Mountjoy* was substituted; who appointing Sir *Sampson Norton* to bee his Marshall, so offended the People, that they rose in Armes: Neither would they bee quieted, till the said Sir *Sampson* was banished for ever. But, it *Poynings* returned to his Counsellor's place, divers others went away from it. For, besides the Arch-Bishop *Warham*, Bishop *Fox*, offended with the Cardinall, retired himselfe; desiring this onely of the King, that hee would not suffer the Servant to bee greater then his Master. To which the King answered presently, that it should be his Care, that those who were his Subjects should obey and not Command. Then *Thomas Duke of Norfolke* craved leave to goe to his Country house. For, as the Kings coffers were much exhausted by his late warres and Triumphs, so not finding it easie to supply those vast expences, which (in Pageants and devises) increased daily, hee wisely withdrew himselfe: *Charles Duke of Suffolke* also, not long after, following them. For, having borrowed Money of the King for his Journey into *France*, and being unable (through the Cardinall's opposition) to obtaine remission thereof, or otherwise to pay it presently, hee retir'd into the Country; so that the Cardinall had his free scope and liberty to sway all things, under Colour of doing the King service. For, whatsoever hee went about, that was his Pretence; though (for the most part) in labouring to Reforme, hee did nothing but Innovate. Hence many Clamors arose among the People; who being capable of almost nothing but their owne Antient Customes, seldome indure a change, though for their bettering and advantage. Hence was it, that they thought none so true among them, as those, who traduced the present Government; nor so wise, as those, who suspected most, though beyand all probability. There was yet occasion enough to feare *Woolsey*; being observed to have that Ascendant over the King's disposition, as he knew not how to be serious, or all most merry, without him. In either of which

wayes

wayes he still introduced something for his own ends; for no man studied them more. One example whereof I will here insert. The Cardinall, having for his first Bishopricke, that of *Tournay*, was not yet without an ancient Competitor, one *Louis Guillart* a French-man, to whom it formerly appertained: This man, grudging to be thus dispossessed, obtaines from the Pope a Bull, whereby he was restor'd to that place, (as farre as words could carry it,) with a Clause of *Usque ad Invocationem Brachij Secularis*, both in the City and without. So that the French and Flemmings seem'd equally interested thereby to procure his Conservation. Our King understanding hereof, and knowing well the dangerous consequence, * writes to the Bishops of *Bath* and *Worcester*, his Agents then at *Rome*, to protest against this strange and inordinate Bull, (as he termes it in his Letters;) commanding them withall (not without some threats) to labour that it might be recall'd, as tending not only to the raising of Sedition in that City, and Quarrells betwixt him and the confining Princes, but to the wrongfull displacing of the Cardinall, who, being subrogated to the other as well in conformity to the right of his King, as upon the contumacy or negligence of the other (who had not as then done his Homage and fealty for his Temporalities) could not now be remov'd without much scandall. Before this, the Cardinall had desired *Francis* to bestow on *Guillart* some other Bishoprick: but *Francis* delaying to give satisfaction herein, so incensed the Cardinall, that he became his secret enemy afterward, (as *Polydore* hath it.) Hereupon he intimates to *Maximilian*, that, notwithstanding the * late League betwixt *England* and *France*, there was probability, the King would not suffer *France* to grow greater by the acquisition of *Milan* * (*Maximilian* therefore sent, in the name of *Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, one *Anchistes Vis-Conte*, a *Milanese*, to implore our King's assistance against *Francis*, in men or money. Of which also there was some hope secretly given by *Woolsey*.) However, our King (in so great a cause) would resolve nothing, without communicating the businesse first to the ancientest and wisest of his Counsellors. Therefore recalling *Warham*, *Fox*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, *Lovell*, and divers others, he demanded their opinion in full Counsell; where *Woolsey* speaking first, alleadged, that *Francis* had already broken the Treaty, by favouring *Richard de la Pole* a Fugitive and Traytor; in assisting those Scots, which oppos'd his Sister Queen *Margaret*; And in contriving a secret League with that Nation, to the prejudice of that into which they lately entred with *England*. Besides, that *Francis* with-held some goods and Jewells of Queen *Mary*. That when all this were otherwise, yet it stood not with reason of State to suffer *France* to grow any greater. Lastly, he said all this might be done warily, and without effusion of English blood, only when he would but privatly assist *Maximilian*. This was no sooner uttered, but *Thomas* Bishop of

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* 1517.
March.

Polydor. Virg.

April. 5.
1515.

* 1516.

Novemb.

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Polyd. Virg.

Duresme riseth up, and, not only confirms the Cardinalls speech, but extolls it with some palpable flatteries. Neither must it seeme strange, that the Church-men concurr'd in this Vote; it being likely that (besides Cardinall *Woolsey's* particular animosity against *Francis* the first) *Leo* the tenth had a hand herein, as knowing how much safer it was for *Italy*, that a single Duke should governe *Milan*, then such a potent Prince as *Francis* the first) all the others at the Table yet were of another opinion. Among whom therefore a reply was made to this effect.

That to breake a Treaty or League (solemnly sworne) did seeme a strange Counsell in any, but especially in a Divine. That, for their parts, they conceiv'd the violating of publique faith was to call God and man in judgement against them. They would not deny yet, but just cause of dissolving Leagues might be given. But then that the wronged party ought both to protest the fault and denounce warre. That, if any other Course should be allowed among Princes, and Estates, there were no ground for upholding truth and Justice; without which yet the Law of Nations and even Mankind it selfe could not subsist. That therefore it were good to examine the grounds of the proceedings mentioned. In which though it could not be denied but *Richard de la Pole* was admitted still in *France*; yet, whether as Traytor to his Country, or a Person that came thither only for safety of his life, might be question'd. That if the Spies, they had on *Richard*, said true, his designe was only to goe into *Italy* with *Francis* the first, and then there could be no danger on his part. And for the other point, which was assisting the Scottish faction against *Queen Margaret*, or contriving a secret League which might be a prejudice to the former, much might be said; yet if busineses were well examined, both the Treatyes of *Francis* might consist; This latter with *Scotland* being provisionall only, in case we should come to a Rupture with *France*. They would not deny yet, but herein an advantage was taken by the French, somewhat against the Lawes of honour. But that we might make a benefit thereof. For, while *Francis* was in *Italy*, and farre remote from *Scotland*, it was easie for his Majesty, under colour of resisting the new Faction set up by the French in *Scotland*, to be more then reveng'd. For, whether in his Sister's name or his own, it was not hard to reduce a devided Country to his devotion. And that this might be thought a greater addition to him, then *Milan* to the French, when yet they could obtain it; that to take any other course, was to seek causes of quarrell, without colour, either of reason or Justice; to draw the French on himselfe; to interrupt his way to *Scotland*, which now lay open; and lastly to make him loose credit both at home and abroad. The King, who knew the opposition among his Counsellors, seemed to temper the diversity of opinions in a middle way; yet so, as, in effect, he inclined to the Cardinall. Therefore he said, he

hee would hinder the designs of *Francis*, without comming yet to a manifest Rupture; whereof also occasion was given. For as *Francis* being *Confederate with *Charles*, (now sixteene yeeres old, and taking on him the Government of the *Low-Countries*) as also with the Venetians, had renewed a war in *Italy*, and after a bloudy Battell at *Marignan*, had compelled *Maximilian Sforza* to resigne his right to *Milan*, and accept a Pension in *France*; So our King, who suspected this great addition to *Francis* might be dammageable to him, resolved secretly to assist the Emperor, with whom also the Pope and *Ferdinand* joynd, for the defence of *Italy*, and opposition of the Invaders. Returning for this purpose by *Richard Pace* (late servant to Cardinall *Bambridge*, and, for the present Secretary of State) not onely a huge summe of Money; but giving him Commission to treat both with the Emperor and *Francesco Sforza*, brother to the late Duke of *Milan*, concerning the loane thereof, and a strift League upon certaine conditions. Among which it was agreed, That, if *Milan* were recovered, such a yeerely tribute or Pension should be payd our King as this supply of Money did deserve; *Woolsey* not forgetting also, (after his usuall manner) to capitulate for an Annuall payment of ten thousand Duckats to himselfe. Hereupon, *Pace*, levying for the Emperors service certaine Regiments of *Suiffe*, (who willingly entred this warre, both as they were obliged to the conservation of *Sforzas* interest, and as they desired to revenge their losse at *Marignan*,) the Emperour in person marcheth towards *Milan*. Neither did it hinder him, that the Pope was fallen away to *Francis*, and had appointed an Interview at *Bononia*, for the accomodating of their mutuall affaires; the Pope promising *Parma* and *Piacenza* to *Francis*; and he, on the other side, stipulating to recover *Urbis* for the Pope, (as indeed followed the next yeere.) Where also an Agreement called the *Concordat* was made, which the French Writers observe as derogatory to the Pragmatike Sanction, and the Liberties of the Gallicane Church. Being thus upon his way, *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, who was appointed by *Francis* to defend his Acquisitions in *Italy*, sends to his King for reliefe, preparing in the mean time to defend himselfe the best he could. But *Maximilian* being now in a faire way of obtaining his desires, retires suddenly into *Germany*; neither could he alleadge other cause of it, then a simple diffidence of the *Suiffe*, (as *Polydore* hath it;) though *Guicciardine* tels another reason; which was, that *Maximilian* receiving no supply of money from *England*, and being not provided himselfe to pay them, was forced to desist. This encouraged the French and Venetian to proceed in their designs of besieging *Brescia*, which they got; but being repuls'd at *Verona*, *Maximilian* takes heart againe, and sends *Matteo* Cardinall of *Sedun* (or *Sitten*) into *England*, to negotiate for a supply of money, and withall to excuse his late

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*April.

*Sept. 13.

Novemb.

Records.

Decemb. 11.

1516

May.

Octob.

1516.

May. 17.

June.

Novem. 2.

Decemb.

Jan. 23.

1516.

late Retrait, both for his distrust of the *Suisse*, as also because they openly refused to fight against some of their Countrey-men, who were under *Bourbon*. Besides, as he had long entertained our King with a hope that he would resigne the Empire to him, so on this occasion (as I finde by an Originall from Sir *Robert Wingfield*, dated 17 May 1516.) he renews the propositions; offering, besides to give him the Dutchy of *Milan*; for the more assurance whereof, desiring our King to passe the Seas to *Calais*, and so to take his way through the *Low-countries*, till he came to the City of *Triers*; where he, together with the Electors would meet, for performance of the aforesaid Resignation of the Empire; which also being done, he proposed that an Army from thence should invade *France*, while our King with one thousand Horse, and one thousand Archers should passe through *Germany* to *Coyre*, and so over the Lake of *Como* to the State and City of *Milan*; where having repos'd a while, *Maximilian* promised to goe along with him to *Rome*, to see him receive the Imperiall Crowne; which being done, he said, our King might choose whether he would make an honourable Peace with *France*, or warre, for recovering his right; which, he said, the Pope and all Christian Princes could not but like well of. And thus far *Wingfield*; To whose relation though our King gave as much credit, as a profession often made by *Maximilian* could merit; Yet as he considered withall, that there was much improbability in the offer, and the Action it selfe in a manner without Precedent; and, howsoever, that he should engage his Kingdome for the Affaire of the Empire, (it being then so scant of moneys, as *Maximilian* was nick-named *Pochi-Dinari*.) So by his answer in June following, he wished *Wingfield* to tell *Maximilian*, that though he thankfully accepted those offers, yet that he desired they might be kept secret untill the French were driven out of *Italy*. For which purpose, (as well as the reasons before set down) I finde he promised *Maximilian* some more money, excusing together the former defect of payment, with laying the fault on some *Genoia* Merchants. Besides, at the Cardinall of *Seduns* intreaty in the Emperors name, he entred into a strict League with *Maximilian*; which yet, because it lasted not, I shall not particularly mention. For *Maximilian*, considering how little trust he could repose in our Cardinall for the obtaining of money, and (for the rest) being wearied with the wars, first makes a Truce with his adversaries, and particularly the Venetians; after which, for a summe of money being two hundred thousand Ducats, he restores *Verona* unto them, and then makes a Peace. To which purpose the death of *Ferdinand* did serve; who departing this life in the beginning of Anno 1516, did free himselfe rather then the world, from not a few troubles, whereof he was the first procurer and Authour. This Prince (leaving to his Successors the style of *Catholico*)

of King Henry the eighth.

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tholico) was thought the most active and politique of his time. In-
somuch that he hardly took rest, or suffered it in others. No man
knew better how to serve his turne on every body, or to make
their ends conduce to his. But while he escaped not the opinion
and the name of false, (which yet his Countrey writers palliate
no otherwise then with calling it *Saber-raynar*) he neither com-
plied with his dignity, nor indeed the rules of wisdom; true rea-
son of State consisting of such solid Maximes, that it hath as little
need of deceit as a sure game at Chess of a false draught; there
is no use of it, therefore, among the wiser sort; as being onely a
supply of ignorance among the ruder and worse kind of States-
men. Besides, it appeares so much worse in publique affaires then
private, as it is never almost hid or unrevenge. Reputation
again is still lost thereby; which yet how much it concerns Prin-
ces, none can better tell then, such as imagine them without it.
This is strange of him, that being of Vast possessions, enriched
much from the Indies, prosperous in almost all his attempts, of a
frugall disposition, and long life; (for he attained sixty three)
there was hardly yet found in his Coffers enough to discharge his
Interring, though not very sumptuous; That I may say nothing
of his debts. His Will and Testament declared his daughter *Juana*
of *Castile* to be his heire. Onely, because of her defect of wisdom,
and her sonnes young Age, He appointed the Cardinall *Ximenes*
Archbishop of *Toledo* to Govern, till the said *Charles* came to
Castilla. He left also to *Fernando*, brother to *Charles*, great pos-
sessions and Legacies, as loving him inwardly best; both that be-
ing born at *Alcala* 1503, he was a native of *Spaine*, (which his bro-
ther was not,) and that he gave much hope of towardlinesse, and
besides bore his name. Insomuch that, could he have contriv'd it
handsomely, it is thought he would have made him his Heire in
Spaine: sundry particularities whereof, concurring much with
the Spanish History, being advertis'd to our King by Sir *John Stile*
his Ambassador there; Our King and Queen (as they had before
done for *Louis* the twelfth) caused a solemne obsequie for him to
be kept in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Pauls* in *London*. But
they mourned not long; the birth of our Princesse *Mary* following
shortly after, upon the eighteenth of *February* 15¹⁶.

Curia.

1503:

Sandov.

Feb. 18.

Ferdinand thus dead, *Charles*, who thought himselfe as capable
of governing *Castilla* as he was of the *Low-countries* (which *Maxi-*
milian the last yeere put into his hands) sends immediately to
Spaine, to claime the Right and Title; which also was acknow-
ledged; yet so, as it was thought fit to publish it together with
his Mothers; so that it ranne thus, *Donna Juana*, and *Don Carlos*
Queen and King of *Castilla*, *Leon*, and *Arragon*, &c. *Navarre* (which
was now incorporated to them) being not forgotten; He deter-
mined also in person to goe thither. For which purpose, as well
as the better securing the *Low-countries* in his absence, he past se-
verall

1516.

Bellay.

Sandoval

Octob. 29.

May 20.
1515.

Buchan.

verall Treaties with *Francis* and our King; The former was concluded at *Noyon*, Aug. 15. where it was agreed, That within six Moneths following *Henry d' Albret* (*Jehan d' Albret*, and *Catherine* his wife being newly dead) should be restored to the Kingdome of *Navarre*, or at least sufficient content given him otherwise; And if not, that it should be lawfull for *Francis* to assist him. That *Charles* should marry *Louise* daughter of *Francis*, (then not a yeere old) who in consideration thereof should renounce his claim to *Naples*, and accept a Pension of one hundred thousand Crowns yeerely. That the Venetians giving the Emperour two hundred thousand Ducats, he should deliver them *Venora*. Besides which, their Orders of Chevalry were sent to each other, and an interview appointed, which yet tooke no more effect than the Treaty it selfe. The latter League was formed at *London*, October 29. betwixt *Joane* and *Charles* of *Castile*, the Emperour *Maximilian*, and our King, to this effect.

That the Confederats should defend one another, and bring Ayd by Land at their owne Costs, (being requir'd) within a moneth after complaint, against the enemy.

If the enemy have Port-Townes &c. then the warre shall be also made by Sea, by them both, and the Fleet supplied if it be diminish'd, &c.

That no peace shall be made with the enemy, or Truce, but by mutuall consent.

Place also was left for other Princes whatsoever, to come into this League within eight Moneths, by the consent of all the Confederates.

That *Leo* the tenth shall be comprehended in this League, if he will excommunicate the Persons and States that shall molest the Confederates, and that he enter within six moneths.

That the *Swisse* shall be admitted, if they will; so that they bind themselves to serve under the Confederates, and not under any other Prince; And, on those conditions to have Pensions.

I must now returne to the businesse of *Scotland*, (intermitted a while, that I might not breake the context of my History,) and therein call to minde, how *John Stewart* Duke of *Albany*, having been recall'd home, was presently upon his arrivall (which was May 20. 1515.) declared Vice-Roy, till the King came to full age. Neither did it hinder, that he was born in the time of his Fathers banishment; and, for the rest, such a stranger, that he could not speake the Countrey Language. For as a singular opinion of his worth went before, and the recommendation of the French accompanied him, so was he saluted with that universall applause wherewith new comers that have given hope of themselves, are usually welcom'd. The businesses of the Countrey were yet so strange to him, that he was inforced to use the directions of others. In this number, one *John Hepburne* did much appeare. His first

first advise was, that he should not punish the Delinquents, both as they were many, and well allyed; and as it would gaine him strong Enemies. That he had more use of the peoples affections, then to alter them at his first entrance. That therefore his chiefe endeavour should be, to make good his Authority; neither should hee oppresse any, but those who were in estate to oppose him; amongst which three were most considerable, *Archibald Douglass* was one, who, besides that he had married the Queene, was a person much in favour with the People. Secondly, *Alexander Humes*, a busie, potent, and able Lord. Thirdly, *Andrew Forman*, whose Riches were such, as alone would suffice for a great desigⁿe. The Vice-Roy, taking this advice into consideration, thought not fit yet to begin with *Douglass*, lest the Queene, for protecting him should draw the English into *Scotland*, which he most doubted. Besides, he was so gracious with the greatest part of the Kingdome, that he was to be undermined rather then assaulted. And for *Forman*, he thought it was nothing but his wealth that made him envied. Onely *Humes* he thought it not amiss to question; as having between vehement suspitions, and some proofes, not a little matter against him. *Humes* having some notice hereof, changes his party, and now strives to combine with *Douglass*, and the Queen. Therefore he laments to them the fortune of the King, who was fallen into the hands of one, who besides that he was a stranger to his Countrey, might be suspected for attempting on his Person, as being next Heire to the Crowne, after the King and his brother. That this was the more probable, because his Father *Alexander* (as the Scottish Writers have it) had taken the like course with his eldest brother *James* the third, whom he would have dispossessed of the Kingdome. That there was no way to avoyd these dangers, but to flie with her sonne into *England*, (to which also our King had perswaded her privately,) and recommended the rest to his care. This advice (whether spoken by *Humes* to discover the Queenes designs, and thereupon to make his advantage with the Vice-Roy, or that he did indeed thinke this to be the best way for the Kings safety,) was brought beforehand to the Vice-Roy, who believing it easily, thought fit to seize on *Sterling-castle*, in which the young King and his mother were, and to put a Guard on them; yet admits some, who were of great credit, to give by turnes their directions for the young Kings education, and useth briefly some such providences as might argue all was done with a good intention; among which the taking an Oath of Fidelity to the young King, was most remarkable. This while *Humes*, with his brother *William*, refusing to obey a Citation to the Parliament, and being thereupon proscribed, fled to *England*; *Douglass* also taking the

1516.

Buchan.

Aug. 10.
1515.

July 12.
Buch.

1516.

* Octob. 7.
1515.Octob. 12.
1515.

Sept. 24.

Euck.

Octob.
Lesle.
Novemb.
Jan.
1516.

Queen with him followed shortly after, staying yet at *Harbottle-castle* in *Northumberland*, by our Kings command, till further order was given. It appeared not yet, whether this were an escape in them, or that the Vice-Roy were under-hand consenting to their departure, onely to be freer for his designes. Howsoever, he sent instantly to our King, to cleare himselfe from all sinister practises against the Queene. He also labours the friends of *Douglasse* and *Humes* to draw them home, promising for this purpose all the good conditions that could be required. *Humes* takes the invitation, and returnes; *Douglasse* also (considering the Queene was with Childe, and neere her time, and therefore unable to remove any way farre) makes use of this occasion to settle his Affaires at home. The Queene, in the meane while, being * brought to bed of a daughter, (whom shee called *Margaret*) by easie journeys comes to the English Court in the next Spring 1516. Yet were not busineses in *Scotland* so quieted; for *Alexander Humes* having submitted himselfe (as aforesaid) to the Vice-Roy, who gave him to the custody of his brother in law, *James Hamilton* Earle of *Arran*, upon paine of death yet if he suffered him to depart; shortly after by representing to *Hamilton* some neernesse of blood on his part, which might enable him to be Vice-roy, perswaded the Earle to escape away together with him; while the Vice-roy being not grieved (perchance) thus to be quit of those he suspected most, seemes now to be at rest. Onely he would not omit to take this advantage against *Hamilton*; therefore he battered and tooke his Castle; *Humes* in the meane time ravaging the Countrey about *Dunbar*. The Vice-roy hearing this, returnes to his wonted invitations of both him and *Hamilton* to come backe. *Hamilton* accepts it first, and *Humes* after; but *Humes* being summon'd againe to come to the Parliament, thinks fit (for redeeming his former fault when he last absented himselfe) to appeare. He perswades his brother *William* also to goe with him, though many of their friends oppos'd it; for as his brother was equall with him in power and Authority, so the keeping him backe would have conduced perchance to the securing of both. But he, confident of good usage, neglects the advice, and comes with his brother to Court; where being seiz'd on, they were committed to divers prisons, for crimes objected against them; and particularly against *Alexander*, who was thought to have used some treachery in *Flodden-Battell*, if not to have kill'd the King. All which though hee conceived either suggested maliciously against him, or at least by a long intermission to have been antiquated and forgiven, yet prevailed not; his Head and his Brothers being stricke off in *October* 1516. Shortly after which (as *Lesleus* hath it) the Kings younger Brother dying, the Duke of *Albany* obtained in Parliament to be declared next heire. Which being done, he enters (in *January* following

following) into a League with *Francis*, and so* returned to that Countrey; onely that he might manifest his pretences were without any Ambition which might derogate from his Loyalty.

The Queen of Scots comming to *London*, May 3. 1516. was much welcom'd by the King, the Queen, and her Sister Queen *Mary*, who all enjoyd therein a happinesse rare for Princes in that kinde, which was to see one another after they once dispos'd of abroad; The King for the more honour of her comming, commanded a Jufts, in which Sir *William Kingstone* was, both himselfe and horse, overthrown by him.

This yeere also those who manag'd any money for the King in the wars, or otherwise, were by the Cardinals command call'd in question. Among whom some by bribery, and some by cunning escaped; others being condemned in great summes; so that the Cardinall might be said to have in him so much of a good servant, as he willingly suffered none other to deceive his Master. To accompany this severity also, he caused Perjury to be rigorously punished; wherein I can never enough commend him; All other Treacheries extending for the most part, but to the depriving of Life, Possessions, or good Name; but this such a one, as without much labour may take away all together. Some Courts also were erected in the favour of poore people, against the oppression of the Great; which at the beginning were much frequented; but at last, the people receiving many delays and unsatisfactions in their suites, every one left them, and went to the Common-Law: as fearing, under this pretence, an Innovation. I must not deny unto the Cardinall yet, the attribute of Just, in all affaires of publique Judicature; whereof, (if we may believe Authors) he was ever apparently studious. Therefore, where disorders were committed, he severely punished, unlesse the parties found means to make their private peace.

I will conclude this yeere with a Passage out of our Records. *Leo*, continuing still the Councell of *Lateran*, among other Reformationes, proposed that of the *Calendar*, inviting (for this purpose) our King, to send some of our most learned Divines and Astronomers thither; but as it appeares not what answer our King return'd to this Breve, dated *July 10. 1516*, so neither should I have inserted any thing hereof, but that it seems they were not sufficiently satisfied concerning the Principles from which the calculation should be deduced.

About this time a Ryot and Sedition in *England* hapned in this manner. Some Citizens and Apprentices of *London* of the poorer sort, being offended that all their chiefe Customers were wonne from them by the diligence and industry of strangers, and (for the rest) pretending to have received from them divers Contempts, Affronts and Injuries, found some occasions, and tooke others, to make an Insurrection against them; and the rather, that

1516.

* June.

1517.

May 3.

May 19.

Hall.

July 10.

Hall.

1517

April 30.

Hall.

May 1.

May 4.

Hall.

the seditious Sermons of one Doctor *Bele*, by the Instigation of *John Lincolne* a Broker, had not a little incited them: who taking Texts (as neere as he could finde in the Scriptures) to this purpose, traduced the sence thereof even to encouraging the people to a Commotion. The beginning of this yet was not so witty as the last, neither ended it so well. For two Apprentices playing onely at Buckerels in the street, late on *May*-eve, contrary to the Lord Mayors command, (who upon notice taken of the Citizens intent, was charged by the Kings Councill to require, under great penalties, all Housholders to keep themselves and their servants within doores from nine over-night till seven of the clocke the next morning) an Alderman came to arrest one of them; but the said Apprentice thinking therein that an ancient Custome for taking liberty at that time more then any other, was infringed, cryed *Clubs*. Hereupon, they came forth in so great numbers, that the Alderman fled. The Apprentices being encouraged herewith, and for the rest finding themselves in a greater multitude, then to doe nothing, brake open some prisons, and tooke out divers persons, committed thither for abusing and hurting of strangers. Neither could the Mayor or Sheriffes then present, hinder this; Nor Sir *Thomas Moore*, (late Judge of the Sheriffs Court in *London*, but now of the Kings Councill,) though much respected by them, as being a Native of that City. The Prisoners being now set loose, advise the Multitude to runne to the house of one *Mentas* a Picard, much hated by them: Where they kill'd some, chased the rest, and rifled his goods. Hence they went againe to other strangers houses, which they spoyled in like manner. The Cardinall hearing this, and being not much more in the peoples favour then the strangers, fortifies his house with Men and Ordnance. But the Lieutenant of the Tower proceeding otherwise, discharged some of the great Pieces among them. Howbeit this made them not so much desist, as that having reveng'd themselves as farre as the offence taken seem'd to require, they though good about three in the morning to scatter and go home. But in their way, they were apprehended by the City-Officers first, and afterwards by some followers of the Earles of *Shrowsbury* and *Surrey*, who hearing of this disorder, and taking the Innes-of-Court men with them, cleared the streets of this unruly company. The beginning of the Riot was hereupon examined, and Doctor *Bele* and *John Lincolne* sent to the Tower. About three daies after the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earl of *Surrey* his sonne, and divers others, with about one thousand three hundred armed men came into the City, and, joyning with the Lord Mayor, proceeded legally against the chiefe offenders; to the terrour of the Citizens, who were the more affraid, that the Duke of *Norfolke* upon the killing of a Priest of his in *Cheape*, was reported to have said (as our Historians have it) in some passion, *I pray God I may*

may once have the Citizens in my danger. This (though perchance a Calumny, forg'd against the Duke) wrought so, that they thought themselves over-rigorously dealt with, in that the Statute *secundo Henry the 5. Chap. 6.* (which makes breakers of Truce, and safe-Conducts guilty of high Treason) was extended against them, though repealed afterward, 20. *Henrici sexti.* Howsoever, much mercy was shewed; For, of two hundred seventy eight persons which were Prisoners, *Lincolne* onely, who was thought the most seditious, and three or foure more were hang'd, drawne, and quarter'd; the rest, who were about tenne, suffer'd nothing extraordinary in their death, but that for the more example they were hang'd on Gibbets erected in the streets. All the others were thus pardon'd; The Recorder of *London*, and divers Aldermen coming in Black to Court, and desiring most humbly to be heard, the King, after some admonition and check, as if the better sort had conniv'd at this Riot, referres the rest to the Cardinall, then Lord Chancellor. In conclusion, the King sitting in *Westminster*, and being attended with his principall Nobility and Officers, and the Lord Major; all the Prisoners in white shirts, and halters about their necks (into which habit divers also, (not yet discovered) put themselves, to be capable of the King's Pardon) did, upon their knees, crave Mercy. Which the King gratioufly accorded, permitting also the Gibbets, which much scandaliz'd the Cittizens, to be taken downe.

Shortly after, the sweating sicknesse (call'd for the propriety by which it seized on the English Nation cheifely, *Sudor Anglicus*,) did much infect the Kingdome, being of that malignity, as within the space of three houres it kill'd. This caused the King to leave *London*, and adjourning three Termes 1517, to remove *Trinity Terme*, 1518. to *Oxford*, where yet it continued but one day, and was adjourned againe to *Westminster*. Neverthelesse divers Knights Gentlemen and Officers in the Kings Court dyed thereof; as the Lord *Clinton*, Lord *Grey of Wilton*, and others of quality, the vulgar sort so commonly perishing, as in some Townes it tooke away halfe the People, in others the third part.

Let us look now a while on forraigne businesse. *Maximilian* continuing the forementioned Treatyes with our King, concerning divers publike affaires, and particularly that of Rendring the Empire, was desired by King *Henry*, to give him a meeting in the Low-Countries. But *Maximilian* returning answer, That to excuse that labour he would come over into *England*, King *Henry* sent the Earle of *Warcester*, and Doctor *Cuthbert Tonstall* to him, * lately then come into *Flanders*. But as *Maximilian* was a Prince of great dissimulation, they observed in him, that while on the one side he entertain'd our King with the offer of the Empire, &c. on the other he continued his Treaty (begun in *December* last) with the French. Besides, his Grand-child *Charles* refused to confirme the late

1517

May. 7.

May. 11.

May 22.

July.
Hall.

* Jan.

Octob. 29.
1516.

1517.

Octob. 29.

a Mey.

b March. 11.

a Aug.

b Decem.

1516

March. 26.

1517.

late League with our King. So that our Agents thought fit to represent to his Grace how little was to be expected; because the Emperour varied so much in his offers; Sometime saying, hee would resigne the Empire to *Henry* the eighth, and himselfe remaine King of the Romans; which honour his posterity should inherit. Sometimes, that he would resigne the Empire to *Charles* of *Castile*, and make *Henry* King of the Romans, and his Grand-child *Ferdinand* King of *Austria*, and himselfe Marshall of the Empire, that so he may be equall to the Electors. But as Doctor *Tonstal* advertised the King, That the Emperour must be Elect out of the German Nation: That King *Henry* in accepting the Empire, must confesse *England* to be under the Empire; Lastly that he must be first King of the Romans, when yet the Emperour had declared he meant to hold that Title still: So our King rejected these Propositions, as Vain, and Artificiall only to draw money from him; And our Agents return'd having only obtained, at last, an Oath from *Charles* and Queen *Joane*, his Mother, for performance of the late Treaty at *London*, with some small alterations. *Maximilian* also, about the same time^a departed out of *Flanders*, having^b first concluded a League at *Cambrai* betwixt himselfe, *Francis*, and his Grand-child *Charles*, by which they confirmed the League at^c *Noyon*, and^d *Bruxells*, resolv'd on a warre against the Turke; (as it was now projected in the Councell of *Lateran*,) and appointed an interview for all three in *April* or *May* following. Place also was left for the Pope to enter as Protector thereof, and for King *Henry*. This being advertis'd to our King, made him thinke how to defend *Tournay*, and therefore caus'd a Cittadell to be built there; not neglecting together to prevaile himselfe of the Pope's mediation for a Generall Peace. Which, as it was willingly imbraced, so our King was intreated to send him two hundred thousand Duc-kats (on security) for that Warre, which yet it was thought the Pope would employ for some affaires in *Italy*. Who also sent a *Croisade* and *Indulgences* into *Germany*, *England*, and many other places: The conditions of which were, That, whosoever performed certaine Religious Rites, and paid certaine sums of Money, should have their sinnes forgiven. Neither was there, in the use of these *Indulgences*, that distinction of Persons or sins made, which from so grave a Pastor might be expected, so that (promiscuously) all men, who would come to the price, (as some Authors have it) were not only promised everlasting blisse, but made capable of delivering the soules of others out of Purgatory. When those *Indulgences* first came forth, no divine worship in the West parts of *Europe*, but what the Church of *Rome* prescrib'd, was publicly knowne. For though some opposers of the Papall Authority had appear'd long since, yet wanting those supporters who might establish and uphold their doctrine, it quickly fail'd. Some of their impressions yet were deriv'd to Posterity; though in so obscure

obscure and perplex'd a manner, that they served rather to shew errors, then rectifie them; forming (for the rest) no eminent and visible body, or at least no other then such as quickly disappear'd. So that all those, who for the present dissented inwardly from any opinion commonly taught, kept yet the unity of the Church. Of which kind though (I doubt not) there were many, yet by distinguishing in private only the good doctrines from the ill, they both conserv'd their consciences, avoyded Schisme, and maintained towards God, and among themselves an uniformity; being therein not unaptly compared to sheep, and other Creatures, who in pastures; where both wholesome, and hurtfull hearbs grow, choose yet only the better sort. While thus, they might not only reach to Antiquity in all times, but universality in all places; since not the men (who may erre) but the doctrine giveth the true denomination unto the Church. It will be enough therefore that there was alwayes a Catholique, and a visible doctrine in the more important parts thereof. And thus were all controversies (save those which the subtilties of the Schoolmen brought forth) declined. Neither did men thinke themselves bound to study the intricacies, and sophismes of Authors, in matters impertinent to salvation; but were contented with a single faith in God, the comfort of a good life, and hope of a better upon true repentance; taking the rest for the most part upon the faith of the Church. By which meanes as Peace was generally conserv'd, so it was not doubted by those who search'd into the primitive times, but that together divers new doctrines (if not errors) were crept into the Church discipline. Among which some, yet, might have beene more excusable, had not they not beene so severely commanded, that the common sort understood them for little lesse then necessary Articles of faith. While thus they were held in much subjection, as being not able sufficiently to distinguish the true and essential parts from those that were added only for conveniency or Ornament. But as learning now (the benefit of Printing) became publique, so almost all men, either through reading or conversation, were literate. Insomuch, that they durst looke into the principles of Religion, and take upon them to discusse the parts thereof. Among these, none was more famous then one *Martin Luther*, an Hermit Fryar about thirty two yeares old, living about this time at *Witenberg* upon the *Elbe*, within the Dominions of *Fredericke* Duke of *Saxony*. This man, having observed divers things, not mention'd in the Beleeefe, call'd *Symbolum Apostolorum*, to be introduced lately, examines all; beginning first with the *Indulgences* that came out this yeare; though so modestly, as he advertis'd only his superiour the Arch-Bishop of *Mayentz* of some abuse therein, and pray'd Reformation; not omitting together, as he was of an acute, but vehement wit, to set forth ninety five conclusions, and preach publicquely, against them; (which yet hee submit-

I. Sleidan. l.
I. Comment.

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1518.Concil.
Trid. l. 1.

submitted to the Pope by Letter dated in *June 1518*) *Maximilian* also, foreseeing whither these divisions might tend, (and the rather that he found them favoured not onely by *Fredericke* Duke of *Saxony* but divers other great Personages) wrote to the Pope, desiring him to moderate things so, as all cause might be taken away, not only of disputations, but concerning impertinent points of Religion. But as the Pope, about those times, had, (betwixt publique affairs and private liberalities) so exhausted the ecclesiasticall Revenue, as it was necessary to supply the wants thereof by extraordinary meanes, he pursued his designe using therein much the help of *Lorenzo Pucej* Cardinall *Sanctorum* the fourth; who, finding the Schisme of the Councell of *Pisa* so farre extinguish'd, as the Roman Church needed not feare to reassume her former Authority, confirm'd the Pope therein. So that, though for not above foure hundred yeares, they had taken on them this and divers authorities, not known before, he perswaded their continuance, least any thing of that kind should seeme invalid, or usurped; Especially, where the pretence was, if not the same, yet of a like condition. Whereupon looking further into Records, and finding that *Urban* the second, had not only given *Indulgences* to those, who went Personally to the War of the Holy Land; but that his successors had bestowed them on such, who being not able to goe would maintaine a Souldier there; And lastly having discovered that they were granted even against those that were disobedient to the Roman Church, and also to those who gave Money for building or repairing Churches in *Rome*, &c. He neither question'd their Right, nor *Leo* contradicted it; both as he had many needy kinsmen and favorites, and as it maintain'd his Authority. Whereupon, a war against the Turkes, being projected, He sent forth these *Indulgences*, granting, besides the liberty of eating Eggs and White-meats on Fastingdayes, of choosing their Confessor, and some such habilites. Had this yet beene all, lesse scandall had followed. But without regard to the end for which they were given, He, by way of anticipation, bestowed on severall Persons the Money to be levyed; Assigning, among others, to *Magdalen* his Sister, and wife to *Francesco Cibo* (naturall Sonne to Pope *Innocent* the eighth) all that quarter from *Saxony* to the Sea Side. And the rather, that in Contemplation of this Marriage, himselfe had been made Cardinall at fourteen yeares old 1489, and therein given a beginning to the Ecclesiasticall greatnesse of the house of *Medici*. Besides, he was indebted to *Cibo* for his entertainment at *Genoia*, at what time he was forced to fly the persecution of *Alexander* the sixt. They again Committing this businesse to *Arembaldo* a Bishop, but a Covetous person, much rapine was used: The *Indulgentes* (as is said) being generally granted to such as gave most for them. And as this caused much offence, so againe the Fryars Hermits, (by whom they were ordinarily dispenced) were not a little troubled,

troubled, that the Dominicans had now charge thereof. All which, together with the sinfull and inordinate life of certain Commissioners deputed under *Arenbaldo*, for those Levyes, together with the so notorious a Sale of twenty Cardinallships (as *Sandaval* himself dissembles it not) Anno 1517. being notified, occasion'd these following revolutions, which take up a great part of this History. For, as these *Indulgences* (upon further examination,) were found to be no elder then is above mentioned, nor much confirmed but by a Bull of *Clement* the six. 1350. (who abridged *Iubilees* from every hundred yeare to the fifty eth,) nor Anciently practis'd at all, but for relaxation of Pennances, or Ecclesiasticall discipline (without that they were said to deliver from any thing towards God) many exceptions were taken against them; so that, though to the Merits of such Saints as did works of supererogation (being a treasure which might be consumed) they had added the Merits of Christ, by way of supply; yet *Luther* and others after him, vexed all this againe, with that successe which shall be told hereafter. Neither did there want such as opposed them in *England* amongst whom, one who was zealous of Gods Honour and the publique good, observing that not onely sinnes towards God, were pardoned for Money, but offences towards the Law compounded for at no great Rates (as shall be told more particularly in its place where it will appear to what excesse this abuse grew) spake after this manner to some of the principall Clergy. That punishments might have been left to God, but that they serve to deterre others. But who would be affraid now, when he knowes at what he may put away his crimes? Of what use would our threatenings for sinnes be if they grow so contemptible as a little sum of money would discharge them, is not this to make heaven venall, doth not this reflect so much on Christian faith, that it makes a new price for sinne? Beleeve me my Lords, to make our faults cheape, is to multiply them, and to take away not only that reverence is due to vertue, but to dissolve those bonds which knit and hold together both civill and Religious worship. For when men see what they are to pay for their faults, what will they care for other redemption? I would I could say we were already fallen under some disesteem, when by our enjoyning of easie fasting, Prayer and some little Almes, men finde they suffer no more than what they would gladly endure to sinne again; for who is the leaner or poorer for our penances? let us not then make the Mysteries of Salvation mercenary, or propose everlasting happinesse on those terms, that it may be obtain'd for money, which we find so seldom yet without deceit or mischief. Let mens sins rather lye against them still then open such easie wayes to remit them; And take this advice in good part, since it so much concernes us all. What effect yet this Advise tooke will appear hereafter.

The dissensions of *Italy* being for the present compos'd, *Francis*

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first thought himsele at leasure, now to resent our Kings afflicting of *Maximilian*. But (saith *Polydore*) because he considered as well, that hee should get nothing that way, and that withall hee was inform'd this businesse cost our King so much, that the losse thereof might be taken for a resonable Revenge; (for I find in our Records that in one year it cost our King five hundred thousand or six hundred thousand Ducats,) He dissembled the matter. Therefore Converting Malice into Guile, his only labour was how to corrupt the Cardinall; whom at length, between Bribes and flatteries, hee so dexterously won, that hee durst commit his designs to him. These yet were such, as the Cardinall would not abruptly disclose to the King. Therefore he said not much at a time of them, nor without making the King first some Present; which yet (saith *Polydore*) was but part of that which *Francis* gave him; so that while the King considered the workmanship or rarity of the Gift, he would Convey his meaning, and give these impressions he most desired should remaine in the Kings mind. At these opportunities, he made no difficulty to say, that *Francis* sought to him by Letters earnestly (concealing in the meane while his large bribes) and that all this did reflect on his Majesty whom that King did addresse himselfe to, by his mediation. That others perchance would suppress and hide these things, as being enough to breed suspicion, but that hee would ever proceed clearly and openly with his Majesty. According to which liberty hee would take the boldnesse to advise, That, since the French King did sue to His Majesty in so submisle a way, as to begin at his servants, that hee could not but thinke hee was in earnest: And for *Maximilian* (as being often disoblig'd) little helpe, or indeed trust could be expected. Our King also considering that so much hereof was true, that if hee could not make friendship with *Francis*, it were not amisse yet to avoyd Warre, embraces the motion. Of which *Woolsey* makes his advantage, and brings againe another Message from *Francis*, to such effect, that our King said openly, that hee saw well now *Woolsey* would governe them both. The French King, having obtained this interest in the Cardinall, besides new Gifts, sends him divers Letters, terming him therein *Dominus* and *Pater*, and his advices Oracles, till at last hee thought hee might open unto him his Designe of having *Tournay* redelivered for a certaine summe of money. *Woolsey* promiseth his assistance, and hereupon brings the businesse to the King, and from thence, by his Command, to the Councell: where hee openly declares, what vast summes it had cost the King to winne *Therouene* and *Tournay*; in the former of which yet hee had got nothing but the gratyfying of an unthankfull Person, which was *Maximilian*; in the other little else but a number of unusefull,

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unusefull and suspected subjects; who that they might be kept in order and obedience, would cost more then they were worth. The charge of the Garrison alone being above twelve thousand pound yearly; besides that of Convoyes, and Ammunition. That, after all this expence, yet, wee could hold it no longer then it pleased either of the two Princes, between whose Dominions it stood; since being so remote from the English Pale, it was improbable that from thence wee could succour it; so that it were better to let it goe fairely, as for a summe of Money, or the like, then to strive to hold it under so weake and dangerous a Title, as the sufferance of his Enemies; One of which, being *Francis*, he thought by the restitution thereof might be obliged to be his friend, and the affront he might receive through the taking it by force, avoyded. Neither could *Maximilian* take it ill in point of Justice, if we restor'd to *Francis* a Towne formerly in his possession. This being done, that it were most expedient for all Christendom to joyn in League with one another, and against the Turke, who lately had made himselfe formidable. These reasons were valid enough, had they not come from so false a ground as the corruption of the Cardinall; (which *Polydore* continually inculcates:) therefore they were embrac'd by all, but especially the Bishop of *Durham*, now Lord Privy-Seale; only it was requir'd, how much that money was, and of what kind those conditions were? whereupon it was declar'd, that if it pleas'd the King to heare the Ambassadors of *Francis*, he had already demanded leave for them to come over, which also he had reason to endeavour; for as I find by our Records, He and *Nicolas de Villeroy* the French Resident, had in a manner concluded the businesse in private already. This being granted, *Guillaume Gouffier Seignieur de Bonivet* and Admirall of *France*, and *Estinne de Poncher* Bishop of *Paris* * came, with an unruly number for an Ambassade, (their Traine being twelve hundred) unto *Greenwich*; The French yet, betwixt Pride and dissimulation, thought fit not to begin at the businesse they most desired to effect. Therefore their first overture was a proposition for a League in Generall betwixt all Christian Princes against the Turke, projected by the Pope the yeare before. That the Authors hereof should be both their Majesties. That the Pope, Emperour, and King of *spaine* should be admitted hereunto, as principall contractors, (if they desired it,) within a certain time, and their Allyes and Confederates as comprehended only. This being taken into consideration, upon the second of *October* 1518. a League was concluded; which, for being singular in it's kind and an excellent Precedent for peace to the future Ages, I shall more at large recite, both out of our and the French Records; and the ra-

July. 9.
Records.
* Sept. 30.

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March. 16.

Octob. 2.

1518

ther that it seemed to have been the rule by which our King framed his Actions many yeares after, as will appeare in this History.

That perfect friendship and amity should continue for ever betwixt them, and their successors, by Land and Sea; (wherein likewise all their Subjects and Allyes were to be comprised.) That they should be the friends of the friends, and the enemies of the enemies of each other; in somuch, that, if any of the said Confederats, or other being a stranger to them, should invade any of the said Confederats present Dominions, they should give the said Assailant an Admonition to desist and make reparation; which if he did not, within the space of a moneth accept, they should declare themselves his enemies, and two moneths after, both by Sea and Land, make warre against him, at an equall charge; allowing for this purpose free passage through each others Dominions, paying only for what was taken. That if civill warres did arise in any of their said Countries, none of the Confederats should meddle; unlesse the said civill wars were kindled and maintained by some forraigne Prince. That no one of the Confederats should suffer their subjects to bear Armes against the other, or should levy any forces of strangers, to be imployed against the said Confederats; upon paine of being held a violater of the said League; which notwithstanding should hold firme among the rest. That none of the said Confederats should take the vassall or subject of the other into protection, without the consent of the King to whom formerly he owed obedience: That all Rebels, Traytors, or suspected of high-treason, and fugitives should not be received, entertain'd or favour'd, in any of the Dominions of the said Confederats: but that, after twenty dayes warning and requisition, they should be remanded. That the Pope should have notice of this League; upon condition yet, that, if he accepted these Articles within four moneths after, he should be a principall contractor in this League, and name his Allyes also. That all the Princes before named should, within the space of four moneths, be received as principall Contractors, if they desire it, otherwise not, without declaration and request to the said two Kings. That any other King, Potentare, or chiefe Lord, might upon his suite, be admitted to have the benefit of this Confederation, but not as a principall Contractor. Lastly, That, howsoever other Princes should observe or accept the said Treaty, that yet it should remaine inviolable betwixt them two.

Decemb. 31.

Let the tenth hereupon, though more desirous of a Generall Confederacy against the Turke, accepted this League, as an Introduction thereunto upon the last of *December* following, naming together some lesser Allyes whom he desired might be comprisd, the Venetians having been nominated already both by *Henry* and *Francis*; upon mature deliberation also, *Charles* King of *Spaine* entered into it, and the rather that *Maximilian* the Emperor, conceiv'd

ceiv'd that all Christian Princes might the sooner be dispos'd thereby to war against the Turke. Though as he died shortly after, the League seemd restrain'd chiefly to *Henry, Francis, and Charles*, and particularly to the first contractors, though not with such confidence and fervency as it first began. To reinforce this Treaty also, (which was but an Introduction to another) *Francis* did propose a match betwixt the Dolphin his sonne, and the Princessse *Mary*, which accordingly was * concluded two daies after, upon these conditions.

That our King should give with his daughter 333000 Crownes, and *Francis* as great a Joynture as any King of that Countrey ever gave. That within foure moneths the Sponsals should be made by the two Kings in their Childrens name. That if the Dolphin died before this marriage, the next sonne of *Francis* should take the Princessse on the same conditions. And if the Princessse died first, the Kings next daughter (if he had any) should be given. For further Testimony of this desired Allyance, our King condescended also to restore *Tournay, Mortaigne, and Saint Amand*, and the Territories adjacent, upon the payment of six hundred thousand Crownes, at certaine termes. For which payment, as also performing of the marriage, sufficient hostages should be delivered to the said *Francis*. That yet out of this summe the said *Francis* might detain 333000 Crownes, for the aforesaid Dowry of the said Princessse *Mary*, in case she did not Inherit the Crowne of *England*. That the said French King should pardon, and take into his favour all the Inhabitants of the said City of *Tournay*, and places adjacent, reserving to them all ancient priviledges; and that King *Henry* should thereupon release the Oath of obedience they had made him. That, whereas the Citizens of *Tournay* did yet owe to King *Henry* twenty three thousand livres, which now the French King had stipulated to pay, he should substitute the French King to receive it of them againe. That King *Henry* might carry from *Tournay* all the Artillery, Munition, and Instruments of war, either offensive, or defensive, Victuals, &c. That in case the Marriage intended should take no effect, by the default of *Francis*, that then *Tournay* should be delivered back againe to King *Henry* or his Heires, together with the profits received in the mean while, without any deduction for reparation of the said place. And that the Inhabitants thereof should be discharged from all superiority or Oath of Obedience made or acknowledged to the said French King: Upon condition that the said King *Henry* should restore the said French King the summe of six hundred thousand Crownes, or so much as he should receive thereof. But if the Impediment for Marriage should happen on the part of King *Henry*, that then, upon payment of the intire summe of six hundred thousand Crownes, *Tournay* should remaine to the French King. And herein our Records and *du Gillet* do so concurre, as the chiefe difference seems

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Jan. 12.
1519.

Octob. 4.

Tillet.

1518.

July 16.

1517.

Tillet.

*Octob. 11.

*Decem. 14.

Decemb. 19.

1519.

Feb. 8.

Hall.

seems to be onely about the summe of 500000 Crownes, which our Records say was the penalty on either side, for non-performance of the Marriage. There was also at the same time a Treaty concerning the Admiralties in both Kingdomes, having relation to one made the yeere precedent July 16. and that of April 5. 1515. By which it was agreed, that all suits, upon occasion of depredation by Sea, might, from the Ordinary Judge be removed to London before the Admirall and Vice-Admirall, or their Deputies, and the Master of the Rolls of England; And at Roien before the Admirall and Vice-Admirall of France, their Lieutenants; and the first President of the Parliament in Normandy; who, upon appeale of the parties on either side, were bound to give a definitive sentence within the space of one yeere; which in case of necessity might be executed by strong hand, or maine force. The said Appeales yet might be brought before the Kings Councell on either side, there to be determined definitively within the space of six moneths, &c. All things being thus settled for future quietnesse, the Princeesse Mary was promised and * betroathed to the Dolphin in Saint Pauls in London. And the Earle of Worcester, with Nicolas West now Bishop of Ely, and a Traineequall to that of Bonivet, were sent to require performance from Francis, who thereupon * tooke his Oath, gave eight Hostages for payment on the Rendition of Tournay, and contracted the Sponsals in the name of his sonne. In sequence whereof, Febr. 8. following, the Earle of Worcester delivered Tournay, though not unwillingly, since it was the Kings pleasure, yet with so much scruple (having been by the name of Lord Herbert at the taking thereof) as he would not suffer the Mareschal de Chastillon to enter it with Banner displayed, but rolled up, it being (as he said) voluntarily yeelded, and not gotten by conquest. Our Writers adde, that by Francis foure hundred thousand Crownes were allowed our King, for the building of the Cittadell; but because neither the French nor our Records (from whom I have taken the effect of these Treaties) mention it, I leave it to the discretion of the Reader. Onely I must not forget what I finde concerning the Cardinals satisfaction in this partieular, who had twelve thousand Livres Tournois yeerely, for relinquishing the Bishopricke of Tournay. As for the other chiefe Counsellors, Polydore saith, a certaine summe of money should be distributed among them by the French King, *ita ut consuevissent facere olim ejus Majores.*

Thus was Tournay restor'd again to the French, however divers concurrent Articles were not performed afterwards, as wil appear.

Howbeit, it was agreed betwixt them, that John Duke of Albany should not be permitted to returne to Scotland any more; it being not thought fit by our King, that one who was next in succession to James his Nephew, should have charge over him. Moreover, it was agreed that this young King should be comprehended

ded in the League. This particular being resolved a good while since, though not fully signed till now, was the cause that Queen *Margaret** returned to *Scotland*; where her Husband met her at *Barmicke*; yet so, as there was not thence forth that intire love formerly observed betwixt them. Our Ambassadors being still in *France*, the Bishop of *Ely* went to see the Queen at *Amboise*, from whence he certified our King, that he saw the Dauphin (now almost a yeere old) and imbraced and kissed him. Four daies after the above mentioned Treaty, being the eighth of *October* 1518. another was concluded for an interview betwixt the Kings accompanied with their Queenes, and Madame *Louise* the mother of *Francis*, and their Household Officers. The time appointed was the last of *July* 1519, at *Sandinsfeld* in *Picardy*, or some other Neutrall place, according as their Deputies on either side should advise; which upon the first of *April* following were to meet together for this purpose.

While affaires past thus with *France* and *Scotland*, the Pope sent *Laurentius Campegius* Cardinall as Legate, hither; to procure a generall League among Christian Princes (or at least a quinquennall Truce) for a war against the Turke. Besides, he gave him Authority to demand a Tenth from our Clergy, as also a Commission (specified in a Bull) wherein Cardinall *Woolsey* and Himselfe had Legatine power to visit Monasteries. This Legate (called by *Polydore*, *Inter Juris-consultos Jure-consultissimus*) comming to *Calais* was desired by our Cardinall to stay there, as our * Historians write till he had procured from *Rome* that *Woolsey* might be joynd in the foresaid Commission with him; But, as I finde in our Records and *Polydore*, untill he had obtained from the Pope, that *Hadrian de Castello* the Cardinall (now in Prison for a conspiracy against the Pope) might be devested from the Bishopricke of *Bath*, and the dignity conferred on him; of which also he had the greater hope, that the Pope (as I finde by our Records) had condemn'd him for the said Conspiracy. Besides, it was the care of our Cardinall, to suffer none to have accessse to our King, whom he had not first obliged. Therefore our Cardinall presented him, together with a promise to assist him for the Bishopricke of *Salisbury* when it should fall, some red Cloth to apparell his Traine, which otherwise were but poorely cloth'd. To suit this also the * night before his comming to *London*, he sent him twelve Mules, with empty Coffers fairely covered; some of which yet were overturned and broken in his passage * through the City, to the great shame of *Campegius*. Who finding at last his demand for a tenth rejected by our Clergy, advertises the Pope, and proceeds to the other point of visiting Monasteries. But our cunning Cardinall thinking himselfe able enough to discharge this Office alone, (while *Campegius* stayd in *England*) dispatches *Iohn Clarke* Doctor of Law to the Pope, both to give account of this businesse, and to

1518.

May 18.

1517.

Octob. 8.

June 29.

* Hall.

Antiq. Brit.

Polyd.

July 28.

July 29.

1518

*Dat. June
10. 1519.

to obtaine the whole power for himselfe. This *Clarke* comming to *Rome* negotiated by our Kings commandment, so well on the Cardinals behalfe, that he obtained from the Pope a * Bull, whereby (*Campegius* being now revolted) he was made Legat à Latere, and enabled to visit not onely Monasteries, but all the Clergy of *England*, and dispence with Church Lawes for one yeere next ensuing the date thereof. Which though it gave him great power, ministred much offence; as abridging the Bishops power, and scandalizing the whole Clergy, who were so defam'd by the Cardinals information, that they were termed *Dati in reprobum sensum*, and the like, in the originall Bull among our Records, which I should have inserted in *toto contextu*, but that it is too long and infamous to the Hierarchy, and all Religious persons. And now (saith *Polydore*) the Cardinall his pride did so prodigiously increase, that on solemne Feast daies, he would say Masse after the manner of the Pope himselfe; not onely Bishops and Abbots serving him therein, but even Dukes and Earles giving him Water and the Towell. Besides, not contented with the Crosse of *Torke* to be carried before him, he added another of his Legacy, which two of the tallest Priests that could be found, carried on great Horses before him. Insomuch (as *Polydore* saith) it grew to a Jest, as if one Crosse did not suffice for the expiation of his sinnes. All this yet was but a kind of prelude to that which followed. For, erecting a particular Court of Jurisdiction, which he called the Legats court, and placing in it as Judge one *Iohn Allen* Doctor of Law, thought to be a perjur'd wicked person, all manner of Rapines and Extortions were committed there. For making enquiry into the life of every body, no offence escaped censure and punishment, unlesse privately they gave money; of which they found two commodities: one that it did cost lesse, the other that it exempted them from shame. Thus as the Rules of conscience are in many cases of a greater extent, then those of the Law, so he found meanes to search even into their secretest corners. Besides, under this colour he arrogated power to call in question the Executors of Wills, and the like. He summond also all Religious persons of what sort soever before him; who, casting themselves at his feet, were grievously chidden, and terrified with expulsion, till they had compounded. Besides, all Spirituall Livings that fell were conferred on his creatures. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* understanding how all orders were thus Ransack'd by the Cardinall, goes to the King, and acquaints him with it. The King replies, that he should not have heard hereof but by him; adding, that no man is so blinde any where, as in his owne house; Therefore, I pray you, said he, Father, goe to *Woolfsey*, and tell him, if any thing be amisse, that he amend it. This grave person hereupon admonishes him, and afterwards particularly told him, that in meddling with the last Wills and Testa-

Polyd. Virg.

Testament of the dead, he assum'd a power, not so much as claim'd by the Pope himselte, and for disposing some Benefices in the gift of the Nobility, and other great Persons, he thought he usurped too much upon them. All the use *Woolsey* made thereof was to hate the Archbishop, with whom he was formerly offended; onely because (as *Polydore* hath it) he styled himselte in the subscription of his Letter *Gulielmus Frater Cantuariensis*. Yet least the Archbishop should doe him ill Offices, he temperd his speech for the time. But shortly after his Agent *John Allen* being accused by one *John London* a Priest, it appeared sufficiently that all the former Allegations against *Woolsey* were true; which made our King rebuke the Carinall so sharply, that after that time, he became, if not better; yet more wary then before; At this time also certaine abuses about Sanctuaries were taken away by the Kings Authority in sequence of a Bull granted to that purpose by *Julius* the second 1564. June 19. to King Henry the seventh.

Let us turne our eyes on forraine busineses, now somewhat intermitted. *Charles* intending a journey into *Spaine*, the French King offerd him the convenience of passing through *France*, and Hostages for security, together with the Keys of the Cities he should goe thorough; but *Charles* (as our Ambassadors write) refused, saying, if he landed any where it should be in *England*. According to which Resolution, taking ship, he came to *Spaine* Aug. 25. 1517. as *Sandoval* hath it, (our Records say he set not to Sea till Sept. 8.) where he found things much discomposed, through the severity of the Cardinall *Ximenes*. Besides, there wanted not suspition that many would have set up his brother *Ferdinand* against him, whom therefore he shortly after sent to *Flanders*. Howsoever *Ximenes* dyed, not without probability that he was poysoned; though by whom is uncertaine. *Charles* his first Art was calling a Cortes or Parliament in *Castilla* and *Leon*, which passed not without trouble; there being no little contention whether the People should first sweare obedience to *Charles*, or he the observance of their ancient Laws, Liberties, and Priviledges, which yet at last was so temper'd, as they came neere in time together; though, for conserving the Royall dignity, some particular persons were induced to sweare first. He also caused Jousts and Tourneyes to be held according to the manner of that age: Into which *Sandovall* saith, sixty Cavalieres entred, their Lances pointed with Diamonds, who also encountred so roughly that most of them were overthrowne and sore hurt, and twelve Horses kill'd; Though yet this was little in regard of a Jousts that* followed, at which seven of the Actors were kill'd outright; wherein neverthelesse *Charles*, though very young, appeared, breaking three Lances in foure Carieres. After this, establishing some Laws, and obtaining some money from his people, he went to *Aragon*, where he called a Cortes likewise; and shortly after,

1520.

1517.
August.

Sept. 7.
1517.

1518.
Jan.

1518.
March 4.

1519.

* 1517.

1518.

Aug.

May 20.

June 20.

Jun. 28.

Sandoz.

(hearing, that since the death of *Herrnc Barbarossa* (who from a low fortune & birth made himself first a formidable Pirat, then *King of *Argiel*) *Hariadin Barbarossa* his brother, succeeded in that kingdom; and in the exercise of Piracy,) sent *Don Hugo de Moncada* Vice-roy of *Sicily* to *Argiel*, with as ill successe as their expeditions thither have commonly proved. Not long after which, newes was brought him of the death of *Louise* of *France*, whom by the Treaty of *Noyon* he should have married, and of the sicknesse of *Maximilian*; who, now growing old and infirme, determined to make one of his Grandchildren Emperor: Assembling for this purpose a Diet at *Augsburgh*, and proposing particularly *Ferdinand*; as believing the Electors would sooner choose him, then greaten any other Prince with that Accession. But as he alone could not dispose this businesse, so both *Francis* and *Charles* were earnest in it. Our King also not omitting to discover how *Germany* stood affected to him. And the rather, that the Pope, as I finde by our Records, did encourage him thereunto. *Maximilians* death upon a dissenterly *January 12. 1519*, ensuing this while, *Richard Pace* was * sent to *Germany* by our King; who, in his * dispatches certified with what Ambition *Francis* and *Charles* aspired to this Dignity; saying neverthelesse, that the Electors of *Mayentz*, *Colen*, and *Triers* stood so affected, that if our King had put in sooner, and before they were engaged, he thought his Majesty might have carried it, since the Popes Nuncio there affirmed still he had Commission from his Holinesse to assist him; as being desirous it were bestowed on any rather then either *Charles* or *Francis*, but especially on *Charles*. Though at last, finding that betwixt money given, and Forces raised by *Charles*, he would prevaile, his Holinesse thought fit to comply, and give his assent: and the rather, that the Duke of *Saxony*, whom the Electors once nominated, refused it. Whereupon *June 28, 1519*. *Charles* was publicly chosen at *Francfort*; News whereof being brought to *Barcellona*, at first rejoyced; but afterwards troubled him; as considering what a burden he had undertaken, especially in a time when the *Turke* made his approaches against Christendome. Yet, were not these all his cares; For, as his Clergy in *Spaine* was so offended at the demand of a tenth of their Revenue towards a war against Infidels, that there was *Cessatio à Divinis* (as *Sandoval* hath it) for above four moneths in all the Kingdom; And as the people againe began a dangerous insurrection for the cōservation of their liberties (which endured some yeeres following, with more method then in such popular Commotions are ordinarily found) so he had much to doe at home. Besides the people in *Austria* began another no lesse dangerous in those parts, and of little lesse continuance. Againe, *Francis*, who was now in good correspondence with our King, pressed the restitution of *Navarre*, according to the Treaty of *Noyon*, and rayd him troubles in *Naples* and *Sicily*. All which important affairs yet

yet were pretermitted, onely to comply with the Ceremonie (for it was no more) of receiving the Imperiall Crowne, so secure was he of all things but his Title; onely in the midst of these afflictions, the happy newes of the discovery, and begun-Conquest of *Mexico*, and *Nueva Esparna* arrived; which though worthy a particular Relation, I shall not insert, lest I should too much increase the bulke of this History. Though for giving a taste thereunto, I shall not omit to tell my Reader, that *Hernando Cortes*, undertaker thereof, going with about foure hundred Spanish foot, and fifteen horse, and seven little field-Pieces, into many populous, but diversly affected Kingdomes, did so dexterously behave himselfe, that, playing the part sometimes of an Ambassador, and sometimes of a Souldier, he prevayld himselfe of all. And, in conclusion, notwithstanding the opposition both of his Countrey-men and Enemies, layd a foundation of a greater Dominion then any man before him did. Before yet I come to the actions of the new Emperor, I shall exhibite the description of *Maximilian* I have collected out of severall Authors.

This *Maximilian*, being King of the *Romans*, and called Emperor, though never Crown'd by that Title, gave much occasion of discourse concerning the reason thereof; some saying, he declined the charge and hazzard of going into *Italy* for receiving the Imperiall Crowne at the Popes hands; others believing, that according to his often profession, he meant first to be Emperor of *Constantinople*, which he said was his most lawfull Title. As for his education, he was a Prince brought up in much ignorance, yet studious to repaire that defect by conversation with the more learned sort. His bounty was observed such, that it extended even to the disabling him in the pursuit of his designs; wherein he made a Royall vertue criminall. He had treated with the Princes of his time, with so ill successe, that he knew not in what posture to keepe himselfe; being in the same danger for the most part, whether his faith were broken or theirs. This made him devout even to superstition. For his interprises in the war, as they were many, so they ended differently, he getting sometimes more by a bad peace, then a just war. His spare time he imployed in Poetry, writing the History of his life in Dutch verse, which booke by *Pedro Mexia* is called *Teur danct*, and another called *Puerto de la Honra*. One of his chiefeest happineses was, that his Posterity came to enjoy some of the greatest and best parts of *Europe*. He was of the Order of the Garter, and his Obsequy was solemnly kept in *St Pauls*, by our King and the Knights of that Fellowship.

Hall.

I must remember now, that at the conclusion of the Treaty with *France*, October 8. 1518. it was agreed betwixt both Princes, that there should be an interview in *July* 1519, which yet tooke not effect, because of the death of *Maximilian*, and the occasions ensuing formerly mentioned; therefore it was put off till 1520;

1519.
Records.

June.

Lesle.

March 16.

both Kings in the mean while agreeing not to cut off their Beards, till they saw each other. *Francis* having also now a second sonne, desired our King to give him his name; which our King accepted kindly, calling him *Henry*, (afterwards King, and second of that name.) Neyther did he omit any thing, which might argue his respect. Therefore he sollicitēs our Cardinall (whom he called his Father and Cousin) still with gifts, sends Presents to the Princess *Mary*, and leaves nothing unattempted which might secure him on that side, knowing well how puissant an enemy he had provoked. *Charles* on the other side, considering how much it concerned him to keep the Cardinall at his devotion, countermines *Francis* in his own way. On which occasion I shall observe, that, as since the discovery of the *Indies*, Coyn hath been much more plentiful, so greater matters have been done in these latter times by Bribes, then by the Sword; Those who have money (that is to say, a seed which will spring any thing in corrupt minds) finding meanes, either in the Authors or the Actors in busineses, to dispose them to their ends, or at least to make advantage of the intelligence they receive from them. *Francis* suspecting what might follow hereupon, provides betimes to keep the Scottish his friends; therefore though it was his motion formerly to comprise the young King and that Nation in generall within his League with *England*, yet now he strives as much to withdraw them: Therefore when our King sent to require their Oath thereunto, they refused; so that all that businesse ended in a Truce onely for one yeere. And here I must not omit to relate the Cardinals extreame Ambition; who having a designe to make himselfe Pope, did ever comply with those, who he thought might be his best assistants. Therefore now that *Charles* was grown the more potent, and that, besides it was manifest, that, to which party soever our King inclined, He would turne the Ballance, he hoped by favouring *Charles* to obtaine his desire. Neither wanted he continuall Presents on his part equall to, if not exceeding the others; so that now he rejected the assistance of *Francis*, though offering him the voyces of fourteen Cardinals (as I finde by our Records) and applies himselfe to *Charles*; Neverthelesse the designe for the Interview with *Francis* continued; which being minuted by our Ambassador Sir *Thomas Bolen*, was continued by his Successor in *France* Sir *Richard Wingfield*; among whose Dispatches (extant in our Records) I finde this passage in a Letter to the King March 16. "I have presented to the French King the
 "Sword, for the nimble handling whereof he hath nor knoweth
 "no feat, but thought it not maniable: And call'd the Admirall
 "to him, and caused him to feele the weight thereof, who shew'd
 "him that he had seen your Grace weild one more pesant.
 "But for such promise as he had made your Highnesse, he might
 "not discover it; saving that it was by meanes of a Gantlet. The
 French

“ French King desires one of those Gantlets, and he will send your
 “ Grace such a payr of *Cuirasses*, as your Grace hath not seene, the
 “ secret whereof is for the easie bearing of such weight, as rests up-
 “ on the *Cuirasses*, which is commonly born by the shoulders, and
 “ in this *Cuirasse* the shoulder beares no burden. All which I have
 set down, to awaken the industry of these times in such Invention-
 ons. I will come now to the order of the Interview, remitted both
 by our King and *Francis* unto the Cardinall's direction. Who ac-
 cordingly, upon the 12 of *March* 1520, declared this order. That,
 in regard his King was to passe the Seas, to his danger and Cost,
 and should leave his Kingdome, only to do *Francis* Honour: there-
 fore that the Interview should not be in a Neutrall place, but
 that King Henry, his Queene, and the Queen Dowager of
France should cometo *Guifnes*, and the French King, his Queen,
 and Madame *Loüyse* his Mother to *Ardres*, before the end of *May*
 next; and then that, before 4 of *June* following, King Henry should
 goe halfe a League towards *Ardres*, without passing yet the li-
 mits of *Guifnes* or the English pale, and there, in some open place,
 neere the Confines of the French, (which should be declar'd by
 deputies on either side) the said French King parting from *Ardres*
 the same day, and houre, and coming to the said place (where
 no Tent was to be pitched) should meet the said King Henry with-
 in his own Territories, and there should salute one another, and
 speake together on Horse-back, as long as they pleased. This be-
 ing done, that the French King should returne to *Ardres*, and King
 Henry to *Guifnes*. The next day that the said Kings should meet
 in some Newtrall place, to be nominated by their Deputies;
 where, after salutations on both sides, King Henry should goe to
Ardres to see and dine with the Queen of *France*, and his Mother,
 and the French King to *Guifnes*, to see and dine with the Queen of
England, and Dowager of *France*. That the said interview should
 be celebrated with *Tourneyes* and *Iousts*, and exercises of Armes, as
 well on foot, as on Horse-back, in some place chosen by the said
 Deputies, betwixt *Guifnes* and *Ardres*; which should be ditched,
 fortified, and guarded by an equall number of Persons to be ap-
 pointed by the said Kings. And that, during the said exercises
 of Armes, the Queene's and their Traine might familiarly con-
 verse together, in the evening still returning to their severall lodg-
 ings of *Ardres* and *Guifnes*. That the honour and precedence,
 should be given to them still, who came to see the other. That
 the number of the Persons and Horses permitted to be at this En-
 terview should be signed in Certaine Rolls by the said Kings, and
 should not be increased without mutuall Consent. That two Gen-
 tlemen with an equall number of followers should watch continu-
 ally upon the high-wayes, as well for surety of the said King's
 Persons, as for the safer conducting the victualls. And that these
 every night should give account, to their severall Kings and Coun-
 sellors,

1520.

March. 12.

1520.

April.

cellors, of their charge. That the Souldiers of the Garrisons of *Bouloigne* and *Calais* should not come neare, without expresse license of both Kings. I find also that it was agreed that the number of strokes at *Tourney* should be determined by the Ladies; who therefore were requir'd to come thither from all places, that could furnish beauty, and worth enough to deserve so much honour. This being Concluded, the Earle of *Worcester* on our Kings part, and *Monsieur de Chastillon* on the part of *Francis*, layd out the ground for these Triumphes, betwixt *Guisnes* and *Ardres*, but within the English pale. While these Magnificences were preparing, much discourse past betwixt both Princes, and the Ambassadors resident in either Court, concerning the Ancient formes used at great solemnities. Among which it appears, in a dispatch of *Wingfeild's*, that *Francis* told him, how hee had heard that our *Edward*, (I thinke he meant *Edward* the third,) was used at such times to have his meat carryed up by Cavaliers on Horse-back; But to let these things passe, and come to our History, I find *Francis* pursued still his point, and is so confident now of the Cardinalls favour, that he durst make an overture to him, for restoring *Calais*, and all the other Townes in the English pale, for a certain sum of Money. Neither was it ill entertain'd by the Cardinall; though the difficulty of effecting it did somewhat deterre him. For as the narrow Seas have been (time out of mind) under the Jurisdiction of the English, and that our Ships, in making and keeping the passage over, were a kind of Bridge, so it could not but seeme strange, to every man well-affected to his Country, that any Motion should be made, whereby wee might loose the further end thereof, and therein deprive our selves of a landing place. Therefore the Cardinall did not thinke fit to propose the businesse at once, nor without discovering first, how it would take with the generall sort. For this purpose, then, he would cast out these words in his ordinary speech, and at his table; whensoever there was question of forraigne businesse. What have we to doe with this *Calais*, that lyes in the Continent, and costs us more then it is worth? I would we were honestly rid of it. ¶ The time now drew neere, when, according to the Agreement, the two Kings were to meet betwixt *Guisnes* and *Ardre*. This also was seconded much by the Cardinall, who between Pride and Vanity, desir'd to see these two together; whom hee was generally thought to governe. He knew also his Presents would not be little; therefore he perswaded our King to build some such house neare *Guisnes*, as might be worthy the reception of two so great Princes. To performe this, two thousand Artificers were appointed. The Modell whereof is still extant in *Greenwich*, among those many rare Pictures, which the most vertuous Prince, King *Charles* my good King and Master hath. The Cardinall also summons the prime Nobility to attend the King this journey, with that splendour which

1520.

which might become Persons of their dignity. Some of the more thrifty sort yet, and especially the Duke of *Buckingham* repin'd hereat, laying the fault of this expence on the Cardinall chiefly, who hearing thereof, for this as well as some other causes, hereafter mention'd, resolv'd his ruine.

Charles the Emperour hearing now of these preparations for the Interview, thought fit personally to treat with our King, concerning the breaking it off, as well as all other friendship with *Francis*. For those Ambassadors whom he had sent before to the English Court for this purpose, had fayled, our King alleaging to them for all other Reasons, his promise given. Neither could they deny, but the engagement was deepe; for a King of Armes had been in the English Court on the part of *Francis*, with a Proclamation, declaring that, in *Inne* next, the two Kings, *Henry* and *Francis*, with foureteene Aydes, would, in a Campe betwixt *Ardre* and *Guznes*, answer all Commers that were Gentlemen, at *Tilt*, *Tourney*, and *Barriers*. The like Proclamation was made by *Clarenceaux* in the French Court. And yet these desies stopt not there, for they were sent by our King to the *Low-Countries*, *Burgundy*, *Germany*, and by *Francis* into *Spaine*, and *Italy*. And now our principall Noblemen had made themselves ready to attend the King. Among whom, none was so gorgeous as the Duke of *Buckingham*; who, finding the King yet not ready to set forth, went before to see some Lands he had in *Kent*. But his Tenants exclaiming there against one *Charles Kneuet* his Steward or Surveyour, for exacting on them, the Duke discharg'd him? This peice of Justice yet prov'd afterwards the cause of his overthrow, as shall be declar'd in his place, so fatall was it to that house of the * *Staffords* to suffer by their servants. Our King finding now the time of meeting to grow neere, comes to *Canterbury* May 25, intending there to passe his *Whitsontide*. This while *Charles* the Emperor had so layed his journey from *Spaine*, that the day following, himselfe accompanied with divers, not only Lords but faire Ladies comes unexpectedly to *Dover*. Our Cardinall hearing this, posted away presently, to assure him of his welcome. Our King also the next day after, very early, came to *Dover* Castle, where the Emperour was lodg'd, who met him on the stayres; where being saluted by our King, and afterwards reconducted to his Chamber, *Charles* continues his Designe to breake this Interview, as well, as all other correspondence with *Francis*: For both *Charles* and *Francis* had great Designes at that time; *Francis* desir'd to hold the territory of *Milan*, and to recover *Naples*, (which the French having * once got under *Charles* the eighth, did againe so suddenly * loose, that it seem'd no place there was strong enough, either to hold them out or keep them in) Besides, he purpos'd to re-establish *Henry d' Albret* in the kingdome of *Navarre*, according to the Treaty of *Nayon*. Againe, the Duke of *Gueldres*, being taken under his protection, he could

v.1. Rich. 3.

May. 25.

May 26.

Serres.

* 1494.

* 1495.

1520.

* 1515.

* 1516.

May. 27.

* May. 29.

* May. 30.

* May. 31.

June. 4.

Till.

could doe no lesse then defend him against *Charles*, who laboured to bring that Province into subjection. But especially, the right he conceived to have in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, he desired to conserve, against the pretences of *Charles*; who, on the other side, endeavour'd to oppose him in all these places; and was, besides, offended that *Francis*, declining an Accord made before in * *Paris*, had extorted from him new conditions in the Treaty at * *Noyon*. Therefore, knowing no Prince could so much help or hinder him in these Affaires, as our King, he offers more advantageous conditions then *Francis* did. And to make this the more acceptable yet, he had largely both presented the Cardinall, and promis'd (if ever occasion hapen'd) to make him Pope. And that he might the better in gifts exceed his Competitor *Francis*, a great part of the spoyles of *Mexico* had been brought him. In the first part our King excus'd himselfe, as being far engag'd in honour to meet *Francis*; but for the latter, he bid him be confident, as soone as this Interview was past. From thence then, our King invited him to *Canterbury*, where he gladly saw his Aunt Queene *Katherine*; the Queen Dowager of *France* also (once propos'd for his wife) seem'd very considerable, as being for her beauty much celebrated by the English and French writers. And, if we may beleieve *Polydore*, his passion in seeing of her was sad as he could not be perswaded to dance, and not that Spanish gravity, which, in his age, and amongst such company, might well have been lay'd aside. Therefore, having pass'd over the *Whitsontide* holydayes in those sports, and entertainments, which our King gave him, He * departs to *Sandwich*, whence * taking ship he arriv'd in his native Country of *Flanders*, while our King the same day past to *Dover*; and thence * with all his Trayne and company to *Calais*. The 4. of *June*, the King, two Queenes, and all the rest, who were assign'd in his Roll or List, remov'd to his Princely lodging neere *Guisnes*, being a square of timber, whereof every side contained three hundred twenty eight foot, with a Savage before it, carrying Bow and Arrowes, and the word *Cui adhæreo præest*. The parts of which great building, having been artificially framed in *England*, were now put together, and afterwards taken a sunder, and brought home. This, again, was most sumptuously furnish'd; especially the Chappell; from which a private Gallery reached to the strong Castle of *Guisnes*: The house for *Francis* (neare *Ardre*) was a Building rather great then costly, as being erected with such materials, as could be gotten in haste; his first intention being to lodge in a Rich Pavilion of Cloth of Gold; untill the wind threw it downe. Before yet these Kings met together, the Cardinall went to see *Francis*, and treat with him concerning some particulars, about the Marriage betwixt the *Dolphin* and *Princesse Mary*. The substance whereof was, (as I find by the French Records,) That after the Million of Crownes (agreed on in *May* 1515.) were satisfied, *Francis* should pay

1520.

pay at *Calais* one hundred thousand *Livres Tournois* yearly to our King, untill the Marriage were solemnized in the face of the Church; and so, during the life of the said *Henry*; after which if the *Dolphin* should in Right of his wife, be King of *England*, to her and her heires. But if the Marriage were not accomplished, then the said payment should cease. As for the differences betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, That Madame, the Kings Mother, and the Cardinall of *Tork* should determine them. All which were concluded the 6. of *June* 1520. The day following the Interview began. The Signall of departing was a warning Peice, to be shot, when either of the Kings were ready. This being given, they both issued forth royally attended. There was some stay yet, upon a report, that the numbers exceeded the lists agreed on. *Francis* stopt first, and our King afterwards; it being told him by the Lord *Abergavenny*, the French were twice as many. But the Earle of *Shrowsbury* affirming, the French were more affray'd of the English, then the English of them, they went on, Our King (being thought the goodliest Prince of his time) appearing somewhat before the rest. The French King beholding the demeanour of the English a while, rode himselfe also before his Traine, the Duke of *Bourbon* bearing a naked sword before him, and his Admirall and Master of the horse following him. Our King abserving this, caus'd the *Marquesse Dorset*, who bare the sword of Estate, to draw it, and goe on likewise. At last coming neare, and the Trumpets sounding on both sides, they both alighted in the Valley of *Andren*, and saluted each other, passing from thence Arme-in-Arme to a Tent of Cloth of Gold erected there; (the first agreement concerning these points, being it seemes so much altered.) Where, complements being pass'd on both sides, they tooke leave, and return'd to their severall lodgings, upon the 9. both Kings came to view the Campe, or place of exercise being 300 yards long and 106 broad, well ditch'd and fenc'd, save at the entries; having on the side scaffolds erected for the beholders. There were also set up two Artificiall trees (the one a Hawthorne for *Henry* our King, the other a Frambousier or Raspis-bush for *Francis*) with the Arms of the two Kings and their severall Aydes, on which also the Arttcles of Jousts Tourney and Barriers were fastned. The Ayders on the English side were the Duke of *Suffolke*, the *Marquesse Dorset*, Sir *William Kingston*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Mr. *Nicholas Carewe*, and Mr. *Anthony Knevet*. On the French party were Monsieur le Duc de *Vendosme*, Mr. de *Saint Pol*, Mr. de *Montmorancy*, Mr. de *Bryon*, Mr. de *Saint Mesme*, Master de *Brucall*, and Master *Tabanes*. To encounter these againe, divers noble Persons, and good Cavaliers came from forraine Countries; who, presenting their Armes to the Heralds, were thereupon admitted to the Exercise, being appointed upon Monday the 11. when the Queens on both sides and Ladyes coming to

June 6.

June 7.

June 9.

June 11.

1520

E. Hall.

June 16.

June 17.

June 20.

June 22.

June 24.

the place, the Kings armed themselves, with their aydes, who did weare futable Liveries on either side. I will not here particularly set downe the courses of these Champions, since *Hall*, who seemes to have been an eye witnesse, relates them at large. And lesse shall I recount their devises, approaching much to the *Rebus* of *Picardie*; according (perchance) to the manner of that time. Let it suffice that, among all, none did better (if so well) as the two Kings, and especially ours; who disabled *Monsieur de Grandeville* at the second course to runne any more that day. *Monsieur de Montmorancy* held him yet better to it, yet so, as to get no advantage. This exercise continued foure dayes together: The next day, the French King came early to *Guisnes*, with a small Trayne; our King also (after giving him his *bien-vend*) departing with the like equipage to *Ardres*: so that they pass'd that day with feasting and dancing with the Queenes, and other Ladies on either side. Only I observe our King's manner was more gentile then that of *Francois*: for, comming disguis'd in Masking Clothes, hee not only prevented Treachery against his Person, when any were intended, but avoyded contestation for precedence in his returne home, that night, when he met *Francois* by the way. On Sunday * they repos'd, for the honour of that day; and on Munday, for fowle weather. On Tuesday they continued their Courses with a like honour: On Wednesday, being the twentieth, the *Tournay* began; where with swords was a rude *Chamaillis*; yet the Kings and their Aydes beat the Counter party to disarming. Where our King, particularly, got that honour, that a brave French Nobleman with whom he fought, presented him his Horse as a gage of his being overcome. The next day our King in *Tournay* likewise brok the Poldron of *Mr. de Fluranges*, and made him depart the Campe. But this sport was so rough, that foure of the Aydes being hurt, others were substituted in their places. The 22. the Barriers began; and, after it, the casting of Hand-speares or Darts, with the Target, and fighting with the two-handed-sword. At which exercise likewise much commendations was given to either King. For Celebrating these Magnificences also, the Cardinall solemnly sung an high Masse, being attended in the most Pontificall manner. At the Close whereof, he dispenced the treasure of the Roman Church (being the Indulgences granted by *Leo* the tenth) unto the two Kings, who that day dyn'd together by themselves, their Queens eating together also in an other room: This being done, they both turn'd to Barriers where our King, with a few strokes, disarm'd his adversary. The next day our King, with his Sister Queen *Mary*, went in Masking Apparell to see the French Queen at *Ardres*, *Francois* likewise going to the English Queen. At the return they alighted, and after many Complements, Embraces, and rich Presents to each other, bid adiew the twenty fourth of June. *Polydore* observes yet, that there was some abruptnesse in

in the farwell; and saith *Francis* told our King, that our Nation did not well comply with the French in their mutuall visits. But our King putting this off discreetly, their discourse passed no further. And perchance the occasion of this *Mal-entendu*, was, that the French gave forth, *Calais* should be delivered up for Money. The next day the King and all his Traine departed to *Calais*, giving license unto many there to returne unto *England*. Upon the 10th. of *July*, the Emperour being at *Graveling* (with his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*) our King (at their Request) admits another Interview. To this purpose going towards *Graveling*, the Emperour met him the way, and conducted him thither, giving for the rest to the English all that good entertainment so little a place could affor'd. The next day, the Emperour and his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* went with our King to *Calais*, where much Maskings, and Magnificences passing, busineses yet were not forgot. For our King (together with *Monsieur de-la-Roche*, employ'd for *Francis*) read and offer'd to *Charles*, (now Emperour) the Tripartite League, signed betwixt them formerly; requiring him to enter thereunto by the name of Emperour (as I conceive it.) But the Emperour having formerly sign'd the League by the name of *Charles*, and besides desiring more the accomplishing of his designs in *Italy*, and else-where, then to confirme that agreement, so deferr'd or avoyded this proposition; that I find not what effect it presently tooke. But it is probable he was not willing to engage our King any further in the affaires, betwixt himselfe and *Francis*, as thinking that he was alone too strong for his adversary. He would also have gone out of Towne that night, being, the third after his coming; but our King using a courteous kind of violence to make him stay, the rumour went among the Emperours servants, that he was detain'd; but the next day clear'd this: for the Emperour, being conducted some part of his way towards *Graveling*, was courteously bid farwell, and presented with a brave Courser richly trapped. The French King hearing of these kind passages, and remembering particularly that *Charles*, by his first agreement had constituted our King, Arbitrer of all emergent differences, tooke this Interview extreemly ill; and the rather that he heard some muttering of a Match propos'd by the Lady *Margaret*, betwixt the Emperour and the Princesse *Mary*, though a child. Which yet was a mistake it being not treated of seriously (as the Spanish writers have it) till neare two years after; and not before the French had both broken the common League, and given new provocations by their practices in *Scotland*. Our King having now no more to doe at *Calais*, tooke the first faire wind, and, with all his Trayne, came safely into *England*.

I shall returne now to the businesse of *Luther*, whom *Leo* cited to *Rome* 1518. giving * order also to Cardinall *Cajetan* his Legat in *Germany*, to oppose his doctrine, not omitting Letters to this purpose,

1520.

E. Hall.

July 10.

July 11.

*Aug. 23.
1518.

1520

Sleid.

1518.

Octob. 19.

1518.

* Nov. 11.

Sleid. C. L. 1

1518.

* Nov. 28.

1519.

March. 3.

pose, both to *Fredericke* Duke of *Saxony*, and to the superiour of the *Augustines* in *Germany*. Whereupon *Cajetan*, in divers conferences at the dyet of *Angsburg*, labours to convert him, but in vaine. At last *Luther*, being threatned by *Cajetan* in the Pope's name, He appeales to him, in the forme usuall in these Cases, *tantum à Pontifice minus edocto ad eundem rectius edocendum*; but desires, with all, he might answer for himselfe in *Germany*, and that caution might be given for his safety; since, what was controverted by him, did not appear as yet to be positively defin'd any way by the Church. *Leo*, this while, to make good his Authority * grants new *Indulgences*, which no man should reject unlesse he would be excommunicate, &c. *Luther* finding, thus, no hope of alteration, and besides that he was branded with the name of Hereticke, * appeales from *Leo* to a Generall Councell; yet writes to the Pope, (1519) a very submisse Letter, wherein he protests; That hee was never intended to fall away from the Church. That all hee said, was chiefly intended against those who abused the power of *Indulgences*; concerning which therefore he would speake no more, so that his adversaries were likewise silenced; briefly, that hee would omit nothing, which might concerne Peace in Religion.

Maximilian dying about this time, *Luther* had some Respite. Mens eyes being turned more on him, who was to succeed *Maximilian*, then any other Argument. Besides, he seemed now unwilling any longer to dispute the Pope's Authority, to which his adversaries enviously reduced all the controverted points. Yet as *Ulricus Zuinglius* appeared about this time at *Zutich*, to consent with *Luther* in many things, and that a Letter of *Erasmus* also, dated 1519, did much encourage him, so he began to recover force. That of *Erasmus* (extant l. 6. Epistol.) telling him, he had some favourers in the *Low-countries*, but many in *England*, and among them divers principall Persons; that yet he should do well to use modesty and discretion; *Christ* having thereby both instituted his Doctrine, and his Apostle *Paul* destroyed the Jewish Law, only by referring the Doctrine and Precepts contained therein unto *Allegorie*. That he should doe well to speake against those rather who abused the Papall Authority, then against the Pope himselfe. In conclusion, that hee should take heed of doing any thing out of anger, hate, or vaine glory. *Philip Melanthon* also, a learned pious, and charitable man, did many wayes second *Luther*. Concerning all whom, and many more famous Schollers, who lived at that time, it may be observed, that had they agreed among themselves, and not ambitiously affected singularity in some one point or other, they might have found more followers of their Doctrine, and consequently have oblig'd the Pope, either to cut off some points as superfluous, or to have recommended them with more indifferency to the People. Howsoever, all these persons concurring with *Luther* in great part, gave him that courage, that

that whereas at first he disputed chiefly concerning Purgatory, true Penitency, (or Pennance,) the Office or duty of Charity, and Indulgencies and Pardons, he began now to question the Popes Authority, Images in Churches, the Calibate of Priests, and some other points tending hereunto. As this yet got him great fame, so it procur'd him many Enemies; before whom, that he might give an account of his Doctrine, he comes to Conference at *Leipsique*, 1519. accompanied with *Philip Melancthon*; where *Iohn Eccius* opposed him, desiring to begin his disputation at the Popes Authority; but *Luther*, conceiving this was to make him odious, labours to decline the question; for the rest, thinking fit onely to send unto the Pope; to whom, about the beginning of 1520, he writes to this effect. That, though he appeal'd from him heretofore to a Generall Councell, it was not with an ill minde, as having in his continuall Prayers solicited the Almighty for him. That he could not deny himselfe to be sharpe and censorious enough, when offence was given; yet that he ever thought well of his Holinesse in particular, onely it grieved him that he lived in so wicked a Court as that of his at *Rome*, which he said was now become another *Babylon* or *Sodom*; that he being amidst such people, as a Lambe among Wolves, it were pittie he should any longer reside there. That it were better for him therefore to leave all, and descend to some simple Parsonage or Living, or otherwise to maintaine himselfe with what he had gotten already, then to hazzard himselfe to such Pestilencies and Infections; That, in this advice, he did but imitate *Bernard*, who did deplore the estate of *Eugenius*, when *Rome* was far purer then at this day. In conclusion he recommends to him his late Booke entituled *De libertate Christiana*. But whatsoever *Luthers* advice was, I cannot believe him so simple, as to suppose his words had either the power or Spels to call the Pope from his seat, or that tenderesse of conscience to live among wicked persons, was enough to make him forsake, together with his charge, all his dignities and honours; therefore I believe he meant this, as the Pope himselfe understood it, onely for a Pasquill or Satyre; which made him also assemble the Cardinals, and consult with them herein, who all condemned *Luther*; yet not so, but it was wishd by some, a Reformation of divers abuses had either preceded *Luthers* admonition, or at least accompanied it at that time, when in humble and modest termes he submitted himselfe to the Church. That their arrogating supreame power in temporall things, had made divers Princes disaffect their Government, who yet embraced their Doctrine. That, therefore, it was not safe to suffer them to have an Author for deserting the Church, who had already sought occasions for it, in the late Councell of *Pisa*, and elsewhere; Neither was it a good Argument, to say that *Luther* was a dangerous person; since, the more hurt he could doe, the lesse he was to be forced to extremities; as having betwixt his

1520
Sleid.

1519.
July. 4.

April 6.

Sleid. l. 2.

1512.

1520.

June 15.

* Decem. 10.

* Octob. 23.

* Jan. 6.

1521

* April 16.

* May 8.

Octob. 10.

* 1515.

1516.

wit and favourers, enough to trouble all things: Briefly, that, to avoyd his venomous Doctrine, the best way was not to urge him to cast it forth, but rather (if it could be done handsomely) to quiet him by bestowing some Ecclesiasticall preferment. But so haughty were the major part of the spirits in this Assembly, that rejecting this Politique advice, they condemned *Luthers* bookes to the fire; but *Luther* growing hereupon but more fierce, was at length Excommunicated, and his Bookes burnt. He, on the other side, striving to revenge this, at *Witenberg* in a full Assembly of Schollers burnes* the Booke, called *Jus Pontificium*; warning men besides to take heed of the Papall Government, and Doctrines, appealing againe to a Councell. *Charles*, understanding these passages, was much troubled, as foreseeing the following dissentions. Neverthelesse, he tempered busineses so, as he held the Pope thereby in some suspence; Therefore he would not precipitate his sentence against *Luther*, or so much as censure him, till he were publicquely heard. For which purpose, (after his being * Crownd solemnly at *Aix*.) He assembled a Dyet at * *Wormbs*, whether he called *Luther*, giving him a safe Conduct also, to goe and returne. Whereupon *Luther* * came in his Fryers habit, but refusing to retract his opinions, he and his favourers were * proscribed by Decree or Edict. Howbeit, as this did rather punish then convince him; Our King (being at leasure now from warres, and for the rest delighting much in learning) thought he could not give better proof either of his zeale or education, then to write against *Luther*. To this also he was exasperated, that *Luther* had oftentimes spoken contemptuously of the learned *Thomas of Aquine*, who yet was so much in request with the King, and especially the Cardinall, that (as *Polydore* hath it) he was therefore called *Thomisticus*. Our King hereupon compiles a Booke, wherein he strenuously opposes *Luther* in the point of Indulgences, number of Sacraments, the Papall Authority, and other particulars, to be seen in that his worke, entituled *De sept. Sacramentis*; a principall copy whereof, richly bound, being sent to *Leo*, I remember my selfe to have seen in the *Vatican Library*. The manner of delivery whereof (as I finde it in our * Record) was thus; Doctor *John Clarke* Dean of *Windsor* our Kings Ambassador, appearing in full Consistory, the Pope, knowing the glorious Present he brought, first gave him his Foot, and then his Cheekes to kisse; then receiving the Booke, he promised to doe as much for Approbation thereof to all Christian Princes (which our King much desired) as ever was done for Saint *Augustines* or Saint *Hieromes* workes; assuring him withall that the next Consistory he would bestow a publique Title on our King: which having been * heretofore privately debated among the Cardinals, and those of *Protector*, or *Defensor Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, or *Sedis Apostolicæ*, or *Rex Apostolicus*, or *Orthodoxus*, produced, they at last agreed on *DEFENSOR FIDEI*. A

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Transcript of which Bull (out of an Originall *sub Plumbo* in our Records) I have here inserted.

1521

LEO Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo filio, Henrico Angliæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, salutem & amplissimam ben. Ex supernæ dispositionis arbitrio, licet imparibus meritis, Universalis Ecclesiæ Regimini præsidentes, ad hoc cordis nostri longe lateque diffundimus cogitatus, ut Fides Catholica, sine qua nemo proficit ad salutem, continuum suscipiat incrementum; & ut ea, quæ pro cohibendis conatibus illam deprimere, aut pravis mendacibusque commentis pervertere & denigrare molientium, sanâ Christi fidelium præsertim dignitate regali fulgentium doctrinâ sunt disposita, continuis proficiant incrementis, partes nostri ministerii & operam impendimus efficaces. Et sicut alii Romani Pontifices prædecessores nostri Catholicos Principes, prout rerum & temporum qualitas exigebat, specialibus favoribus prosequi consueverunt, illos præsertim qui, procellosis temporibus, & rabida Schismaticorum & Hæreticorum fervente perfidia, non solum in fidei serenitate & devotione illibata, sacro-sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ immobiles perstiterunt, verum etiam tanquam ipsius Ecclesiæ legitimi filii, ac fortissimi Athletæ Schismaticorum & Hæreticorum insanis furoribus spiritualiter & temporaliter se opposuerunt: Ita etiam nos Majestatem tuam, propter excelsa & immortalia ejus erga nos & hanc sanctam sedem, in qua permissione divinâ sedemus, opera & gesta condignis & immortalibus præconiis & laudibus efferre desideramus, ac ea sibi concedere, Propter quæ invigilare debeat, à grege dominico Lupos arcere, & putrida membra, quæ mysticum Christi Corpus inficiunt, ferro & materiali gladio abscindere, & nutantium corda fidelium in fidei soliditate confirmare. Sanè cum nuper dilectus filius Iohannes Clarke, Majestatis tuæ apud nos Orator, in Consistorio nostro coram Venerabilibus fratribus nostris Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, & Compluribus aliis Romanæ Curie Prælatis, Librum, quem

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quem Majestas Tua Charitate, quæ omnia sedulò & nihil perperam agit, fideique Catholicæ zelo accensa & devotionis erga nos & hanc sanctam sedem fervore inflammata contra erroris diversorum hæreticorum sæpius ab hac sancta sede damnatos, nuperque per Martinum Lutherum suscitatos & innovatos tanquam nobile, & salutare quoddam Antidotum composuit, nobis examinandum, & deinde autoritate nostra approbandum obtulisset, ac luculenta Oratione sua exposuisset Majestatem tuam paratam ac dispositam esse, ut, quemadmodum veris rationibus & irrefragabilibus sacræ Scripturæ ac Sanctorum Patrum autoritatibus, notorios errores ejusdem Martini Lutheri confutaverit, ita etiam omnes eos sequi & defensare præsumentes totius Regni viribus & armis persequatur; Nosque ejus libri admirabilem quandam & cælestis gratiæ rore conspersam doctrinam diligenter accurateque introspexissemus; Omnipotenti Deo, a quo omne datum optimum & omne donum perfectum est, immensas gratias egimus, qui optimam & ad omne bonum inclinatum mentem tuam inspirare, eique tantam gratiam supernè infundere dignatus fuit, ut ea scriberes, quibus sanctam ejus fidem contra novum errorum damnatorum hujusmodi suscitatore defenderes, ac reliquos Reges & Principes Christianos tuo exemplo invitares, ut ipsi etiam Orthodoxæ fidei & Evangelicæ veritati in periculum & discrimen adductæ, omni ope sua adesse opportuneque favere vellent. Æquum autem esse censentes, eos, qui pro fidei Christi hujusmodi defensione pios labores susceperunt, omni laude & honore afficere, volentesque non solum ea quæ Majestas tua contra eundem Martinum Lutherum absolutissima doctrina nec minori eloquentia scripsit, condignis laudibus extollere ac magnificare, autoritateque nostra approbare & confirmare, sed etiam Majestatem ipsam tuam tali honore ac titulo decorare, ut nostris ac perpetuis futuris temporibus Christi fideles omnes intelligant, quàm gratum acceptumque nobis fuerit Majestatis tuæ Munus, hoc præsertim

præsertim tempore, nobis oblatum : Nos, qui Petri, quem Christus in Cœlum ascensurus vicarium suum in Terris reliquit, & cui curam gregis sui commisit, veri Successores sumus, & in hac sancta sede, qua omnes dignitates ac tituli emanant, sedemus, habita super his cum eisdem fratribus nostris matura deliberatione, de eorum unamini consilio & assensu, Majestati tuæ titulum hunc, (viz.) Fidei Defensorem donare decrevimus, prout Te tali titulo per præsentem insignimus; mandantes omnibus Christi fidelibus, ut Majestatem tuam hoc titulo nominent, & cum ad eam scribent, post dictionem, *Regi*, adjungant, *Fidei Defensori*. Et profectò, hujus tituli excellentia & dignitate ac singularibus meritis tuis diligenter perpenſis & consideratis, nullum neque dignius neque Majestati tuæ convenientius nomen excogitare potuissemus : quod quoties audies & leges, toties propriæ virtutis optimique meriti tui recordaberis; nec hujusmodi titulo intumesces vel in superbiam elevaberis, sed solita tua prudentia humilior, & in fide Christi, ac devotione hujus sanctæ sedis à quâ exaltatus fueris, fortior & constantior evades, ac in Domino bonorum omnium largitore lætaberis, perpetuum hoc & immortale gloriæ tuæ monumentum posteris tuis relinquere, illisque viam ostendere, ut, si tali titulo ipsi quoque insigniri optabunt, tali etiam opera efficere præclaraque Majestatis tuæ vestigia sequi studeant; quam prout de nobis & dominica sede optimè merita est, unâ cum uxore ac filiis, ac omnibus qui à te & ab illis nascuntur, nostra benedictione, in nomine illius à quo illam concedendi potestas nobis data est, largâ & liberali manu benedicentes, Altissimum illum, qui dixit, per me Reges Regnant, & Principes imperant, & in cujus manu corda sunt Regum, rogamus & obsecramus, ut eam in suo sancto proposito confirmet, ejusque devotionem multiplicet, ac per claris pro sancta fide gestis ita illustret, ac toti Orbi terrarum conspicuam reddat, ut judicium quod de ipsa fecimus, eam tam insigni titulo decorantes, à nemine falsum aut vanum judicari possit;

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denum, Mortalis hujus vitæ finito curriculo, sempiternæ illius gloriæ consortem atque participem reddat.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo Quingentesimo Vicesimo Primo. Quinto Id. Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno Nonno.

✕ Ego Leo X. Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus ss.

Ego P. tt. S. Eusebii Presb. Cardinalis ss.

Ego A. tt. Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim Presb.

Cardinalis Bonon. ss.

Ego lau^r. Scop^{um} quatuor Coronatorum Presb.

Cardinalis maⁿ. propr^a. ss.

&c. (24 alii Cardinales.

Such was the covetousnesse of the Richer sort at this time in England, that they converted many large Corn-fields into Pasture; hereof ensued a generall decay not onely of houses, but of persons, which should doe their King and Countrey service. Besides, Sheep, Cattell, and Clothes being thus within the hands of a few, the price was much inhaunfed. To remedy this mischiefe, the King caused the ancient Statutes, provided on that behalfe, to be looked into. And accordingly directed his Commission to the Justices of Peace, to restore all the Tillage ground that had been enclosed any time within fifty yeeres last past, and to cause the houses anciently upon them to be re-edified; yet (as *Polydore* hath it) divers by compounding secretly with the Cardinall, exempted themselves.

About this time *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, eminent for his high blood, and large Revenue, drew on himselfe a dangerous suspition; which though it was againe fomented by the Cardinall, who disaffected him for some speeches he had cast forth, yet, could not have overthrown him, but that some indiscretion of his owne concurred. Besides, he suffered much through the ill offices of *Charles Knevet*, formerly mentioned; who yet durst not appeare, till he saw the Duke not onely discountenanced, but weakned in his Friends and Allies. And of these I finde two principally. One, *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*, whose daughter the Duke had married; the other *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, who had married the Dukes daughter. Against *Northumberland*, cause was taken for clayming certaine Wards; which, after close commitment, yet, he was forced to relinquish. Against *Surrey* the Cardinall proceeded otherwise. For, though he hated him for drawing his dagger at him on some occasion; yet as the Earle was more wary then to give new offence, he

he thought fit to send him away upon some honourable employment for which he found this Overture.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of Kildare, made Deputy in Ireland to Henry Duke of Yorke, (now King, who at * foure yeeres old was by his Father made Lieutenant of that Countrey) having done divers good services against Rebels, was made * Knight of the Garter, and enjoyed that place till his death; when his sonne Gerald being substitute therein, so behaved himselfe, as he likewise got much credit: though, as he had the house of Ormond his enemy, and particularly Sir Pierce Butler Earle of Ossory, secret ill-offices were done him; Nor did it availe, that he had given his sister in marriage to the said Butler, and help'd him to recover the Earldome of Ormond, detained wrongfully since the death of James, by a Bastard of that Family; For it was impossible to oblige him; especially, where he found so advantageous an occasion to dissent. For as he watch'd over the Earle of Desmond, his perpetuall adversary, since the division of Lancaster and Yorke, (in which his Ancestors were on the side of Lancaster, and the Kildares and Desmonds on that of Yorke,) he discovered more favours done the present Earle of Desmond, (whom he called a Traytor) then he thought due to him; Insomuch that he complain'd to the Cardinall, who thereupon sent for Kildare. Though Polydore saith, he came voluntarily into England to match with some English Lady, and there behaved himselfe so unrespectfully to the Cardinall, that he was cast into Prison. But whatsoever the cause was, his charge was bestowed on the Earle of Surrey, who going to Ireland in April 1520, reduced the Earle of Desmond and others to obedience.

The Duke of Buckingham being thus exposed and unfriended, the Cardinall treats secretly with Knevet, concerning him; who thereupon discovers his late Masters life; Confessing that the Duke, by way of discourse, was accustomed to say, how he meant so to use the matter, that, if King Henry dyed without issue, he would attaine the Crown, and that he would punish the Cardinall. Besides, that he had spoken hereof unto George Knevet Lord Abergavenny, who married the said Dukes daughter. By what meanes yet the Duke intended particularly to effect these designes, I doe not finde exactly set downe by Charles Knevet. Neither doe the Authors, who write hereof relate his Pedegree. Onely our Heralds say, he was descended from Anne Plantagenet daughter of Thomas of Woodstocke, sonne to King Edward the third. How farre this yet might entitle him to the Crown in case King Henry should have no issue, I have neither leisure nor disposition to examine. I shall onely therefore, for satisfaction of the Reader, select some principall points out of his Indictment; leaving the Reader, for the rest, unto the search of the Record: In which, the points that in my opinion made most against the Duke, were; First, That at

1521.

Camp. Hist. of Ireland.

* 1495.

* 1504.

* 1513.

Campion. Hist. Irel.

1520.

1520. April.

1521.

* 1512.

April 24.

& July 22.

& 1513.

April 26.

& 1517.

July 20.

* 1515.

April 16.

* 1518.

March 20.

* Feb. 20.

1514.

* Feb. 20.

1519.

* 1519.

Sept. 10.

April 16.

1512.

* 1513.

* severall times he had sent to one *Hopkins* a Monke in the Priory of *Henton*, to be informed by him, concerning the matters he imagined; and that the Monke should returne answer, The Duke should have all; and therefore should labour to procure the love of the people. 2 That the Duke * afterwards should goe in person to the said *Hopkins*, who confirmed the said prediction, adding, that he knew it by Revelation. Whereupon the said Duke should give him severall Rewards. 3 That he should * speake to *Ralph Nevil*, Earle of *Westmerland*; (his sonne in law) that, if ought but good come to the King, the Duke of *Buckingham* should be next in blood to the Crown, the King having as yet no issue. That, to comply herewith, he did many things which argued Ambition, and desire to make himselfe popular. That he * said to one *Gilbert*, his Chancellor, that whatsoever was done by the Kings Father, was done by wrong; murmuring withall against the present Government. 4 That the said *Charles Knevet*, that if he had been committed to the Tower, (whereof he was in danger upon occasion of one *Sir William Bulmer*) he would haave so wrought, that the principall doers thereof should not have cause of great rejoycing. For he would have playd the part which his Father intended to have put in practice against King *Richard* the third at *Salisbury*, who made earnest suit to come into the presence of the said King; which suit if he might have obtained, he having a Knife secretly about him, would have thrust it into the body of King *Richard*, as he had made semblance to kneele downe before him. And that, in speaking these words, he maliciously layd hands on his Dagger; swearing, that, if he were so evill us'd, he would doe his best to accomplish his intended purpose. 5 That * being in speech with *Sir George Nevill* Knight, Lord *Abergavenny*, he said, that if the King died, he would have the Rule of the Realme, in spite of whosoever said the contrary; swearing, that if the Lord *Abergavenny* reveal'd this he would fight with him. This I conceive to be the substance of the most speciall Articles in the Evidence; which the Courteous Reader yet may doe well to consider more at large, as they are extant on Record. How far yet these particulars were proved, and in what sort, my Authors deliver not. Onely I finde (out of our Records) that the Duke of *Buckingham* being committed to the Tower April 16. did under his own hand declare to *Sir Thomas Lovell* Constable of the Tower, the passages betwixt him and *Hopkins*, in this manner: That is to say, that the Summer before our King made warre in *France*, *Hopkins* sent for him; but, not being able to goe, he commanded one *Delacour*, his Chaplaine, to repaire thither; howbeit, that *Hopkins* said nought to him; yet that himselfe came the next * Lent; where, in Shrift, the said Monke told him, that our King should win great honour in his journey to *France*; and that if the King of Scots came to *England* then, he should never goe home againe.

And

of King Henry the eighth.

And that, when he asked *Hopkins* how he knew this, he said *ex deo habeo*: And that *Hopkins* demanding afterward, what Children the King had had, He told the number; and that *Hopkins* should say thereupon, I pray God his issue continue; for that hee feared God was not contented, because he made no restitution according to his Father's Will, charging the Duke further to advise the King's Councell to make restitution. Further, That he told his Chancellor those words, and at his returne out of *France*, came to *Hopkins* againe, and said, he had told him true: Also, that (another time) he came to *Hopkins*, together with his sonne *Stafford*, and the Earl of *Westmerland*; and that *Hopkins* asked who he was, and thereupon should say, that some of his blood or name should prove Great Men. And that, after this, *Hopkins* should send to the Duke, to pray him, according to his promise, to help their House (being at *Henton* in *Sommerfetshire*) to make their Conduit; the ten pounds, formerly given by him, being spent. And more then this he confess'd not. Notwithstanding which, when the Indictment was openly read, the Duke said it was false, untrue, conspir'd, and forg'd, to bring him to his death; alleadging (as he was an eloquent Person) many reason to falsifie the Indictment; the Kings Attorny on the other side, producing the Examinations, Confessions, and proofes of witnesses. The Duke hereupon desired the witnesses which were *Knevet*, *Gilbert*, *Delacour*, and *Hopkins*, to be brought forth. These confirming their depositions, the Duke was tryed by his Peeres, (being a Duke, a Marquesse, seven Earles, and twelve Barons) before the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was for the time made Lord High Steward of *England*. They condemning him, the Duke of *Norfolke* delivered his sentence, not without teares. To which he replyed, My Lord of *Norfolke*, you have said as a Traytor should be said unto, but I was never none. But, my Lords, I nothing maligne for what you have done to me; but the Eternall God forgive you my death, and I doe. I shall never sue to the King for Life: Howbeit, he is a gracious Prince, and more Grace may come from him, then I desire. And so I desire you, my Lords, and all my fellowes, to pray for me. Whereupon hee was brought back to the Tower. Where all the favour he received was a Message from the King, declaring his sentence was mitigated so farre, that, instead of receiving the death of a Traytor, he should have only his head * cut off. Thus ended the Duke of *Buckingham*, much lamented by the people, (who libell'd the Cardinall for it, calling him *Carnificis filium*,) as being thought rather *Criminall* through folly and rash words, then any intention declared by overt Act against the King's Person; and therefore not incapable of his mercy; which also it was thought would not have been denyed, had he sued for it in fitting terms. But since at his Arraignment, he did, as it were, disclaime his life, he would not obtrude it; and therefore only caused a Letter of comfort to be written to the Dutchesse,

III

1521.

Hall.
Holinshed.

E, Hall.

May. 13.

May 17.

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Dutchesse, and Lord *Stafford*. Yet the Tragedy ended not so; for though *George Lord Abergavenny*, after a few moneths imprisonment, was, through the Kings favour, delivered; yet *Hopkins*, after a serious repentance that he had been an Author of so much mischief, dyed of griefe. And here I must observe that together with this Duke, that great place of High-Constable-of-England remains extinguish'd, unlesse some extraordinary occasion revive it.

I shall returne here to speake of *Charles* the fifth, who having, as is sayd, kept a Diet at *Wormes*, did now Leavy Forces. And the rather, that he heard warre was intended against him by *Solyman*; who, being a Martiall Prince, and Crowned the very same day at *Constantinople*, that *Charles* was at *Aix*, seemed to have somewhat of the same Ascendent; however they differ'd in their Interests. Besides, it was observed, that as *Charles* the fifth was the eleventh Emperour from *Albertus*, in whose time the house of the *Ottomans* began; so *Sueliman* (or *Solyman*) was the eleventh Prince of his Race. Howsoever, on their occasion much of their Subjects bloud was spilt, and more would have been, had not *Francis* turned the Armes of *Charles* upon himselfe. The Causes of dissention betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, were; First, That *Claude* Eldest daughter of *Loüis* the twelfth, and *Anne* of *Bretagne* having by a solemne * Treaty been accorded to *Charles*, *Francis* yet * obtain'd her, and thereby eluded his hopes of *Bretagne*. Secondly, their mutuall Ambition for the Empire. Thirdly, ill-Offices done by their Courtiers betwixt them. Fourthly, but chiefly, the incompatibility of their demands for their Ancient Right; whereof I find these most urged. Homage for *Flanders*, and *Artois*, required by *Francis*, as being held anciently of the Crown of *France*; which *Charles* yet refused, saying, that, since that Estate was devolved to an Emperour, it was in a higher dignity, then could be submitted to any Inferiour. But to this again *Francis* replyed, that it derogated from no body to give what was due. Besides, that the Title of a King was greater and more August then that of an Emperour; both as the power is more absolute in it selfe, and that it depends not on the Election of others; for which purpose a passage was alleaged out of *Matth. Paris*, when the Empire having beene offered to *Robert*, brother of *Saint Loüis*, the Councell of State refus'd it, for this reason; saying further, it was enough that *Robert* was brother to so great a King. For which Cause also, the French observe, that none ever aspir'd to it of the Line of the *Capet's*, but *Francis*. Againe, they differ'd about *Milan*, of which *Loüis* the twelfth having gotten the * Investiture, *Francis* did in pursuit of his Right, expell *Maximilian Sforza*; whose Brother and successor yet was protected by *Charles*, and reinplaced. Moreover, the Duchy of *Burgundy* was questioned by *Charles*. For though *Loüis* the eleventh had united it to his Crown, and that, for Title thereunto,

* 1501.

* 1514.

May 18.

1519.

* 1500.

* 1515.

thereunto, it was alleaged, that *John* King of *France* had given it to his younger Son *Philip*, to hold to him and his heires Males only; and that *Charles* last Duke of *Burgundy*, having but one onely daughter, it therefore reverted; yet *Charles* understanding the businesse otherwise, claimed it by a long succession of his Ancestors in *Burgundy*. These so many pretences on either side engaged the two Princes into perpetuall warres, which began this yeare. For *Francis*, insisting still upon the Treaty of *Noyon*, prepared to recover *Navarre*; And to this he thought the Comunidadoes or Insurrections in *Spaine* (begun 1519, and continued still) would conduce. For as the people held their *Iunta* or Assembly for redresse of their grievances, he conceived some might be drawn to his party. But he was deceiv'd; for they mutined not for his sake, but their own, as appear'd; pretending for their chiefe grievances only, that their King lived in forraigne parts, and transported their Money for his occasions there, and bestowed divers great Places in *Spaine* on strangers. So that, though they continued their demaunds with much insolency and boldnesse, they persisted neverthelesse in their love to their Prince and Country, without admitting a Treaty with *Francis*. All which yet could not preserve them. For, though they proceeded with more sobriety and correspondence, then hath been observed in any popular Insurrections, (as *Sandoval* relates it at large) they were divided at last, and overthrowne by the name of Rebels; Their Actions being so bad and dangerous, as their intentions could not excuse them. Howsoever, *Francis* thought fit to make use of this occasion, and therefore, before their defeat, he levied Forces; and, not long after, sent *Andre de Foix*, *Seigneur de Asperant*, and Brother of the famous *Lautrech*, to *Navarre*. Where a war began, that, in divers places, lasted 38 yeares following (as *Sandoval* observes it) and cost the lives of above five hundred thousand men; the French speake of a far greater number. Their first Progresse was happy; for, in lesse then 15 dayes, they tooke *Navarre*. But as they wou'd goe further to *Catalunna*, and besiege *Logronno* (or *Groyne*,) The Spanish Commanders, attended now with many of the Comunidadoes, gave Battaile and overthrew; them taking *de Foix* Prisoner: whereupon also *Navarre* was regained in lesse time then it was lost, and *Pamplona* thenceforth better fortified. But not on this part only did the French shew their *Mal-Talent*, but discover'd it on this occasion also towards another Coast. The Prince of *Chimay* contesting in Law with the *Seigneur d'Aymeries* concerning a Castle or Town in the Forrest of *Ardennes*, and County of *Luxemburg*, call'd *Hierge*, gain'd his cause by the judgement of the Peeres of the Dutchy of *Bouillon*, who determin'd businesses in chiefe; and accordingly enjoyed possession thereof, for many yeares. Howbeit *Aymeries* (being not contented herewith) appealed to the Chancellor of *Brabant*, and prevail'd so far, that the heires of *Chimay* were summon'd to give accompt of their title un-

1521

1516.

March.

to

1521.

Bellay.

* March. 22.

Oct. 2.

1518.

Record.

de Serres.

to the Emperour. But, because the Sovereignty of *Robert de la Mark Duc de Bouillon* was most concern'd herein, they, for their best refuge, made complaint to him; he again addresseth himselfe to the Emperour, and remonstrates his right: yet, finding the cause of *Aymeries* likely to prevaile, secretly Treats with *Francis*, for assistance and protection. Being assur'd hereof, he (though a small Prince) sends a publique Desie to *Charles*, being then at the Diet in *Wormes*. The Emperour, judging quickly from whence this audaciousnesse proceeded, prepares for warre. Neither wanted hee a seeming occasion. For though he ever suspected that *Robert de la Mark*, (as one who had serv'd heretofore the French in *Italy*, had his chiefe dependance on *Francis*) yet now being inform'd that *Fleuranges* (son unto the said *Robert de la Mark*) having rais'd in *France* about three thousand foot and foure hundred horse, (all *Voluntiers*) had besieged *Vireton*, a little place in *Luxemburg*, appertaining to the Emperour; he nothing doubted, but that the French had assisted him herein. Howbeit, *Francis*, considering it was not convenient to begin a war soneer home, & besides, being advised by our King to keep the Peace, signifies his dislike to *Fleuranges*, who thereupon * licens'd his Forces. Notwithstanding which, *Charles* commands *Henry Count of Nassaw* to goe with an Army against *Robert de la Marke*, not omitting withall to dispatch an Ambassador to *Francis*, with Instructions, to protest, that *Francis* had first broken the Treaty of 1518, by ayding *Robert de la Mark*. He sent word to our King also of this proceeding. Who taking the matter into consideration, pronounced sentence against *Francis*, as the first Infractor of their Tripartite League: which being maturely pondered by *Francis*, (who knew well, how much it concern'd him not to provoke our King, who (by an expresse Article of the said Treaty) was to fall on the first that contraven'd) made him afterwards excuse the matter, and undertake that *Robert* should desist from hostility. This was not yet so accepted by *Charles*, as to delay the sending of his Army, under *Henry de Nassaw* (and not *Francesco Sichino* as *Iovius* hath it) to seize on the Dominions of *Robert*, who accordingly tooke divers places. But *Robert* going to the Emperour hereupon, obtained a Truce for six weekes, *Henry* of *Nassaw* in the meane time putting Garrisons in the places he had wonne. The Emperour yet, not dismissing his Forces, but proceeding hostilly, our King takes notice hereof, and offers *Wolsey*, as his Lieutenant, to Compose their differences. For *Francis* had now Arm'd; as finding that, under colour of Private quarrells, *Tournaisis* was invaded; howbeit *Wolsey* was not thought by *Francis* a competent Judge; both as some jealousies had past formerly betwixt our King and him (as is above related) and that he knew *Wolsey* depended wholly upon *Charles* for the Papacy. Therefore he not only declin'd (as much as he could) the Arbitrement of *Wolsey*, but shortly after dispatch'd the Duke of *Albany*

bany into Scotland. Howsoever, *Woolsey* came 2 August 1521 to *Calais*, and treated of an accommodation; not neglecting together to write to *Charles*, to make no Peace with *Francis* during the treaty. And I doubt not but our King did gladly arbitrate this businesse; both as it argued his authority, and gave him meanes to choose his friend, when otherwise he could not reconcile them. Upon the part of *Francis* came the Chancellor of *France* (*Antoine du Prat*) *John de Selve*, & *Monsieur de Palisse* Mareschall of *France*, with foure hundred Horse. The Emperor not failing on his part likewise to send Con-digne Agents, being *Mercurinus Conde de Gattinara* his Chancellor, and *Monsieur de Berghes*, and others. The Pope had likewise a particular and conceal'd Nuntio, there being *Hieronymo de Ghinnucciis* Bishop of *Ascoli*; though, as he pretended to be without Authority, his businesse it seem'd was for the present rather to espy and observe the proceedings there, then to advance the Peace, as did appeare afterwards. Many things were represented to the Cardinall on both sides. The Emperor demanded, among other things, Restitution of the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and abolition of the homage he owed to the Crowne of *France* for the *Low-Countries*. *Francis* again not only refused this, but requir'd that *Navarre* might bee restor'd to *Henry Sonne* of King *John*; and a Pension of one hundred thousand Ducats paid him for the Kingdom of *Naples*, according to the former Contract at *Noyon*. But to this againe *Charles* his minority was alleaged as an excuse; though a weak one in Princes; they being not considered under the notion of their Age but Dignity. Furthermore, *Charles* grounded his Title to *Naples* by his Mother Queene *Ioane*, Daughter and Heyre of *Ferdinand*, so that to have paid this money would have weak'ned his Claime; and for *Navarre*, it was too commodious for him to leave it; especially when he thought *Francis* did no lesse in with-holding *Burgundy*. Howsoever, that *Francis* himselfe had first broken the said Treaty of *Noyon*, by protecting the Duke of *Gueldres*, an Antient enemy of the house of *Flanders*. And for the abolition of homage, the French Chancellor on the other side, particularly said, it was not the work of a Treaty, but a Petition, and therefore not to be handled at this time, when there was question of right only. Besides this, the Dutchy of *Milan* bred no little altercation among them. In conclusion, their demands were so obstinate, and minds so averse from Peace on either side, that the Cardinall could or would do no good. Hereunto, also, did concur a close and private convention betwixt *Leo* and *Charles*, mediated by the Nuntio; and a confidence that *Charles* had, (by the Cardinal's mean's) that, in case of rupture our King would incline to him, as having more pretence to his antient Dominions of *France* then to any thing in the *Low-Countries*. Again, *Charles* renew'd his promise to give him his best assistance to be elected Pope, when *Leo* should dye; which prevailed more then any other gift. Although (to

1521.

Aug. 2.

Dupleix.

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Aug.

Sept.

Octob.

Bellay.

uſe *Polydore's* words) ſpeaking of both Princes, at this time, *Uterque ejus favorem certatim largitionibus quaritabat*. This hope of the Papacie therefore comforted our Cardinall, now it was likely he ſhould looſe one of his customers. ¶ The King of *Hungary* at this time, finding that *Solyman* (who inherited his Father's malice) did much gain upon Chriſtendome (as having lately gotten *Belgrade in Hungary*) and knowing there was no way to defend himſelfe, without an Union betwixt Chriſtian Princes, ſends an Ambaſſadour, ſo opportunely, as to find our Cardinall at *Calais*, Treating of this univerſall Peace. But ſuch was the animoſity of theſe two great Princes, that the pious conſideration of repelling the Turke could not prevaile with them. So that the Cardinall, by this time, finding ſmall hope of reconciliation, advertiſ'd our King thereof, and crav'd his reſolution; unto which he much prepar'd him by giving intelligence of what had paſt. To gaine this ſpace alſo, he told the French, he would goe in Perſon to *Bruges*, and negotiate by word of mouth with the Emperour. Our Cardinall departing hereupon, the Emperour met him by the way, (a mile out of Town,) accompanying this honour with all other demonstrations of affection to him & our Nation. After thirteen dayes Treaty, and agreement what was to be done in caſe of Rupture, (which our Cardinall perceived now could not be avoyded,) hee returnes to *Calais*, where the French Ambaſſadours impatiently attended him, he doth not yet diſcover his diſpair of ſucceſſe to them, and much leſſe diſcloſeth his private Treaty with the Emperour, but mediateſtill a Peace, yet ſo, as to promiſe leſſe hope of it then before, ſince matters were come to ſuch extremities on both ſides. For not only *le Seigneur de Liques*, a Subject of the Emperours, upon private quarrell with the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, had now ſurprized *Amand* and *Mortagne in Picardie*, and the *Bourgonians Ardres*, (which they Raſed,) But the *Count de Naſſaw* taken *Monzon*, and beſieged *Meziertes*; which yet *Anne de Montmorency*, and *Pierce de Terrail*, commonly call'd *le Chevalier Bayard*, defended, untill *Francis* coming with a great Army, the Imperialiſts retired, and *Monzon* was retaken, while the Emperour, who was at *Valenciennes* kept himſelf more Covert then was expected; ſince *Francis* proceeded ſtill: Though as he diſcontented *Charles Duke of Bourbon*, who in the quality of *Conſtable de France*, thought to have the leading of the Avantguard (rather then the Duke of *Alanzon*, brother in Law to the King) an error was committed which coſt him dear, as ſhall be told in its place. Notwithſtanding which, *Wolfey*, that he might leave nothing unattempted, ſends to the Emperour, the Lord of *Saint Johns*, and *Sir Tho. Bullen*, and to the French King (lying then with a great Army neer *Cambrai*) the E. of *Worceſter*, and Biſhop of *Ely*; By whom he obtained that the Emperour ſhould raiſe the ſiege of *Tournay*, before which his forces now were, and that he ſhould recall his Army in the *Milaneſſe*, and that *Francis* ſhould likewiſe retire his, and the reſt

rest should be referr'd to our King. But the taking of *Fuentarabie* by *Bennivet* intervening, *Francis* refused to render it, and so the Treaty brake off. Whereupon our Cardinall (who now had heard from our King) gives a kind of sentence, in the businesse. The effect hereof was; that the French King being guilty of the first breach, our King was bound by the Common Treaty to assist the Emperor; to which also he was the more disposed that the secret practices of the French in *Scotland* had disoblighd him, some hopes of Accomodation yet were represented, in case the Emperor and *Francis* might be reconciled; but small appearance hereof being given, the Cardinall concluded a Treaty with the Emperor and Pope against the French, the Pope entring it on condition that the Emperor should restore to him *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and ayd him, afterwards, against the Duke of *Ferrara*. The effect of the Treaty was this.

1521.

Nov. 24.

Records.
Novemb. 24.

Because the expedition against the Turk cannot be undertaken, untill the Pride and Injury of the French be suppressed; Therefore between the Pope, Emperor, and King of *England*, by their severall Ambassadors, these following Articles are concluded.

This Treaty shall not derogate from any former, and it shall extend not only to the present possessions of the Contrahents, but their future Acquisitions.

I.

That, when the Emperor shall passe over into *Spaine* to provide himselfe of men and money, and quiet his people (which shall be the next Spring) the King of *England* (upon a moneth's warning) shall give him a Convoy of Ships through the Channell, with at least three thousand fighting-men, with Artillery, &c. together with leave to land at *Dover*, or *Sandwich*; And after honourable entertainment, shall conduct him himselfe to *Falmouth*, or some other such place. In regard whereof, if the King of *England* shall have occasion to passe over to *France*, the Emperor shall doe the like for him, till the Charge be equall on both sides.

II.

The Contrahents shall declare themselves enemies to the French, in *March* 1523, and by *May* shall be in Armes, (*viz.*) The Pope in *Italy*, with a strong Army; without *Italy*, *Censuris Ecclesiasticis*. Secondly, the Emperor with ten thousand horse, & thirty thousand Foot, or more, on the Confines of *Spaine*; at which time the *Low-Countries* and other Dominions of the Emperor, shall declare themselves enemies to the French, and Commerce cease. Thirdly, the King of *England* shall passe the Sea, with ten thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot or more, to invade *France* on the Coasts next to him. And he hath liberty given to hire Horse-men out of *Germany*, and Foot (if he will) of the Emperor's Subjects. And, if the King of *England*, upon a Battaile to be fought, shall stand in need of ayd, the Emperors Lieutenant, being inform'd of it, shall (if it be possible) help him.

III.

That, before the Moneth of *March* abovesaid, the King of *England*, and the Emperor shall by Sea infest the French, each with

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three thousand fighting-men, and other Provisions proportionable; joyning their Forces upon occasion, and not recalling their Fleet's, but by common consent; which if they chance to be impaired by fight, or fowle weather, they are to repaire within a moneth. Neither shall one make any appointment, or Treaty, or Truce, with the Common enemy, but by the consent of the other.

V.

That, if, by the end of this present *November*, there be no Peace made, betweene the Pope, Emperor and King of *France*, or that the French King shall a fresh begin the war: Then the King of *England* shall, at the coming of the Emperor into *England*, declare himselfe enemy to the French, and within a moneth after certifye it to the French King. In which case the Fleet prepared by the King of *England*, for the Convoy of the Emperor, after his landing in *Spaine*, shall, together with the Emperor's Fleet, turne themselves against the French, so infesting him by Sea. Also by Land each Prince shall have Forces against all Invasion both of the French, and other Princes; wherein they shall ayd one another.

VI.

To facilitate these designs, as soone as ever the war shall be begun against the French, the Pope shall send out his Censures against him, subjecting all his Dominions to the Interdict; and calling the Secular Arme against him, shall warne the Emperor (as the Protector and Advocate of the Church,) and also the King of *England* to war against him, as enemy of the Church.

VII.

That the Emperor and King of *England* take on them the Protection of the Pope, and Family of *Medices*, against all whatsoever. And, on the other side, that the Pope undertake the Protection of them with their confederates, So that it be not permitted that one of them shall name for his confederates the enemy of the other.

VIII.

The *Suisse* are named confederates on all sides, and are to be disposed either to enter this League, or hold themselves Neutrall.

IX.

That the Emperor and King of *England* shall in their Dominions, as they have begun, proceed against those, *qui de fide Catholica male sentire videntur*, or that seeke to wrong the Authority of the Apostolique See. And that, in the Lands and Possessions which the Emperor, and King of *England* shall gaine from the French, the Pope shall enjoy all Priviledges, Rights, and Authority, due to the See Apostolique.

X.

That, after the war with the French they shall invade the Turk.

XI.

They shall not Treat from this time apart with any Prince in prejudice of this League.

XII.

That, notwithstanding the Emperor hath agreed Marriage with the King of *France* his daughter; and the Dolphin with the King of *England's*, yet, for the publique good of Christendom, the Emperor may Marry the Princess *Mary*; To which end the Pope shall dispence; seeing they are Cousin-Germans, their Mothers being two Sisters.

That

of King Henry the eighth.

119

That this Convention shall be kept most secret, untill it be published by common consent.

That Contractors are to give their Letters Patents in confirmation of this Treaty, within three Moneths.

That this Agreement shall not derogate from any Treaty that hath been between the King of *England* and the Emperour; so they be not contrary to this Treaty.

Thus was warre resolved against *France*, to begin at the appointed time. In the mean while, fishing in the narrow Seas, and use of English Ports was allowed the French till *February* following. While these great affaires were in agitation, our Chroniclers observe, that the Great Seale of *England* being with the Cardinall at *Calais*, many English repaired to him to receive their Dispatches, and at home the constituting of Sheriffes was suspended, &c. which I remember the rather, that it was afterwards urg'd against him. And now all forraigne busineses being done, the Cardinall * returns to *England*. Where, to magnifie his Negotiation, he presents our King with the Bull of his Title of *Defensor Fidei*, which the Pope had put into his hands, together with a * continuation of his Legantine power, onely to gratifie him for his assistance against *Francis*; the King on the other side * bestowing on him the Abbacy of Saint *Albans*, towards his charges in this journey. The warre thus continued the Emperour tooke *Tournay*, to the no little scandall of *Francis*, who was yet obliged to continue his payments for it to our King. On the other side, *Francis* prepares an Army for *Italy*; for though the Mareschall *Thomas de Foix* (*Seigneur de Lescun*, and brother to *Odet de Foix Seigneur de Lautrech*) had now for some time commanded *Milan*; yet as he grew odious, through his manifold oppressions, the people sought occasion to revolt. Which the Imperialists under *Ferdinand d' Avalos* Marquesse of *Pescara* understanding, requir'd the Popes assistance; who, in conformity to his league, sent forces, whereof *Prospero Colonna* was chiefe. His first action was the besieging of *Parma*, which *Lescun* defended, untill his brother *Lautrech* comming with an Army of twenty thousand *Suisse*, seven or eight thousand *Venetians*, besides French, to relieve him; the Army of the League rose, and retired. But *Lautrech* afterwards remaining idle for some few daies, sixteen hundred of the *Suisse* being not well payd; and for the rest gained by the Cardinall *de Medicis* to the contrary party forsook him and serv'd *Colonna* (who thereupon marching to *Milan* (whether *Lautrech* had retired himselfe) tooke it easily, the Castle yet holding out; howbeit *Lautrech* escaping to *Como* with foure thousand *Suisse*, and some *Venetians*, and from thence to the Territories of the Republica; whereupon *Pavia* and *Palma* yeelded, and *Cremona*, all save the Castle. When the *Venetians*, fearing the storme might fall on themselves, desired *Lautrech* to depart; who being also forsaken of his foure thousand *Suisse*,

got

1521.

XIII.

XIV.

XV.

Hall.

*Novem. 27.

* Aug.

*Novem. 13.

Decemb. 19.]

Octob.

Novem. 23.

1521.

*Decemb. 1.

got into the Castle of *Cremona*, and sent his King word of the ill successe. Which the Pope also hearing, and being assured together that *Sforza* should be restored to *Milan*, was so overjoyed, that he * died thereof: (so can every Passion in his turn kill) though some suspected he might die of poyson.

I will conclude this yeere with the invention of Muskets; which *Bellay* saith were first used in this warre.

1522.

The Cardinall of *York* finding occasion now faire, sends Doctor *Richard Pace*, Deane of *Saint Pauls* to *Rome*, to essay if by any meanes it were possible to make him Pope. He writes also to *Charles*, remembring him first of his promise; next it was represented how unjust it would be in him, openly to have a Pope of his own nominating; there being so many busineses of his to be determined in the Consistory; that the particular utility which would redownd to him thereby, ought not to be layd in ballance against the Universall dishonour that both he and the whole Christian Church would suffer in such a factious and scandalous Election: especially, when his businesse might be done in a more decent and safe way. For if the Papacy were conferred on him, his Imperiall Majesty might be confident he should finde the same faithfulness he had experience of in the last Treaty. Since therefore this was the best expedient for giving himselfe Reputation, and securing his affaires, that he should not faile herein. For as it was the place of *Henry* the eighth to be Arbitrer of Christendome, it would be his to be the chiefe Instrument thereof. For which purpose also, he should be ready ever to dispose King *Henry* to hold good correspondence with his Imperiall Majesty. Neither must he thinke that being Pope, he would alter this language; it being manifest, that the keeping up of the Authority of *Charles* in *Italy*, was the onely way to conserve peace in it, which our King desired. Some of these reasons also *Pace* was desired to scatter amongst the Cardinals at *Rome*, to whom he was charg'd to represent how much occasion of Calumny, the Lutherans and other Enemies of their Religion would finde, if an unfitting choyce were made at this time. That this must follow if any belonging either to *Charles* or *Francis* were elected; besides that it would make their differences irreconcilable. Or when otherwise the Papacy fell into the hands of one who could not uphold and maintaine the Authority of the See, as an Italian or some other not strongly supported person; that then it must become a prey to the strongest. That the sole way to remedy these inconveniencies was to choose him, who had a King able and well affected to maintaine Religion and Peace in these dangerous times. Our Cardinall also did not forget *Francis*; to whom, if not favour, yet at least indifferency was promised, in case he were Pope; and that this was more then he could hope for any other way. But before *Pace* could come to *Rome* *Adrian* Cardinall of *Tortosa*, heretofore Tutor to *Charles*, and

and for the present residing in *Spaine*, (where he had the quality of *Governador de Castilla*) was *chosen Pope, though not with such an Universall consent; but that (as I finde by our Records) our Cardinall had sometimes nine, and sometimes twelve, and sometimes nineteen voyces. *Guiccardine* seems much to wonder at this election, scurrilously terming him not onely *Pontifice Barbaro*, because he was a Flemming, but alledging divers other incapacities in him for that place. But the wiser sort did not thinke so; *Charles* having given those testimonies of his good affection to the peace of *Italy* (especially by his generous restoring of *Milan* to *Francesco Sforza*) that they nothing doubted but he would prove their best Patron and helpe for the expulsion of all strangers. Howsoever, that *Adrian*, being of a moderate and calme disposition, would prove no Incendiary. *Pace*, though he heard by the way that *Adrian* was chosen, yet holds on his journey, as having second instructions to countenance his imployment, when the first succeeded not; Therefore, departing from *Rome* to *Venice* about July this yeere, he mediated a peace betwixt *Charles* and the Venetians, (who had hitherto held with the French,) remonstrating to them the many reasons which they had to joyne with the Emperor and King of *England* against *Francis*, who had first broken the common Peace made 1518, wherein the said State of *Venice* was comprised, and thereby bound to fall on the Infractor thereof, &c. But the Venetians, being engaged to *Francis*, took time onely to advise thereof.

Adrian being thus chosen, *Julio Cardinal de Medicis*, who aspired to the Papacy, was highly discontented; Insomuch that forsaking the Imperiall party, he joyned himselfe with three thousand Foot and two hundred Horse, to the French. *Francisco Matia* also, who (upon *Leo's* death) had recovered *Urbino*, adhering to them; so that, with the addition of sixteen thousand Suisse newly leavyed, and some Troops *Lantrech* the *Mareschall de Foix* brought, the French had a considerable Army, with which he besieged *Pavia*. But *Prospero Colonna* comming with the Imperiall Forces to relieve it, *Lantrech* raising the siege offered battell; which yet the Imperialists would not accept. This while *Montmorency* having taken *Novara*, returned; so that the French now pursuing their point, the Imperialists were forced to get themselves within a strong Retrenchment at *Bicocca*. And here either side attended their advantage; the French hoping to drive the Imperialists away by famine, and they againe, that the Suisse for want of pay would desert the French. That of the Suisse succeeded first; for demanding either to have their pay, or leave to depart, or at least order to fight, the French, who wanted money, chose this latter, as the lesse inconvenience, and so gave *on. But being repulsed with great losse, the next day the Suisse returned, and the rest of the Army retired towards *Lodi* and *Cremona*, and lastly to the Venetian Territories; while

1522

Jan. 9.

July.

*April 27.

1522.

*May 30.

while the Imperialists, making use of their victory, got both these places, the Castle of *Cremona* onely excepted, which held out for the space of one whole yeere, though the Castle of *Milan* yeelded presently. *Lantrech* thus finding all things desperate, retires to *France*, laying the fault upon his not receiving pay for his Souldiers; which yet, the French say, was not for want of order from the King, but through the covetousnesse of his Mother *Louïsse*, or the default of some Officers. And now the Imperialists, loosing no time, marched to *Genoïa*; in which were two factions, those of the family of the *Fieschi*, *Adorni*, and *Spinola*, being Imperialists, and those of the *Fregosi* and *Doria*, French. That of the *Fregosi* govern'd now. Howsoever the Imperialists* entred and sack'd that rich City; which yet they quitted, when they had deposed the *Fregosi*, and set up the *Adorni*. *Francesco Sforza* was restored also to that of *Milan*, the Emperour not reserving to himselfe so much as one place in that Countrey. And so *Colonna* concluded the war for this yeere of 1522. Neverthelesse the Treaties with the Venetians proceeded, which at last took effect, as shall be more particularly related.

The proceedings betwixt our King and *Charles* were not kept so secret but that they became sufficiently known to *Francis*, who would not yet instantly take notice of them, as being more unprovided then suddenly to bring matters to extremity. Therefore he continued awhile his smooth Letters to the Cardinall. At last, betwixt impatience, and the order he hoped to give in *Scotland* and *Ireland* to finde our King enough to doe, he began to declare himselfe. Therefore, his Subjects having made some depredations on the English Merchants, and satisfaction thereupon being requir'd, he delayd if not denied reparation. These particular offences were accompanied with a maine breach of Treaty, as our King conceiv'd. For the Duke of *Albany*, who should have continued in *France*, was now after five yeeres absence, returned to his charge of *Scotland*, as shall be told more largely hereafter. Our English foreseeing thus a storme likely to ensue, retire themselves betimes from *France*; the Merchants withdrawing their goods from the Port-Townes, and the Schollers their persons and Studies from *Paris*. *Anne Bolen* also (who is said by the French* writers to have lived in that Court ever since she* came over with our Kings sister untill this time) quitted it now, and returned to *England*; where she did partake afterwards more good and ill fortune then she could reasonably imagine. Our King also writ to *Francis* sharply, telling him that howsoever he excused himselfe for sending over the Duke of *Albany*; yet that he knew well, nothing was done therein without his direction; and that it was the manner of his Countrey, *aliud clam moliri, aliud specie simulationis ostentare* (as *Polydore* hath it,) reproaching him also with breach of his Oath. *Francis* much moved with this rough expostulation, objecteth

*Tillet, Re-
cueil. Scip.
Dupleix.
Tom. 3.
* 1514.

jecteth to King Henry the secret Treaty at *Bruges* with the Emperour 1521, requiring King Henry to declare himselfe. Besides, he caused all the Englishmens goods that remained to be seized on, through his Kingdome, and especially those at *Bourdeaux*; which seemed so much the unjust, that divers of our Merchants had not onely bought Wines there with ready money, but payd Custome for it. Our King hearing this, commands the French Ambassador to his house, seiseth on all other French and Scottish here, and commits the better Persons for a time, or untill they had payd a pecuniary mulct, the poorer sort being exempt yet upon ten daies imprisonment. The Vice-Admirall Sir *William Fitz-williams* (being in *January* last recalled from his Ambassage in *France*, and Sir *Thomas Cheney* sent in his place) also was commanded to Sea with a strong Fleet, to secure our Merchants and take what French he could. Moreover, because the French denied the rest of the money due, and detained the French Queens Dower, our King caused the French Hostages to be kept under an honourable yet somewhat stricter Guard then before, without using further rigour. And, whereas *Francis* had desired him to declare himselfe, King Henry sent over *Clarenceaux* his Herald, in the end of *March*, with his declaration; whereby it was shewed, that because *Francis* was the Infractor of the Common peace, the King of *England* must take the Emperors part against him. Upon this, Ambassadors were recalled on both sides, and warre expected. Howbeit, as the Lord *Brooke*, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *John Peachy*, and Sir *Edward Belknap*, all brave Captaines dyed about this time, (not of Poyson given at * *Ardres* (when the Interview was) as some would have it; but of a Pestilentiall Ayre, as *Hall* relates;) so our King left those whose service he now most needed.

And because King Henry meant to set to Sea a Royall Fleet, the Earle of *Surrey* (as being Admirall of *England*) was recalled from his charge in *Ireland*; where having among other services represented the irruptions of the *O-Neales* and *O-Carrols*, he so govern'd the Land, that he both did his Prince an acceptable service, and gain'd the love of the Civill people of that Countrey, leaving (after a Parliament he held there from *June* 1521, to the end of *March* 1522,) *Pierce Butler* Lord Debuty, who yet kept not long possession of this Honour, as shall be shewed in its due place.

The Cardinall, about this time, whether for ostentation of his power, or redeeming the peoples favour, caused the preachers at *St. Pauls Crosse* in *London* to publish, that all those who would eate white-meats that Lent ensuing, should without paying any thing, be exempt from punishment and sinne. But the people unwilling to be caught by those baits, so contemptuously rejected this offer, that the Cardinall might easily judge how ungracious he was with them. But as the manner of the most subtile sort of

Q

Favourites

March 6.

April.

March.

May.

* 1520.

Jan

1522.

* 1513.

Hall.

May 26.

* May 28.

* June 2.

Jun. 6.

* I. Speed in
Edw. VI.

June 8.

Jun. 19

Record.

Treaty of
Windſor.

1518.

Favourites hath been not to ſtudy ſo much good as great Actions, as hoping thereby to amuſe and entertaine their Princes; ſo this Cardinall, by the perpetuall variation (he ſeem'd to cauſe) in the affaires of Chriſtendome, held not onely the minds of the people in attention and ſuſpence, but made his counſels more conſiderable to the King, then if he had purſued any one way. The laſt change, whereof he was Authour, had its chiefe overture at *Bruges*, where, among other things, the Emperour reſolved to repaire to *England* to ſpeake with our King more particularly, concerning the generall affaires of Chriſtendome, and to treat a match betwixt himſelfe and the Princeſſe *Mary*, daughter to our King. And finally (which our King tooke for a ſingular honour) to be inſtalled perſonally of the Order of the Garter at *Windſor*, while himſelfe ſate there as chiefe. For after his * retayning *Maximilian* the Emperour in pay, the next great testimony of reſpect this world could give him (he thought) was, that ſo brave and great an Emperour as *Charles*, ſhould, in ſo buſie and difficult times undertake a voyage, to be admitted into that moſt Noble Fellowship. Into which alſo *Ferdinand* his brother, afterwards Emperour, was elected the laſt *Saint Georges* day (*viz.*) *April* 23. 1522, and had the Order and habits ſent him to *Noremberg*, where, being the Emperours Lieutenant, he held a Diet that ycere. And now, for the more magnificent reception of the Emperour, the *Marqueſſe Dorſet* was ſent to *Calais*, and the Cardinall to *Dover*; whither, upon the 26 of *May* 1522 (being about the time his forces entred and ſacked *Genoia*) the Emperour arrived. The Cardinall firſt aſſured him of his welcome; which our King, following * preſently afterwards, confirmed. From hence the King conducted him to * *Greenwich*, where the Queen (his Aunt) with much joy attended him. Hence againe the King, riding in great pompe through *London*, conducted him to his lodging in *Black-Fryers*; his Traine being placed in the * new beautified Palace at *Bridewell*. To relate the Juſts and other ſolemnities on this occaſion, or to tell how often Dukes, Earles, and Lords gave water to the Cardinall at an High-Maſſe in *Pauls*, (where the Princes were on Whitſunday) is not my intention. Onely for the rarity I cannot omit that on *June* 19. the Emperour wearing the Robes of the Order, and ſitting in his Stall at *Windſor*, accompanied the other Knights in all his Ceremonies and Rites uſuall at that time. Which being done, both he and our King received the Sacrament together, and ſwore upon the holy Evangelists to obſerve the League concluded betwixt them, which was to this effect, as appears by an Originall, ſubſcribed and ſealed by *Charles*.

Whereas there was lately warre begun betwixt us *Charles*, and the King of *France*, and (by vertue of a League concluded between us and King *Henry*, and the ſaid King of *France*) both we and *Francis*, by our Letters, required Ayde of the ſaid King *Henry*;

one

one against the other; and the said King of *England* in the beginning of this warre, to compose these differences, sent to *Calais* the most Reverend Father in God *Thomas* Cardinall of *Torke*, as his Lieutenant; before whom when many disputes had been on both sides, who first began the warre, and it was found that the fault was in the French King, and that he first began with us, not in *Luxemburgh* onely, by *Robert de la March* suborned by him, but by his Captaines also in *Navarre*; and hired forraigne Souldiers which were not his Subjects to breake the publique Peace, contrary to the Treaty of *London*; wherefore, when the most Revenred Father aforesaid could not effect at *Calais* either Peace or Truce under any honourable conditions, the said King of *England* understanding, as well by the relation of the said most Reverend Father, as by the Letter of *Francis* King of *France*, written to his Orators and Captaines (which were shewed to the said King of *England*), that the said *Francis* had broken both the Treaty of *London*, and all other Treaties and Agreements of affinity concluded between them; Not onely by sending the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland* (which was against his Oath given) but also denying the King of *England* his Pensions, and violating his Subjects against the League: The said King of *England* hath resolved hereupon to lend us ayd against him, according as he is bound by the Treaty of *London*. And therefore upon Treaty of a perpetuall and stricter Confederacy between us and the said King *Henry*, as also of a marriage with the Princessse *Mary*, (we being on both sides free from all agreement made heretofore in this kind with the French) have concluded both League and Allyance in manner following:

The said Emperor shall not contract any marriage with any woman, while the said Princessse *Mary* is under age, but shall tarry for her, and when she is ripe marry her; As soon as she is twelve yeeres old, he shall send a Proxy to contract with her a marriage *per verba de presenti*, and she shall send a Proxy to him to the same purpose.

The king of *England* during this time shal not give her to any else.

As soon as this League is published, both Princes shall (at common costs) send Orators to the Pope, and obtaine of him a dispensation sufficient for the performance of the said marriage in its due time; notwithstanding that they are in the second degree of Consanguinity and Affinity; so that the issue may be legitimate.

The Princessse shall be transported at the king of *Englands* charge, with all Equipage and Furniture fitting her Dignity, within foure Moneths next following the Contract *per verba de presenti* abovesaid. And she shall be transported to *Bruges*, if *Charles* be in the *Low-countries*; If in *Spainè*, then to the Towne of *Bilbao*; whom within foure daies next ensuing, *Charles* shall marry publiquely in the face of the Church; and, till that time, she shall remaine in the hands of the Commissioners of King *Henry*, who transport her.

The Treaty
of Matri-
mony.

I.

II.

III.

III.

1522.

V.

Her Dowry which King *Henry* shall give with her, shall be 400000 Crownes; whereof shall be paid the first halfe the day of marriage, or within eight daies after; and the other halfe within a yeere following, *Charles* giving Acquittances. Yet, if the said Princessse (for want of issue male left by King *Henry*) shall succeed in the kingdome of *England*, then nothing shall be payd for Dowry with her; and whatsoever shall have been payd, shall be restored to the Executors of the king of *England*. It is also agreed, that out of the second payment of the latter moyety (as abovesaid) of the Dowry, the king of *England* may deduct all moneys which are due to him, and formerly borrowed of him by the said now-Emperor or his Grandfather *Maximilian*, if they shall not be payd before. And the said king of *England* shall restore to the said Emperor the deeds of Obligation, and the Pledges for the same. But if the king of *England* have a sonne, then the whole Dowry (above assign'd) shall be paid, and shall be increased to a Million of Crowns, by the addition of 600000; which 600000 shall be paid (after the 400000 are paid) yearly by 200000 Crowns *per annum*. For her Joynture, the Emperor shall assigne her in Lands and Cities 50000 Crowns of yearly Rent cleare; and particularly for a part thereof, such Towns as the late Lady *Margaret* of *England* had for Joynture in the *Low-countries*; the rest in *Spaine*; to enjoy as long as she lives. If she die before the Emperor her Husband without Children, then all her Jewels, &c. shall remaine to the Emperor.

VI.

The Treaty
of Peace
and Confe-
deration.

I.

II.

III.

The Emperor binds Himselfe, his Heires, and his Dominions, unto the king of *England*, his Heires and Successors, under the pain of 400000 Crowns, that this Treaty of Marriage shall not be hindered on his part. In like manner the king of *England* binds himselfe.

That this Matrimony may be more firme and certain, a Treaty of League is renewed.

That all former Treaties shall remaine in force.

They shall be Confederate strictly for the conservation of all their Dignities, Titles, Rights, &c. howsoever, and by whomsoever impeached; To have the same friends and enemies, &c. And, when one is invaded, the other shall ayd him *totis viribus*, as he would defend himselfe.

And because the king of *England* hath entertained the Emperor, and given him leave to passe through his Countrey into *Spaine*, to provide the better for recovery of his Rights against *Francis*, and hath transported him over into *England* by a Fleet of 3000 men: Therefore, in requitall, the Emperour, when King *Henry* shall passe over to *Calais*, or any other Port, in expedition against the French, will provide and lend him at his own cost a number of Ships or Vessels to transport his Souldiers, Horse, and Munition, till the Charge equall the Costs which king *Henry* bestowed on the Emperor in this kind.

To

To recover such Lands as the French King detaineth from both, each Prince, before the end of *May 1524.* or sooner, shall leavy Armies, thus; (*viz.*) the Emperor in Person with ten thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot or more, with competent Ammunition, shall invade *France* on the Coast of *Spaine*. And, at the same time, all the Dominions of the Emperor shall declare and wage warre against *Francis*. Also, the King of *England* by the same time (*May 1524.*) shall passe the Sea in Person, and, with tenne thousand Horse and thirty thousand Foot, or more, and Ammunition, &c. shall fall on *France*, on what part he shall see most convenient. And because the King of *England* hath not of his own so many Horse, the Emperor will provide him Horse (so hee pay them) and Foot (if he need.) If the King of *England* be coming to a Battaile with the enemy, and send to the Emperors Forces, being neere at hand, to assist him, they shall come and ayd him, unlesse there be a just impediment.

Warre shall be made by Sea, (*viz.*) the Emperor in his Navy shall furnish three thousand fighting men, The King of *England* so many likewise to infest *Francis* his Dominions severally, or joyntly. They shall not revoke or diminish their Fleet without consent but reinforce it, if impaired.

Neither shall desist from Hostility without consent of the other. Each shall give the other free passage through his Country.

The King of *England* shall maintaine and keep two thousand souldiers in the borders of *Calais*, and the Emperor as many in *Artois*, which shall make Roades into *France*, and repell the Invasions of the *French*, either singly or joyntly.

Because the French use much the German Souldiers, therefore each Prince, to divert them from the French, shall entertaine as many German foot as he can; and within two moneths next following the Emperor shall renew and publish the Imperiall Edicts, whereby all Germans are (under pain of being accompted Rebels, and confiscation of their goods) forbidden to serve under the French. And the Duke of *Lorraine* shall be admonished not to suffer any Germans to passe through his Country to ayde the King of *France*; If he doe, then these two Princes will account him their enemy.

If either of the two, recover from *France* places belonging to the other, he shall, upon requisition, restore them, within a moneth; And, to prevent ambiguities and quarrels, each Prince before *May 1524.* shall declare his pretences.

Also, if either Prince have an intention to recover any other Rights, against other with-holders; As if the King of *England* will subject *Scotland* unto the Kingdome of *England*, or reduce *Ireland* to due obedience; or the Emperor recover *Gueldres* or *Frise*, or punish any Rebell; or, if either the Scots trouble and invade *England*, or the *Gueldres* the Dominions of *Charles*; each shall give ayde to other.

1522.
III.

V.

VI.

VII.
VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

To

1522.
XII.

To confirme this Treaty ; It is agreed, there shall be mutuall Intelligence between the two Princes, and all things done by common consent ; So that neither shall Treat with *Francis* or any other Prince, without the knowledge and consent of the other, to the prejudice of this Treaty. And, if any former Treaty made, be prejudiciall to this, they shall be counted of lesse value and force then this.

XIII.

Both Princes, appearing before the Cardinall of *York* as Judge, in what place he shall choose, shall voluntarily submit to his jurisdiction as Legat, and confessing themselves to be bound to observe this Treaty, shall require the said Legat to pronounce the sentence of Excommunication against them, if they violate the Articles thereof.

XIII.

If the Princeesse *Mary* dye, and so this marriage take no effect, and it happen that the King of *England* have a sonne, and the Emperour by some other wife have a daughter, *vel è Converso* ; Then Affinity shall be contracted by means of those two.

XV.

This Treaty, till it take its effect, and be put in execution, shall be kept secret from the French.

1518.

It was agreed also, that this Treaty shall be signified to the Pope *Adrian* the sixt, and he be intreated to enter into it, and held as a principall Contrahent, if he accept it within three moneths. The Venetians, if they will accept this Treaty within three Moneths, so, as (according as they ought by the Treaty of *London*) they will forsake the French, and declare themselves against him, shall be comprehended. The Suisse shall have this Treaty signified to them, and be practised to renounce the French, or, at least, to be Newtrall. None shall be comprised in this Treaty, which is enemy to either of the two principall Contrahents : for the rest, each may name his friends.

June 19.

The same day that this Treaty was sworne, *Charles* gave his oath also to another agreement, call'd the Indemnity ; which was an Obligation, whereby he bound himselfe to save King *Henry* harmlesse for all the sums of money and Pensions, which were or should be due to King *Henry* from *Francis*, (upon former agreements betwixt them,) and now were or should be with held by the said *Francis*, upon denunciation of warre against him.

This was sworne in the presence of, *Thomas Cardinalis Eborac.* Legat and Chancellor of *England.* *Mercurinus Comes Gattinacia.* *Baro Ozane & Terrugie.* *Petrus de Moca Episcopus Palentin.* *Johannes Aleman.* *Thomas* Bishop of *Duresme.* Lord Privy-Seale. *Cuthbert Tonstall* Doctor of Both Lawes, Elect Bishop of *London*, Vice-Chancellor of *England.*

Lastly, *Charles* wanting money for his present occasions, our King supplied him abundantly upon assurance given him of repayment,

ment. Charles having dispatched his affaires here, and commanded his fleet, consisting of 180 sayle, to meet him at *Southampton* is * accompanied by our King to *Winchester*. Before, yet, they departed, it was resolved betwixt them, to make use of some Venetian Gallies (then Riding in our Ports,) upon pretence of conveying the Emperor to Spaine. Which proceeding yet, least it should be thought abrupt, and prejudiciall to our League with that State, was by Instructions from hence to Pace (his Majesties Ambassadour resident there) excused in great part, by alleadging, that if they would make good the confederacy entred into, 1518. they must not take it ill, that their Gallies were imployed against the French, as the first violaters and disturbers of the publique Peace. And when they would not joyne, it was but a just punishment for their falling off. Which yet was not to be understood in that Rigour, but they should be restor'd in due time; as in effect I find they were shortly after. This being done, Charles having taken * leave of our King, goes to *Southampton*, and attends a winde and the Convoy of our Admirall, who for better complying with the common cause, according to the League 1518. was likewise constituted his; the Pattennt whereof for the rarenesse as well as Honour of the Person, I have caused to be set down.

1522.

* June 22.

* July 1.

CAROLUS Quintus, Divina favente Clementia electus Romanorum Imperator, semper Augustus, ac Germaniæ, Hispaniarum, Utriusque Siciliæ, Jerusalem, Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ &c. Rex, Archidux Austriæ, Dux Burgundiæ, Brabantia, Comes Habsburgi, Flandriæ, Tirolis &c. Cum ita sit quod Serenissimus & potentissimus Princeps Henricus Octavus Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Frater, Avunculus, & Confæderatus noster charissimus, pro ejus Jure Fæderis quod cum eo nobis inter-cedebat, nuper Francisco Francorum Regi, tanquam Fæderum quæ cum nobis ambobus habebat violatori, Bellum justè indixerit, causamque suam cum nostrâ, qui ab eodem Rege Gallo invasi fuimus, conjunxerit, Classemque ob id maritimam inter cæteros Belli apparatus instruxerit, cui præfecit Illustrissimū Consanguineum nostrum charissimum Thomam Comitem Surrium, Ordinis sui Garterii Militem, Admiraldum Angliæ, Walliæ, Hiberniæ, Normaniæ, Vasconiæ, & Aquitaniæ; nosque pariter eundem communem hostem Galium armis etiam

1522

tiam maritimis urgere (ut par est) decreverimus, juncta ipsa nostra cum præfati Serenissimi Avunculi nostri Classe, reputantesque tum jam dicti ejus Admiraldi insignem Bello peritiam, fortitudinem, atque alias singulares virtutes, cui merito multa majora onera committi possent, tum quæ Conjunctis viribus armisque geruntur multo melius uno duce, uno Capite regi quam pluribus: Ea propter non abs re duximus, si & nostræ ipsius Classis onus, Bellique maritimi provinciam eidem Angliæ Admiraldo destinaremus. Itaque in vim præsentium Literarum nostrarum, prædicto Illustrissimo Thomæ Comiti & Admiraldo, ac Classis prædicti Regis Avunculi nostri Capitano Generali eandem damus & concedimus auctoritatem, plenamque & omnimodam potestatem super Classem nostram maritimam, omnesque ejus Capitaneos, Milites, & Classarios, cujuscunque Tituli sunt gradusve & conditionis, quam ipse Admiraldus super Regis sui Classem habet, tam in honorandis Militibus, Equestrique dignitate quos dignos censuerit insigniendis, è contra verò malefactoribus puniendis, quas eis voluerit legibus statuendis, eorumque Causis cognoscendis, quàm in cæteris omnibus & singulis faciendis & executioni mandandis, juxta auctoritatem eidem à prædicto Rege suo concessam, ac quemadmodum aliàs spectat ad officium unius maritimæ Classis Capitanei seu Generalis præfecti, ipsiusve prædicti Admiraldi singulari prudentiæ convenire in omnibus visum fuerit, atque expedire. Mandantes ob id, atque expresse committentes universis & singulis Capitaneis, Vice-Capitaneis, Locumtenentibus, Baronibus, Nobilibus, Militibus, Magistris, Navicatoribus, Classariis, cæterisque Militibus omnibus tam equitibus quàm peditibus, in Classe ipsa nostra existentibus, aut futuris, quòd eidem Comiti Admiraldo & Capitano generali ac ejus in hac parte sufficienter Deputato intendentes, auxiliantes, & obedientes sint, in omnibus prout decet, contrafacientibus debitâ poenâ non carituris. Harum Testimonio Literarum manu nostrâ subscriptarum, nostrique Sigilli

Sigilli appensione munitarum, Dat. in Urbe Londinensi.
Die VIII. Mensis Junii, Anno Domini Millesimo
Quingentesimo Vicefimo Secundo, Regnorum nostro-
rum, Romani tertio, Cæterorum verò omnium Septimo.

1522.

Per Imperatorem

CHARLES.

I. ALEMAND.

The Earle, having accepted hereof by our King's consent, did,
upon June 13. land his men in *Normandy* neere *Cherbourg*, and after
having destroyed the adjoyning Country, (sparing only Religious
houses,) he return'd to *Portland*; whence setting Sayle againe, hee
lands, July 1. at a place neere *Morlais* in *Bretaigne*, and with seven
thousand men marcheth thither; where our Master-gunner having
discharg'd a Peece so fortunately, that he broke the wicket, some
of our men enter'd in the smoake and open'd the Gate; whereup-
on the rest following, the Town was quickly sack'd, and burnt,
and a rich Booty carryed to our Navy. After which the Earle
commanded sixteen or seventeen French Ships (he found on that
Coast) to be burnt: And so, leaving his Vice-Admirall to scowre
the Seas, he made certain Knights for their good service, and re-
turn'd to *Southampton* whence he conducted the Emperor to *Spain*
who taking Ship July 6. arrived July 16. at *Sant-Ander*. ¶ The
English Garrison, this while, in *Calais* and *Guisnes*, and the French
in *Ardres* and *Boulongne* were not idle, but took many occasions of
invading each others Frontiers, among which one, related by *Hall*
and *Hollinshead*, seemes so memorable, that I have thought fit to in-
sert it. Three hundred French horse lying in Ambuscado neere
Guisnes, and sending some horse before to draw out the English:
a little band of eight Archers issued forth, and maintained a skir-
mish; at last twelve Demy-Lances (which *Hall* saith were all
Welch-men,) came to their rescue; the French perceiving this, issue
forth with all their Horse; but our Demy-Lances charged them
with that courage, that, killing and hurting divers, they opened
their way to the Town: ¶ These so many occasions of making
warre, enforced the King to make use of his subjects affections;
whereof that he might take the better notice, he caused a Generall
Muste or description to be made (this summer) of all his King-
dome, commanding (as *Stow* hath it out of a * warrant directed to
a Constable of a hundred) that they should certifie the names of all
above sixteen yeares old; and that they should repaire to a certain
place assigned, with their Armes, and declare what their names
are, and to whom they belong, and who is Lord of every Towne
or Hamlet, and who be Stewards, as also who be Parsons of the

June 13.

July 1.

July 16.

March. 27.

R

Town,

1522

* May

Hall.

Aug. 20.

Aug.

Towne, and what their Benefice is worth, and who be owners of every Parcell of Land within the said Precincts, and what is the yearly value of every man's Land, as also the Stocke on the Lands, and who is owner thereof; also, what strangers dwell there, and of what occupation they are; also the value and substance of every person being above sixteene yeares old, as well spirituall as temporall; also, what Pensions goe thence to Religious or Spirituall men. Which being certified againe, the King (as *Polydore* saith) rejoyced, as finding his Kingdome so wealthy. Howbeit, as he was not ready yet for a Parliament, he *borrowed of the Citizens of *London* twenty thousand pound, and sent Privy Seales to divers other rich persons of the Kingdome; In sequence whereof, he demanded a Loane (as I take it) of the tenth of the Temporality, according to the true value of their Estates, to be employed in the Warres, and a fourth of the Spirituality. But as this caused much grudging, so the Londoners (particularly) *alleged so many reasons why they could not, upon Oath, give account of their goods, and wealth, especially as long as so much of their Stock was in other mens hands, that the Cardinall at last accepted their valuation of themselves, upon their simple honesties. All which extraordinary wayes of furnishing the present necessities yet ended in a Parliament the next yeare, as shall be told in it's place. The King having thus yet gotten some Money, denounced open warre to *Francis*, unlesse hee made Peace with the Pope and Emperor. In sequence thereof Commanding the Earle of *Surrey* (and not the Duke of *Sussex*, (as the French have it) after his attempts by Sea, to goe over to *Calais* and with convenient Forces to joyne with *Horence d' Egmond*, Count de *Bure*, Generall of the Emperors Troopes. These meeting together betwixt *Ardres* (lately demolish'd) and *Saint Omar*, spoyl'd and burnt all the villages in their way till they came to *Hesdin*, in which *Odoart Seigneur de Biez*, with a strong Garrison. Commanded. But Autumne being now farre come on, and the weather very unseasonable, they could onely take the Towne, the Castle being stronger, then that it was thought fit to attempt it. They marched therefore towards *Dourlans*, which they tooke, and burnt, with all the adjoyning Villages. The season continuing still very fowle, and our men falling generally sick, the Army dissolv'd, and the rather, that the two Generalls could not agree about their designs. Before yet the Earle of *Surrey* departed, he burnt *Marquise*, and some other places neare the English Pale; which being done, he came home, and gave our King account of his journey. Whereupon also Sir *Thomas Bolen*, and *Richard Sampson* Doctor of Law were sent to *Charles* in *Spaine*, to advise what further was to be done.

The Duke of *Albany*, whom wee left in *France*, was now recall'd

recall'd by more then one voyce. For he was not onely sent for by the vote of the Nobility and People of *Scotland*, but Queene *Margaret* her selfe invited him. Besides, it is probable, that *Francis* did not unwillingly connive at his departure, as hoping he would find our King enough to doe at home. The cause why the State desired his return was, that their King was so young and some of their affaires were discomposed. But Queene *Margaret* had also her reason. For, being offended with the Earle of *Anguis* for forsaking her at *Harbottle* 1516, and scandaliz'd much at the love he now bore to a certaine Scottish Lady, she had endeavoured, by the Duke of *Albany's* meanes, to procure a Divorce at *Rome*, alleadging, among other causes, that she heard, her Hu band *James* the fourth was living three years after *Floddenfield*, and therefore not dead when she marryed him, (so much did that bruit prevaile.) But because our King againe opposed this, (as I find by our Records, whence I have the whole passage) nothing was presently done, though afterwards, new motives appearing, she was divorced from him, as will appear in it's place. The Duke, being now generally * welcom'd, banished the Earle of *Anguis* with his brother *George* into *France*, and caused his unckle *Gavin* the Learned Bishop of *Dunkeld* to be cited to *Rome*, for the rest summoning a Parliament to begin 1522. whether our King sent *Clarenceaux* Herald, to require and command the Duke to avoyd the Realme, and if hee would not, to defie him. And that hee might have just cause to use this language, he was to alleadge unto the Duke, that hee had broken an expresse Article of the Treaty in comming over; Neither could hee pretend to have any Commission from *Francis*; who, in a Letter to our King, had disavowed this Action so farre, as hee professed to bee neither privy nor consenting to his journey. Besides, that there was danger of his aspiring to the Crowne, and that the Divorce hee procured for Queene *Margaret*, was not without designe to obtaine her for himselfe. And this is the substance of that wherewith *Clarenceaux* was to charge him (as I gather out of severall Collections;) howsoever, our Records tell us, that the Duke of *Albany* replied, That, since his recall came from the Nobility and State of the Land, he would retaine it against all Kings. As for his being suspected of Ambition to the Crowne, he answered, that he had rather enjoy his meanes in *France*, then pretend to that regality. And for Queen *Margaret*, he said he had indeed negotiated a divorce in *Rome*, but with no intention to marry her himselfe, when he could; as having a wife of his own. Letters also were sent by our King to the Parliament, whereby he perswaded them to reject the Duke. But they answer'd that they would defend him against all. Lastly I find, by an originall of Queen *Margaret*, that our King writ to her also; For she there expostulates sharply with him, for beleeving those reports con-

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cerning the Duke of *Albany* and her ; defending neverthelesse the said Duke's being in *Scotland* ; adding, that, if he had not been an unkind brother, she should not have needed to provide for her selfe, by the Duke of *Albany's* assistance.

Feb..

Our King finding this took no effect, in *February* sent the Lord *Dacres*, Warden of the West-Marches, into *Scotland*, with about five hundred men, to Proclaime that the Scottish should come in to the King's Peace by the first of *March* following, or to stand to their perils, which the Duke of *Albany* suspecting would prove a Warre, had provided by this time a great Army in the Borders ; unwilling yet to doe more then to shew his power to offend. For, besides that many of the better sort judged wisely, that if matters succeeded ill, they might be called in question, when their King came to full age ; they were not ignorant, how puissant an enemy they provoked ; especially, at a time, when their Confederats the French had so much to doe elsewhere. Therefore, although the Lord *Dacres* made some Inrodes into *Scotland*, and burnt divers villages, joyning himself with the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, * Constitute Lieutenant Generall for the North Parts ; And that the Duke of *Albany* himselfe was advanced as farre as *Carlisle*, yet he retir'd ; the intercession of Queen *Margaret* prevailing for a conference to be had betwixt the Duke and the Lord *Dacres*, wherein, all for the present was quieted, whereof the Lord *Dacres* was glad, as being somewhat surpris'd at that time. This conference yet brought forth a * Truce only, for a few dayes, upon condition that the Scottish should send Ambassadors into *England*, to desire a Peace. But when they required the French might be comprehended, King *Henry* would not consent, howbeit, the Truce was prorogued : whereupon the Governour, as finding the Scottish Nobility unwilling to invade *England* on those termes, in *October* departs to *France*, to crave ayd of *Francis* ; the event whereof wee shall see the next yeare.

* July 30.

* Sept. 11.

Octob.

But while these Christian Princes were in warre thus one against the other, the Turk who had now long experience what harme the Knights of Saint *Iohn* of *Ierusalem* had done him in the *Archipelago*, thought fit to invade the Isle of *Rhodes*, (their chiefe strength and fortresse at that time.) Hereunto concurr'd a request which *Selim* upon his deathbed made unto his sonne *Solyman*, wherein he not only exhorted him to revenge the affront his Grandfather *Machomet* suffered, when hee was repulsed thence, but even as a pious and devout Act recommended this enterprize to him. Such mischiefes hath religion (which should be a new bond of Peace) authorised unto mankind, in more then one age or Country. It was not yet without much danger that *Solyman* made this attempt. For as he brought neare two hundred thousand men into a little and barren Island, so, if ever his Shiping had through firing or ill weather been cast away or destroyed, he must have perish'd there before

fore the Town could be forc'd. But such was the disunion of the Christian Princes that they lost their faire occasion; Thus, upon Saint John Baptists * day (the more to despight the Knights) this great Army entered the Island, (the Turke himselfe following in person a moneth after) and continuing the siege till Christmas, upon which day *Solyman* with great pompe entred *Rhodes*, being yeelded upon composition by *Phillip de Villiers* a French-man, Great Master of that Religion. Shortly after which, he, together with those Knights that remained, sailed towards *Rome*, and other parts of *Italy*, where comfortlesse and Errant they continued, till by the intercession of *Clement* the seventh (sometimes Knight of that Order) and the favour of *Charles*, they * obtained *Malta*, where they now reside.

In November this yeere, a Diet being held at *Noremberg*, *Adrian* sends to the Princes of *Germany*, requiring them passionately to suppress *Luther*, according to the decree at *Wormbs*; confessing neverthelesse many abuses in Ecclesiasticall Government, inso-much, that he doubted not to give *Cheregat* his Nuncio Instructions to say, *In hac sancta sede aliquot jam Annis multa abominanda fuisse*, which he therefore promised, by degrees to redresse. But the messlage pleased neither side: the Cardinals at *Rome* disliking *Adrians* free declaration; and the Princes there, as little approving the slow and indirect courses taken for reforming the many enormities then used in the Roman Church, as may appeare by their *Centum Gravamina*; the particulars whereof I have thought fit to insert, not with desire to affront any, but onely that, pursuing my intentions, the Reader may finde briefly a true History of the times.

The substance of the *Centum Gravamina*, offered to Pope *Adrian* by the Germans, was to this effect:

That the Church hath both commanded and forbidden divers things the Scripture did not: As certaine Obstacles of marriage, differences of meat, &c. all yet to be redeemed for money.

That people, who otherwise might justly marry, were yet forbidden it at certaine times, when yet both Ecclesiasticks and Laicks tooke then their Carnall liberty. Neverthelesse that for money this restraint might be dispenced with.

That Indulgences (called there *Imposture*) and pardon for sin, not onely past but future, did cause all Impiety and wickednesse, while men believed, *Modò tinniat dextra*, they should have perfect freedome from all.

That the money for Indulgences, &c. was not employed the way it was promised, that is to say against the Turke, but towards their friends and kindreds expence and luxury.

That yet the Pope, Bishops, and other principall persons of the Clergy reserved some cases to themselves, which none other can dispence with, and that this againe cost them much.

That

1522.

* June 24.

Decem. 25.

* 1525.

Novemb.

1521.

I.

II.

III.

III.

V.

1522.

VI.

That the pardon of sinnes for future times, brought in all mischief, as Perjury, Homicide, Adultery, and the like.

VII.

That certaine Preachers (called *Stationarii*) went up and down the Countrey, preaching the lives of some holy men or Saints, as *Valentine, Hubert, &c.* promising the simple people, that if they vowed themselves to those Saints, and payd such an yeerly Tribute, they should be free from such diseases, as they named.

VIII.

That the *Fratres Mendicantes*, called *Terminarii*, consumed the Almes that the poore should have.

IX.

That, at the instance of Ecclesiasticall Persons, divers Layicks were cited to *Rome*, to answer concerning busineses not belonging to that Court, as namely matters of Inheritance, Gages, and Pawnes, &c.

X.

That even Layicks, upon their Oath that they cannot hope for Justice in *Germany* before their ordinary Judge, might bring their cause to *Rome*, though otherwise it were proved that Justice were done, and the party perjured.

XI.

That certaine Judges called *Conservatores*, which were appointed by the Pope to determine the causes of certaine Ecclesiasticks, did under colour thereof trouble all other places of Judicature, and derogate from the Temporall Authority, excommunicating all that would not obey them.

XII.

That certaine Delegates and Commissaries of the Pope were often appointed to determine the secular causes of any person whatsoever, and to denounce Excommunication if they disobeyed.

XIII.

That the Pope, by exempting certaine Monasteries from the jurisdiction of their Bishops and Ordinaries, went about to draw an immediate dependance upon the Church of *Rome*, to the diminution of the Imperiall power.

XIV.

That the right of Patronage belonging to divers Layick and Ecclesiasticall persons was (under colour of prevention) usurped by the Pope and his Legats, when Benefices were vacant, and that they did conferre them usually upon Courtiers and their Favourites.

XV.

That these men either dying at *Rome*, or in their way thither, their Offices and Benefices were conferred usually by the Pope, to the detriment of the true Patrons.

XIV.

That divers undue means were practised to prove men amply Beneficed to be Courtiers, and dependants on Cardinals.

XVII.

That great Benefices or Ecclesiasticall promotions could not be confer'd on able persons, unlesse Pensions were first given out of them to the Courtiers and Officers of the Pope.

XVIII.

Th it, under pretences of making Benefices litigious, the said Courtiers and Officers drew thence great Pensions; and if the ordinary Statutes of Chancery served not, they formed and reformed them as they pleased; also the Incumbent dying during
this

this pretended controversie, the said Pretenders invaded the Benefice, to the wrong of the Patron.

1522

That the Collation of Deaneries, and other Ecclesiasticall promotions was often taken from the right Patrons by the Pope, especially if the former possessors were Courtiers.

XIX.

That in granting Benefices they used many Arts to get money, under the names of Reservations, Permutations, Surrogations, &c. to the dammage of the Patron.

XX.

That Courtiers often having Benefices in *Germany* confer'd on them, farmed them out to strangers who cannot speake the Language.

XXI.

That Archbishops and Bishops were bound by their Chapters to bestow the best vacant Benefices, with Cure or without it, among themselves onely, to the frustrating of many able Persons.

XXII.

That the houses belonging to such Benefices were suffered to fall, and the people untaught, and the Statutes of Founders not observed.

XXIII.

That divers Abbeyes, and Religious houses, being delivered in *commendam* to Cardinals, and Bishops, did not feed now above five or six persons, whereas heretofore they nourished forty or fifty.

XXIV.

That, whereas there were divers Collegiate Churches in *Germany*, into which none but Princes, Earls, Barons, or at least Gentlemen ought to be admitted; that now Courtiers, though inferiour persons, were received into them for money.

XXV.

That, whereas in the bestowing of Benefices divers ancient Priviledges and Immunities belonged both to Ecclesiasticall and Layick persons, they were now by the policy of the Roman See, eluded or infringed.

XXVI.

That, whereas Annats were payd to the Pope by Ecclesiasticks, and whereas the Princes of *Germany* did also pay them for divers yeeres, upon condition the money might be imployed in warre against the Turke; Now because they understood the money was otherwise disposed of, they desired henceforth to be eased of this great burden.

XXVII.

That Ecclesiasticks doe not pay their due parts, either for a war against the Turke, or other publique affaires; whereas having so great a portion of Revenue in *Germany*, they should furnish their reasonable share; And in this case the Church-Ornaments and Treasure are not to be spared, least they come all together into the hands of the Turke.

XXVIII.

XXIX.

XXX.

That, whereas Ecclesiasticall persons, being by taking Orders exempt from secular justice; doe thereupon take more freedome to commit Adultery, Murders, Rapine, and even Coyning moneys, to the no little scandall of Religion, and derogation of the secular Authority; and that their Superiours likewise never punish them, but being first degraded, (to which yet much ceremony and time

XXXI.

is

1522. is required,) and that the said Superiours by their Chapters, are bound not to punish them otherwise.
- XXXII. And whereas the leaving these crimes unpunished may cause sedition and tumult in the Layity, as finding the Ecclesiasticks have not parity of punishment with them:
- XXXIII. Therefore, they desired that Ecclesiasticks and Layicks may equally suffer for crimes of the same nature; And that no Order may privilege them from the Magistrate.
- XXXIV. That whereas Banns and Excommunications ought to be used onely when men are convicted of Heresie; that yet Laicks incurred this punishment for small faults, and so were driven to desperation, and excluded from Divine service.
- XXXV. That divers also, who were not properly interessed in the crime of the Excommunicated person, did yet suffer as Complices; and all this onely that more money might be gotten.
- XXXVI. That when the Priest or Ecclesiasticall person was killed by chance, the whole Town or Village was interdicted, till compensation were made, and no regard taken of the occasion given.
- XXXVII. That Holidiaies were in such number in Harvest time, that people could not get in their Corne in due season; whereas, yet innumerable mischiefs were then done, rather then Gods service frequented, according to the first Institution.
- XXXVIII. That the Revenues of the Knights of the Teutonicke Order, destin'd for war against the Turke, were applied to Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, which were neither Germans, nor of the said Order, contrary to the first Institution.
- XXXIX. That Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other Prelates obtained from *Rome* Conservators and Delegates, whence so many grievances follow to the Layicks.
- XL. That Layicks Goods and Inheritance might come to Ecclesiasticall hands by purchase, or otherwise; but that Ecclesiasticall Goods and Inheritance might never returne to the Layicks.
- XLI. That when Ecclesiasticall persons, having Inheritance descending upon them, did die intestate, divers Bishops did claime that Inheritance themselves, to the prejudice of the next right heires.
- XLII. That, whereas the profits of certaine Lands and Possessions temporall, were sometimes casually transferred by Layicks to Ecclesiasticall persons, they laboured to retaine the said Lands as their owne for ever, by submitting them to Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction.
- XLIII. That Bishops would not confirme the Foundations of Ecclesiasticall Benefices, unlesse the Founders gave them the first bestowing thereof.
- XLIV. That they were forced to purchase the confirmation of them for great sums of money.
- XLV. That, when by a Lay person any man were presented to a Benefice, he could not be invested therein, till he had paid as much

much as a yeeres profit, or two, to the Bishop and his Officers.

1522.

That Bishops raise extraordinary Subsidies on the Priests under them, so that they cannot live unlesse they get money againe from the People. Insomuch that they will administer no Sacrament unlesse some money be given.

XLVI.

That many are made Priests who have not meanes to maintaine the charge, to the derogation of their Dignity, while they exercise some sordid Trades; And that they who can get six voyces, for a Certificate obtaine Orders, when yet those Attestations were corruptly gotten.

XLVII.

That more is exacted from the People for the Consecration of Churches then is needfull; And that, though Layicks bestow divers, gifts on the Church, as Altar-pieces, &c. yet money is required for their consecration.

XLVIII.

XLIX.

That if two or more fight in the Church-yard with their fists, to the drawing of never so little blood, the Town must pay for the new consecrating thereof.

L.

That Suffragans used to baptize Bels, under pretence of driving away Divels and Tempests; And, for this purpose, did invite many rich Godfathers, who were to touch the Rope while the Bell was exercised, and its name invoked, (unto which all the people must answer.) And that a Banquet was used to be made hereupon, at the cost of the Layicks, amounting in little Towns to a hundred Florens, whither the Godfathers were to come and bring great Gifts, &c. whereas they desired that the said Bels might be baptized not onely by Suffragans, but by any Priest, with Holy-water, Salt, and Herbs, without such Costs.

LI.

That, if in any Diocesse a solemnity for a new Saint were frequented, the Bishop used to take to himselfe a third or fourth part of the offering, which yet ought to have beene employed in warre against the Turke.

LII.

That, whereas some Nunneries were governed by Provosts, the Bishops refused to accept the said Provosts till the Nuns had given them money.

LIII.

That when any Abbot or Abbess was chosen, they must be consecrated anew by the Suffragans, (though otherwise they were capable of the charge) and feasts made, and great summes paid. That also many Offices were invented in the Court of Rome, so that Bishops could not enter their charge without paying great Fees, which againe they were forced to get of the people as they could.

LIV.

That Ecclesiasticall Judges commonly were Persons of an idle life, and intentive wholly to gaine.

LV.

That though the Plantiffe be Ecclesiasticke, and the Defendant Layick, and that by the Law, *Actor Rei Forum sequi*

LVI.

1522.

debet, yet the cause was revoked still to the Ecclesiasticall Court.

LVII.

That though Justice be neither delayed nor denied in Civill Courts, yet the Ecclesiasticall persons drew matters of debt into their Courts, and oppressed men by their rigid censures.

LVIII.

That, whereas Citations and Monitories are granted against Layicks in many cases, which are known not to belong to Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, yet that the Persons so cited, either can get no remedy herein, or that, before the Civill Magistrate can avoke the cause, so much time and money is spent, as is intolerable to the poore suitor.

LIX.

That Ecclesiasticall Judges drew many causes to their Court, which belonged not to it, As Ravishments of Virgins, some cases concerning Bastardy, &c. which yet they could not be drawn to remit to the ordinary jurisdiction.

LX.

That, when a man were wrongfully called before Ecclesiasticall Judges, and at last, after much charges dismissed, yet unlesse his adversaries Proctor were satisfied to the full, he ran the danger of Excommunication.

LXI.

That Layiks, though by long prescription they payd neither great nor small Tenths, out of certaine of their Lands, yet received Citations from Ecclesiasticall Judges, and were constrained to pay, under the penalty of Excommunication; not daring to appeale to *Rome*, for feare of more excessive charges.

LXII.

That all belonging to Ecclesiasticall persons laboured also to take the advantage of the Ecclesiasticall Courts, when they had any suite against Layiks.

LXIII.

That, on occasion of injurious words onely, Ecclesiasticall persons drew the suit to their Courts, and suffered not the lawfull Judge to determine it.

LXIV.

That, in all causes where Oathes are interposed, Ecclesiasticall Judges used to avoke them, upon pretence that matter of Oathes were not otherwise to be decided: which at last yet would wholly frustrate Secular Courts; there being so many cases where-in Oathes intervene.

LXV.

That, when their judgements concern'd their Ecclesiasticall superiors, they dare not exercise it, but onely let them run against the poorer sort.

LXVI.

That they have invented many Reformations, Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes wholly differing from the usuall and Common Law; which yet tend not so much to the good of the People, as their own private gaine.

LXVII.

That, it being agreed by the Canons of the Fathers, that Spirituall punishments should be inflicted for Spirituall and manifest sinnes, Ecclesiasticall Judges and Officers yet did extend and aggravate

of King Henry the eighth.

vate these punishments so far that Layicks were forced to redeeme them with money.

That men and women, being falsely accused, yet upon their purgation, they were so farre from receiving satisfaction, that they were forced to pay for Letters of Absolution; And Oaths, besides, taken of malicious and wicked women, upon words spoken when they revile each other; which made them often incur perjury, and occasioned much offence.

That, when businesse of Matrimony hath proceeded so farre, that one of the parties pretended a Contract, which the other denied, and that some Guifts as Earnests of Marriage had passed betwixt them, the Ecclesiasticall Judges yet separating the parties, keepe the Guifts for themselves, as forfeit or escheated.

That, whereas there are certaine causes so belonging to both jurisdictions, as they are determinable by that Court which first questions them (as manifest Perjuries, Adulteries, &c.) yet the Ecclesiasticall Judges forbad the Civill to meddle herein.

That, upon pretences of Layicks, that they cannot obtaine of the Secular Magistrate execution of Justice, Citations were usually granted from the Ecclesiasticall Court, or Breves to the Secular Judges, warning them in the space of a moneth to end the said cause, or otherwise that they would take order; when, yet, the cause being brought before them, depended often the space of three yeeres without that they would grant the like power to Secular Judges.

That Ecclesiasticall Judges, under colour of prescription, arrogated much to themselves, when as yet no prescription can availe against the Pope and Emperor.

That offenders, after private confession, being required to doe publique Pennance before all the people, are compelled also to pay money to Ecclesiasticall Officers.

That, instead of forbidding Usury, they permit it for money given them; and that for an Annuall Revenue paid, they permit Clerks, Religious and Secular persons to live publiquely with their Harlots and get children.

That, if one of the marryed couple take a journey either to the warres, or to performe a Vow, to a farre Countrey, they permit the party remaining at home, if the other stay long away, upon a summe of money payd, to cohabite with another, not examining sufficiently whether the absent party were dead.

That Synodall Judges, going to poore Towns and Villages everywhere, draw Annuall Tribute thence, or Excommunicate them, when they cannot pay: And that they draw money weekly in many places, from Bakers, Brokers, Butchers, &c. under the same penalty.

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LXVIII.

LXIX.

LXX.

LXXI.

LXXII.

LXXIII.

LXXIV.

LXXV.

LXXVI.

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LXXIX. That they send Inhibitory Letters to Layicks, forbidding them to proceed in their suit, before the Secular Judge; whereby they are forced to submit to the Ecclesiasticall Court, or otherwise to appeale to *Rome*.
- LXXX. That many, not being able to endure the charges of Law in these kinds, are forced to make some bad bargaine and composition, being not able to stand out.
- LXXXI. That whereas Ecclesiasticall Judges, by giving Oathes to the Advocats and Proctors attending in their Courts, did make them obnoxious, it was manifest their Clients could have little hope of assistance, when the cause any way concern'd the said Judges or their Superiors. Neither was there any remedy for this, but by their admission of forraigne Advocates, to whom yet so short a time was allowed for bringing them to the Barr as they could not easily come.
- LXXXII. That the poorer sort, being not able to pay their Duties to the Parson, were often denied the Communion.
- LXXXIII. That Labourers in time of Vintage were Excommunicated, unlesse they tooke such Seasons as the Ecclesiasticks prescribed, upon pretence that their Tenths might suffer damage thereby.
- LXXXIV. That Synodall Judges, going Progresse yeerly under pretext of Visitation, and inflicting punishment on offenders, tooke onely occasion to exact meney.
- LXXXV. That the Canons of Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches, who had power to choose a Prelate or Superiour, would not elect him, untill he first promised and bound himselfe not to contradict them in any businesse, (how fowle soever, and dishonest) and that if they offended, he should not punish them.
- LXXXVI. That Livings belonging to Bishops, Monasteries, &c. were set forth to Vicars, at so deare Rates, that they were forced to get money againe from the poore for Confessions, Anniversaries, Obits, &c.
- LXXXVII. That, though Priests by their Foundation ought to sing such a Masse on such a day, yet they will have money therefore. Besides, with one Masse they thinke to serve divers Benefices.
- LXXXVIII. That if any of their Parishioners, for marriage or other occasion quitted his house or dwelling, he must pay so much to the Priest for Testimonials, or be Excommunicated.
- LXXXIX. That whereas, by the Popes Canons, they onely are denied Christian buriall, who without taking the Communion, died in any notorious and mortall sinne, yet their Ecclesiasticks extended the Law further, and denyed buriall to men deceased by chance, as drownd or killd, untill such money were payd.
- XC. That many Priests, and other Ecclesiasticall Persons mixt themselves with the multitude, dancing and disguising themselves, wearing

wearing Swords, with which they made affrays, and hurt people, and yet constrained them to pay.

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That in most places, Bishops, and their Officials not onely tolerated Concubinage, upon paying money in the more dissolute sort of Monkes, but exacted it also in the more continent; saying, it was now at their choice whether they would have Concubines or no.

XCXI.

That at the Dedication of Churches, permission was given to the Chaplaines and Priests to set up Taverns, Dice, Cards, &c

XCXII.

That, at the point of death, they perswaded men by flattery and fictions, to give their Goods from their Children unto them.

XCXIII.

That Mendicant Friars drew many Causes to Rome unjustly, to the grievance of the Layicks, getting also so much money, that they had lately bought three Cardinals Hatts for their Generals at a huge Rate, and that they much molested Nunneries.

XCXIV.

That the Legats and Orators of Popes made Bastards, and others borne *ex damnata coito* to be legitimate, to the no little wrong of the right heires. And that they made also certaine Viscount Palatines as their Substitutes, having power also to legitimate and admit Bastards to succession; And to make Notaries, when yet some of them are so ignorant, as they know not what belongs to a Notaries place. Besides, the said Legats goe about to absolve men from their Oathes, Pacts, and Obligations, with permission to treat *de novo*; then which nothing yet repugned more to equity and justice. Besides, that they endeavoured to take Livings from the true Patrons, and bestow them as they pleased.

XCXV.

XCXVI.

That, because Religious persons succeeded Secular men in their Inheritance, and not *vice versa*; there could be no equality, unlesse that before any entered into a Religious life, they renounced their succession in Temporall estates.

XCXVII.

XCXVIII.

That the chiefe part of these grievances having been represented in the late Diet at Wormbs to the Emperor by the Lay-States, against Arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, that yet no remedy ensued. And that therefore all the Secular States of the Roman Empire renewed now their Petition to the Pope that his Holinesse would reforme these abuses.

XCIX.

That there are many Grievances more intolerable then these, which the said Secular Estates of the Roman Empire could shew, but (for brevity) did forbear, as hoping that when those were taken away, the rest would follow.

C.

Wherefore, by way of finall Petition the said Secular Estates of the Roman Empire, both of the higher and lower sort, did beseech his Holinesse to take away, amend and abrogate the said Grievances; or otherwise that themselves would take such course as should be expedient for the remedy thereof.

1522.

While, that his Holinesse might take the better notice thereof, they thought fit to digest their grievances into these Heads, and send them to his Holinesse.

These Abuses and Grievances (which, as much as through the obscurity of some termes used there, was possible, I have endeavoured faithfully to abbreviate) being published, *Luther* became more obstinate, repenting now his submission at *Wormbes*; Inso-much that at *Wittenberg*, he doubted not to abolish the old Masse, and to frame a new Liturgy, &c. Of which more hereafter.

1523.
April 15.
Regn. 14.

Our King finding now his extraordinary waies for levying money to faile, or at least having resolved to determine them in a Parliament, summon'd it to be held in the *Black-friars* in *London* upon the fifteenth of *April*, in the fourteenth yeere of his Raigne. And here the Cardinall tooke order that the Spirituality should lead. The businesse of Subsidy, therefore, being brought into the Convocation-House, found a faire way for the most part. Yet *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *John Fisher* Bishop of *Roche-ster*, and one *Philips* opposed it. But the Cardinall, silencing some, and causing others to absent themselves, prevailed at last. Inso-much that one halfe of the Revenues spirituall for one yeere, was granted payable in five yeers following. Hence the Cardinall went to the house of Commons, wherein an elegant Oration, breach of Faith was layd to the charge of *Francis* the first, upon the League sworne for the generall Peace of Christendome. Besides, default of payment for *Tournay*, and other things were objected; so that the King could doe no lesse in this publique cause, then joyne in war with *Charles* the Emperour against him. And because the charge thereof was cast up to DCCC thousand pounds, it was required, that the aforesaid summe might be raised out of the fifth part of every mans Goods and Lands to be payd in foure yeeres.

April 29.

This being said, the Cardinall departed. The next day Sir *Thomas More*, (Speaker of the House) inforced this demand, demonstrating how it was not much on this occasion, to pay foure shillings in the pound. But the House of Commons answered, that though some were well moneyed, yet in generall the fifth part of mens Goods was not in Plate or Money, but in stocke or Cattell. And that to pay away all their Coyne would alter the whole frame, and intercourse of things. For, if Tenants came to pay their Land-lords in Corne and Cattell onely; and the Land-lord againe could not put them off for those things he had need of, there would be a stop in all Traffique and Merchandize, and consequently the shipping of the Kingdom must decay; And the Nation it selfe for want of money, grow in a sort barbarous and ignoble. To this was answered.

That the Money demanded ought not to be accounted as lost:

or

or taken away, but onely to be transferr'd into others hands of their kindred or Nation; Herein therefore, that no more was done, then that we see ordinarily in Markets; where, though the Money change Masters, yet every one is accommodated. Howsoever, that no man ought to refuse unto him that fighteth for the honour and safety of his Countrey, so much as will maintaine him; since he denies it not even to his labourer. That those who are imploy'd, must have been fed when they staid idle at home, and yet that they ask'd no more now, to give the uttermost prooffe of well-deserving Patriots. Howbeit, you may reply, this will exhaust the Coine from the poorer sort; but, to avoid this objection, let the richer go themselves. Let them shew, in defending their Country, that they merit the better and greater parts thereof. Our King will not deny them this Honour. Or, when they would desire to be exempt, and lay the burthen and hazard upon others, let them not grudge yet the giving so poore a stipend, as some of their servants, at home, would scarcely take to stand bare-headed to them. Neither are they to value themselves more then others, because they have larger Possessions, unlesse they imploy it to the publique good; since, in ancient times, and even true Reason of State, they deserved not so much, who till'd and manur'd a Country, as they who defended it. Nor is it well said of you, when you object that this will carry the Money out of *England*, and leave it in *France*; for doth it not carry the men too, and so in effect prove but the same expence? Notwithstanding, if you be so obstinate, as to beleieve that making warre in a Country brings money to it, doe but conceive a while, that the French had invaded us. Would the money they brought over, thinke you, enrich our Country? should any of us be the better for it? Let us therefore lay aside those poore scruples, and doe what may be worthy the dignity and honour of our Nation. When you did conceive the worst that can fall out, you should yet eat your Beefe and Mutton here, and weare your Country Cloth; while others, upon a short allowance, fought, only that you might enjoy your families and liberty. But I say confidently you need not feare this penury or scarcenesse of Money; the intercourse of things being so establish'd throughout the whole world, that there is a perpetuall derivation of all that can be necessary to mankind. Thus your Commodities will ever find out Money; while, not to goe farre, I shall produce our own Merchants onely, who, (let me assure you,) will be alwayes as glad of your Corne and Cattell, as you can bee of any thing they bring you. Let us therefore (in Gods name) do what becomes us, and for the rest, entertaine so good an opinion of our Souldiers, as to beleieve, that in stead of leaving our Country bare, they will adde new Provinces to it, or, at least, bring rich spoiles and Triumphes home.

At last, after some debate and contention, it was agreed by the Commons

1523

Commons, that every man of Estate of twenty pound yearly and upwards, should pay two shillings in the pound; and from twenty pound a yeare downward to forty shillings, one shilling in the pound; and under forty shillings every head of sixteene yeares old or more should pay foure pence, in two yeares. The Cardinall hearing no more intended, seem'd much troubled, and therefore, coming to the Lower House of Parliament, He told them, that he desir'd to reason with those who oppos'd his demands; but being answer'd, that it was the order of that House to heare, and not to reason, but among themselves, the Cardinall departed. Yet by the liberall Motion of some of the Lower House, those of fifty pound Land and upwards, were induced to give one shilling more, (being three shillings in the pound) for three yeares to come, which at length being continued to the fourth yeare, and extended to those who were worth five pound in goods, was all that could be obtained.

The more famous Statutes enacted this Parliament, fourteene, and fifteene *Reg. Henry* the eighth, were these.

That our Merchants might have eight dayes preference before strangers, for buying of broad white-wollen Clothes, brought to *Blackwell-Hall* in *London*; unlesse in Faires, Ports, Creekes, &c. That strangers using a handy Craft, should take no Apprentises, nor above two Journey-men, unlesse they were the King's Subjects. That they should be under the search and reformation of the Wardens and Fellowship of Handy-Crafts, and one substantiall Stranger, to be chosen by the said Wardens. That they should cause a Marke to be put on the Wares, and workman-ship, to be knowne thereby. That, if they were falsely and deceitfully made, they should be forfeit. That this Provision should extend to strangers, living in other Townes than *London*. That, if strangers were wrong'd, they might seek their remedy from the Lord Chancellor and Treasurer of *England*, or the Justices of Assize in the Counties where they liv'd. That, during this Parliament, their Apprentises or Journey-men might continue as before, and so to endure till the last day of the next Parliament. This Act yet was not to extend to strangers of *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and the Sanctuary of *Saint Martins le Grand* in *London*. That, if the Officers refused to put a Mark on the Wares, or workmanship of Joyners, Black-Smiths, &c. being strangers; That then it was lawfull for the strangers to sell them without the said Marke. That Lords and others the Kings Subjects of an hundred pounds yearly might take and retaine strangers. being Joyners, and Glasiers, for their private service, this Act notwithstanding. That English men living under forraigne Princes, and being sworn to them, should pay such Custome to our King, Subsidy and Toll, as other strangers of those parts doe. And that the Governour of the Merchant Adventurers, or the King's Ambassadors in Forraigne Countreys, shall certifie

certifie their names to the Chancery, to the intent that order may be given therein to the Kings Officers in Havens, Ports, and Creeks. Yet if any such English-man, did returne to inhabite here, that then he should be restored to all Liberties of a Subject.

A Colledge of Physicians (among whom was that famous and learned *Linaker*, chiefe Physician to the King) was erected, and certaine authorities and Priviledges granted to them.

Moreover the Statute of V I. Hen. VIII. XIII. for shooting in Crosse-Bowes, or Hand-Guns was dispensed with in men of one hundred pound *per annum*. That Coyners who make Money in any Mint in *England*, should Coyne of every hundred pounds of Gold, twenty pound into halfe Angels or peeces of xl. pence, and of every hundred pounds worth of Bullion, Plate or Silver, a certaine portion into Groats, Two-pences, Pence, Halfe-pence, and Farthings (the Farthings to have a Marke different from the Halfe-pence.) That they who bringlesse then 100 pounds in Bullion or Plate to the Mint, shall have the tenth part thereof in Half-pence and Farthings. That this yet shall not extend to the Mint-masters of York, *Durham*, or *Canterbury*. Concerning which Law, it is worth the noting, that though it was for the benefit of the Subjects, to have so much of the smallest sort of Coine, yet by reason of their littlenesse, it is all worne out.

That they which be in the Kings service in warres may aliene their Lands, for performance of their wills, without any fine for Alienation. And, if any of them dye in the Kings service in War his Feof-fees or Executors shall have the wardship of his Heire and Lands.

I find also in this Parliament, an Act for Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham*. And an other for the restitution of *Henry Lord Stafford*, sonne to the said Duke.

M. S.

Also an Act pass'd that the King shall, for his life have Authority by his Letters Pattents at his pleasure to Reverse, Repeale, and Annull, all attaindors of high Treason, and to restore their Heires, &c.

M. S.

While these affaires at home were in agitation, the Cardinall * sending *Thomas Anniball* Doctor of Law) to Pope *Adrian* then in *spaine*, * obtained the continuance of his Legantine Power for five yeares more, which yet (saith *Polydore*) he made so veniall, as if, to recompence the heavy Loanes and payments he had impos'd on the people, he would take order to discharge them of their sinnes at an easie rate.

March. 9.

March. 22.

Pol. virg.

The King having sent divers times into *Scotland*, to require that his Nephew *James*, might have exercise of that Regall Authority which was due unto him, and the Duke of *Albany* dischar'd from his place of *Vice-Roy*, receiv'd so uncertaine and dilatory Answers, that he thought fit to desist a while from his designs in *France*, and to pursue this. Therefore he makes a particular dispatch to Sir

Thomas

1523

March.

Aprill.

Aug. 10.

Sept. 24.

Buck.

Thomas Belen, Treasurer of his household, and *Mr. Richard Sampson* Deane of his Chappell, resident then in *spaine*, requiring them to excuse him, if he did not proceed so roundly to the execution of the Treaty at *Windsor*, (formerly mention'd) since, for defence of his Nephew, he was constrain'd to take in hand the businesse of *Scotland*; yet that he would, in good time, performe all that could be required on his part. Together with which they were charged, to intimate some jealousies he had of a neare Alliance propos'd betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*; whereof he would gladly be clear'd. Presently after which, he sent the Duke of *Surry* (Lieutenant of the Borders) commanding him to joyne with *Marquesse Dorset*, (Warden of the East and middle Marches) and *Lord Dacres* Warden of the West Borders of *Scotland*. These Lords, having gathered together convenient forces, took *Iedworth*; and, making frequent incursions, did great harm to that Country; without other intention yet (as the Scottish have it,) then to reduce that Nation to a better intelligence with *England*. Hereupon, the Duke of *Albany*, who was in *France*, prepares to return to *Scotland*. Our King, advertis'd hereof, sends out his Navy to intercept him. *Sir William Fitzwilliams* with 36 great Ships, coasting *France*, and *Anthony Pointz* with a convenient Navy, guarding the Western Seas. While *Fitzwilliams* attended this occasion, he discover'd twelve French Ships, in which the Arch-Bishop of *Glasco* and divers others of quality were, whom the Duke of *Albany* had sent before him into *Scotland*. Giving Chase to these, two of them were cast away neere the Havens of *Diepe* and *Boulogne*. After which, *Fitzwilliams*, leaving part of his Fleet to shut up the French Ships, (which were fled into those Havens) proceeded himself along the French Coasts, Landing in divers places and wasting the Country; till at last he came to *Treport*, a Town strongly situated and Garrison'd with three thousand Men; which Fortifications our Men (though a far lesse number) gain'd, together with divers peeces of Ordnance, chasing the French that remain'd to the Town, yet finding it was not their businesse to lay a siege at this time, they only burnt the suburbs, and the Ships they met in the Haven, and so return'd. The Duke of *Albany*, knowing how narrowly he was watch'd by the English, had caus'd all provision for his returne unto *Scotland* to be conceal'd, and made it to be voyced abroad, that he had no purpose to stir out of *France* this yeare: which our King understanding, call'd home his Fleet. But it was no sooner in harbour, then *Albany* hasting together his Men and Ships, set saile at *Brest*; and, passing along the West Coast of *England*, landed in the Island of *Arraine* Sept. 24. to the great joy of the Scots, and with him came *Richard de-la-Pole* and three thousand French. When *Albany* came, the minds of the Nobility were divided, some favour'd the English, some the French: It being disputed much before the comming of the Governor, to whether side it were best to adhere.

The

The favourers of the English Party (which were many,) alleadg'd the conformity in Person, Manners, Language, and Lawes betwixt the two Nations; Their living and neighbour-hood within the same Island; the Power the English had, not only to doe more good or hurt, but sooner then the French could prevent them: That the English were Masters of the Seas; and thereby, able to stop, and interclude all succour that could come to them from any other place. Lastly, divers Letters were produc'd, written from our King to the Nobility of *Scotland*, wherein he did offer both to maintaine Peace there, and to confirme it, by giving the Princess *Mary* his daughter in marriage unto *James* his Nephew, since he had vehement suspitions that *Charles* intended a match elsewhere.

Those who favoured the French (whereof many (saith the same Author) were gained with large gifts, and Pensions, or were such, as, being of meane fortune, desir'd to make their advantage in the publique troubles) replied hereunto, That credit was not easily to be given to the specious pretext of a new Allyance, the former having succeeded no better; especially, when all things in *England* were ordered chiefly *Ex Arbitrio Thomæ Woolsey Cardinalis pravi & ambitiosi* (as *Buchanan* hath it.) That, the occasions of falling out betwixt potent neighbours, being frequent; friends were to bee sought out in any other place. Howsoever, their ancient Ally, (the French) was to be acquainted herewith, and no time to be lost for preparations to defend themselves.

These, though but cavils of the more tumultuous sort, being joyned to the rancor of others, prevail'd so with the heady multitude, that, in the Parliament which the Governor summon'd as soone as he came to *Scotland*, it was presently resolv'd, that he should raise a puissant Army. These being gathered, march to a Wooden Bridge over *Twede*, neare *Mul-Rosse*, which leads to *England*; here the Duke pass'd over the greatest part of his forces, intending the rest should follow; but because divers muttered against the causelesnesse and danger of this attempt, he thought it his best Course, presently to bring them back againe. Passing thence, hee commanded Siege to be laid to the Castle of *Werke*, lately fortified by the Earle of *Surry*. Some French here, that served on the Scottish side, found meanes to enter the base Court, in which the Cattell and Corne of the neighbour-hood in dangerous times were usually kept. But the English, for all other manner of repulse, setting fire only to the hay and straw there, smoked out the French: Hereupon a Battery was planted against the Walls, and a sufficient breach made; wherewith an assault was given by the French and others, but being beaten back with the losse of many, and the Earl of *Surry* being with a great Army not farre off the Duke desisted and retir'd, doing no more with his Army for that yeare, shortly after which by the mediation of *Queena Margaret*, a Truce was concluded.

Each.

Each,

Octob. 21.

Novemb' 11.

1523.
Tillet.

June.

Campion.
Hist. fil.

Sleid. Com.

1514.

1520.

* June 15

Aug. 24.

* Sept. 20.

cluded. And thus our King quitted himselfe of the troubles which *Francis* stirr'd against him, in *Scotland*. Let us now looke on *Ireland*, for there also *Francis* had his projects. And *Tillet* sets down a Treaty between *Francis* and *James*, Earl of *Desmond* in *June* 1523. But, as it took no effect, by reason of *Francis* his businesse in other parts, so it hastned the second troubles of the Earle of *Kildare*, who though he had freed himselfe of his imprisonment in *England*, by the favour he got upon his match with *Elizabeth Gray*, Sister to the *Marquess* *Dorset*, and so was remitted home to his former charge, (*Pierce Butler* being upon some Accusations put out) yet, being Kinsman to *Desmond*, he could not so behave himselfe, but that his illwillers found Arguments to traduce him; But of this in its place.

While these things were doing, the Kingdome of *Denmarke* suffer'd a great change. For *Christerne* the second succeeding his Father *Iohn*, Anno 1514. the Swedes not long after rebell'd, making *Steno Stura* their Head, who yet being slaine in Battaille, and the Swedes overcome, *Christierne* commands his body to be disinterred and burnt; which with other cruelties, made the Swedes take arms againe, under *Gastavus Erixon*, whom they made their King, and separated themselves wholly, from the Crown of *Denmarke*: *Christierne* having thus lost Sweden, and incurrd the hate of the Danes by his Tyrannicall Government, fearing conspiracy at home, and warre from abroad, left his Kingdome to be invaded and taken by his unckle *Frederick*, Duke of *Holst*; (whom the *Lubeckers* ayded in the enterprize) and, flying together with *Isabell*, sister to *Charles* the Emperor and his three children, (one Sonne and two daughters) as voluntary Exiles from their own Country, went first to *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* with a * small Traine came hither. Their misfortune yet did not hinder them to find a reception worthy their degree; our Queene, being Aunt to his, taking particular compassion on them. After all manner of Royall Entertainment, therefore, for the space of about three weekes that they stay'd, and divers rich Presents bestowed upon them, they thought fit, upon some hopes given them of recovering their Kingdome, to depart hence againe into *Flanders*.

The Duke of *Suffolke*, being attended by the Lord *Montacute*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord *Ferrers*, Lord *Morney*, Lord *Sands*, Lord *Berkley*, Lord *Pomys*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army of six hundred Demilances, two hundred Archers on Horseback, three thousand Archers on Foot, and five thousand Bill-men, besides two thousand & six hundred Prisoners came to *Calais*. To these again the Duke added one thousand & seven hundred more, taken out of the Garrisons thereabouts. With this little Army he marched into the Enemies Countrey, taking all places that resisted him by the way. At * last *Florence d' Egmond Count de Bure* General to the Emperor, joyn'd his Forces; so that in all they made a-

bout

about twenty thousand men, yet as it was now about the latter end of *September*, and the weather prov'd very unseasonable, it was difficult to performe any great action. King *Henry* yet would have them begin with *Boulogne*; but the Imperials said it was impregnable, and that for entring *France*, it were better to coast the River of *Some*, which they did, their designe being to come to a Battell, as being advertis'd that the French had long since attended their comming. But finding no Forces in the field, they besieged *Bray* on the River *Some*. In this Towne, *Monsieur Ancoine de Crequi*, *Seigneur de Pont-Dormy* commanded, with a strong Garrison; But a breach being made by our Men, and violently assaulted, *Ancoine de Crequi*, having set fire on the Towne, fled over the Bridge, with the men that remain'd, drawing some Boards after him; but our men laying on other Planks, and geting over, chased him, and kill'd divers of his Men. When they return'd, they found little safe from the fire, but some Cellars of Wine, which, in that Cold and wet time, was a great reliefe. From hence, passing over *Some*, they marched towards *Roye*, taking by the way some lesser places. This Towne being summon'd, and promising to yeeld, *Sir Richard Cornwall* with foure hundred men was sent to take possession of it. Thence the Army marched towards *Montdidier*, where by the way *Monsieur de Pont-Dormy* meeting with some of our horse scatter'd, put them to the worst. But at last, more of our men comming, his horse was kill'd under him, and he, mounting on an other, was constrain'd to flye. *Monsieur de Barniuelles* and *de Canaples* yet stood the shock, to favour the retreat of the rest; which part while they performed bravely, our men overthrew and took them prisoners, with some others of note. From hence then they went to *Montdidier*, in which *Monsieur de Roche-baron*, with about 1200 men, commanded. But, after some foure houres battery of our Cannon, they capitulated and yeelded. The Duke with his Army had now pass'd the River of *Oyse*, and was come within eleven Leagues of *Paris*; without that he met with any notable encounter. The Parisians hereupon were much troubled. Neither could the comming of *Monsieur de Vendosme*, with some Forces, exempt them altogether from feare. But the time of yeare being far spent, and the weather falling out to be so extreme cold, that almost all the Corne in *France* was frozen and spoild that yeare, (as the French confesse,) our men were forc'd to returne. Besides, the Lady Regent in the *Low-Countreys* withdrew pay from her Souldiers, and let all the charge fall upon King *Henry*.

Octob. 20.

Bellay.

It was not therefore misdoubt of any attempt of the French, (whatsoever they bragge,) they having no Army in the field, but onely the cause formerly alledg'd that made them retire. They took yet the Castle of *Bouchain* near the Emperor's Territories, before they departed, which yet together with the other places, was presently recovered by the French. Our King, hearing now the Ar-

T

mies

1523.

mies were dissolv'd, seem'd to be much incens'd : his intention being to keepe and fortifie the places that were taken. Therefore he had commanded the Lord *Montjoy* with six thousand men to reinforce the Troupes. But, before the Kings pleasure could be certified to *France*, The Duke (who by reason of the foule wayes left his great Ordnance in the Towne of *Valenciennes*) was come, with the rest of his Army, to *Calais*; where he thought good to stay, till the Kings anger were appeas'd, by the representing of those important and necessary causes, that made him desist from any other enterprize this yeare, wherewith therefore the King at last being intirely satisfied, he was received into his former grace and favour.

Francis finding now two of his Armies dissolved and ruin'd, resolves in Person to bring a third. For as he found his Auxiliaries more than the French forces could command, and that, together, they had not their pay in due time, he intended now to remedy these faults. But this voyage succeeded worst of all. So little can intervening Accidents, but especially those of warre, be prevented by humane wisdom. Being on his way now as farre as *Lyons*, he heares three Armies were preparing against him ; one on the part of our King, for *Picardy* ; an other on the Emperors part, for *Burgundy* and *Champaigne* ; and a third on the Spanish side for *Fuentarabye*. That on the English side yet astonish'd him most, as suspecting he had given our King enough to doe in *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Therefore, he staves at *Lyons*, and sends *Bonivet* before with the greatest part of his forces, consisting of the flowre of the Nobility of *France* ; In which also *Richard de la Pole* (return'd now from *Scotland*) was ; and reserves the rest for the most urgent occasions. Only, he wanted *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, whom I find so considerable a Person at this time, both with our King and the Emperor, as I have thought fit to speake of him, with much particularity. The causes of his discontentment (as the French writers have it) were many.

Dupleix.

That, being of great bloud and excellent parts, he was excluded from the Kings secret Counsell.

That, having done ill Offices to *Francis* in the time of *Loüis* the twelfth, *Francis* challeng'd him to a Duell, (which unkindnesse yet, *Francis* comming to the Crowne effaced by giving him the Place of Constable.)

That he was denyed to have *Renee*, Sister to *Queene Claude*, when yet she desir'd to Marry him.

That (as is before mention'd) the King gave the Vantguard from him, being Constable, to the Duke of *Alancón*.

That having lay'd out much Money for the warres of *Italy* out of his purse, the King not only refus'd to pay him, but detain'd some Pensions and Rents, which were due to him for divers yeares.

That a Processe or Law-suite was brought against him, about the Duchy of *Bourbon*, being inheritance devolv'd to him, in right of *Susan* his wife lately dead.

That

That *Louise* the Kings Mother, persecuted him, because he refus'd to marry her, and was a Tutor to *Renée*.

1523.

That the Chancellor and others oppos'd him, for the sake of *Louise*, who was in greatest authority.

These again being industriously fomented by *Adrian de Croy*, *Seigneur de Beaurain*, on the Emperors part, and *William Knight*, Doctor of the Law, Resident for our King with the Lady *Margaret*, and lastly by Sir *John Russell*, who in disguised habit often Treated with him, (as I find by our Records) made him finally Revolt. Neither did our King make difficulty to appear herein. *Francis* having not onely supported *Richard de la Pole*, but Treated with *Desmond*; so that finally, conditions were agreed on with *Bourbon*, to this effect;

Mary.

That he should marry *Leonora*, Sister to the Emperor, and wife to *Emanuel* King of *Portugall* lately dead.

That he should be King of some part of *France*, as soon as *Francis* was outed.

That the Emperor should have *Burgundy*, and *Artois*, and our King *Normandy* and *Guyenne*; and the Title of King of *France*; and that, besides, he should renounce all the claime the French pretend to *Italy*.

This yet was not kept so close, but some notice of it came to *Francis*, who thereupon with a singular Franchise, did visit him, at *Molins*, faining then to be sick, and discover'd the intelligence given him; promising yet that all should be forgotten upon his confession, and assurance to serve him faithfully in his warres; giving furthermore his Royall word, that the inheritance now in question should be restored, when it were by Law evicted. *Bourbon* thus surpris'd, & counterfeiting his weaknesse still, confess'd he was indeed fought to, but would never condescend to any disloyalty. The King hereupon departed well satisfied in apparence; but as the Proesse or Law-suite went on, and some secret Guards were put on him; *Bourbon*, offended, escapes in a disguised habit to *Genoia*: whither the *Seigneur de Beaurain* came from the Emperor to offer him his choice, whether he would command the Imperiall Army in *Italy*, or come to *Spaine* (where *Charles* had newly extinguished a Rebellion in *Mallorca*, and given order to besiege *Fuentarabie*.) But *Bourbon* chose to command the Army; both as it was more generous, and as he did thereby comply best with both Princes; to whom he was oblig'd (as I find by our Records,) to furnish five hundred men at Armes, and tenthousand foot, for performing the Agreement betwixt them. But *Francis* had also other strong oppositions; for though he labour'd to retaine the Venetians; yet as that State considered *Italy* would be quieter when *Francesco Sforza* held *Milan*, then if it came under the domination of the French, they easily abandoned *Francis*.

Sept.
Decemb.

Whereupon a League was entred into, betwixt the Pope, the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, *Francesco Sforza*, *Julio de Medicis*, the *Florentines*,

Aug. 3.

1523.

those of *Siena*, *Lucca*, and *Genoua*; and the Venetians; place being left also for our King; By which it was concluded, among other things, that the Venetians should furnish six thousand Foot, and one thousand two hundred Horse, when *Francesco Sforza* in *Milan*, or the Emperor in *Naples*, were invaded.

That the Emperor should doe as much for them, in the like case.

Aug. 11.

All parts thus tending to warre, *Bonivet* using much dilligence, marched straite to *Milan*, where *Colonna* had retir'd himselfe; The Army of the League being not yet joyned. But *Galeazzo Viscount* of *Milan*, meeting and desiring him to stay, till hee had raised a Tumult in the City (whereof he assured him in two or three dayes) *Bonivet* lost his opportunity; *Colonna* using that space to put the Towne in such defence, as *Bonivet* retir'd. Yet so, as hee forgot not to relieve the Castle of *Cremona*, the Garrison whereof was reduced only to eight Persons. Neither did he more of Importance (though *Colonna* now dyed) but attended six thousand Grisons, and eight thousand Swisses; But as the Grisons, finding their passage seiged on, returned; So the Swisses, because they wanted only foure hundred Horse to convoy them, (according to the Agreement made) refused to come to the French, when the Imperiall Army, now united, was approaching. This made the French wade through a water, to joyn with them. But *Bourbon*, and the Imperialists passing also, charg'd the French so, as *Bonivet* being hurt escaped, and the *Count de Saint Poll* & *Bayard* sustained the shocke. When *Bayard* having receiv'd a mortall hurt, (whereof he dyed, leaning on a Tree, with his face turn'd to the Enemy) all the Army was routed, and the Ordnance and Baggage taken. Whereupon also *Alessandria*, *Rhodes*, and other places were rendered. But at *Fuentarabie*, *Francis* had no better fortune. For *Franget* Governor thereof, being desirous to save his goods, yeelded the place without much constraint, towards the end of Sept. 1523. for which he was degraded upon a Scaffold at *Lyons* publicly.

Notwithstanding all these oppositions, yet *Francis* lost not his Native courage, but proceeded in his designe for *Italy*. For as hee knew the Army of the League had different designes, hee hoped some occasion or other would disunite them; neither did it trouble him that *Sforza* was put in the possession of *Milan*: For he knew the Imperialists would hold a hand high and hard enough to disoblidge him. Besides, he found that a designe the Emperor had on *Burgundy*, failed, for want of money to pay certaine Lansequeners, who thereupon were drawn to his service.

Sept. 14.

Sept. 30.

Adrian's death this while intervening, through poyson, (as some have it,) *Cardinall Woolsey* hearing thereof, by a Letter dated 30. Septemb. 1523. adviseth the King hereof; adding further, that his not being at *Rome* was the only obstacle that could hinder him from obtaining that dignity. Yet, that he thought none there present would be Elected, by reason of the Faction among them.

Therefore

of King Henry the eighth.

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Therefore hee humbly intreated his Highnesse, that, since heretofore he thought him worthy of that Charge, hee would now assist him. This Letter also was seconded by an other, Dated *October* the first, desiring the King to write with his own hand to the Emperor, to this purpose. Notwithstanding all which endeavours, He being, about two Monethes after, inform'd that *Julio de Medici* was made Pope, by the name of *Clement* the seventh, thought fit, for justification of his Merit, to write again to our King, that the businesse was not yet so clearly carryed, but that many of the Cardinals concurr'd on him; though, by reason of his absence, and the dangerous state of *Italy*, (which requir'd present remedies,) they insisted on the other. Whereupon it was thought fit by the King and Cardinall to send to *John Clerk* now Bishop of *Bath*, Secretary *Pace*, and *Thomas Anniball*, Doctor of Law, and Master of the Rolles then resident at *Rome*, a dispatch, requiring them to congratulate his Election, and together intreat him, not only to continue the disaffection he had ever shew'd to the French, but to give publique Testimonies thereof according to the greatnesse of that power which now was in him. The Cardinall, also by a particular dispatch, desir'd *Richard Pace* to procure, that his Legantine power might be amplified; protesting that, by reason of the Kings Prærogative, and other causes, it was not a thousand Duckats yearely to him: yet, if that his authority and faculties might be enlarged, that it should be thankfully acknowledged. All which *Clement* condiscended unto, and the Legantine power, which *Adrian* granted only from five yeares to five years; was now (by a new example) given him for tearme of life, *Ian. 9. 1524.*

Thus had *Woolsey* (to comfort him for his repulse in *Rome*,) a kind of Papall authority in *England*; whereof, also, he made the uttermost use. Though, while amongst other visitations, Hee would needs visit the *Freres Observanes*, he found himself resisted; which yet he could not take ill, the Pope having desir'd him particularly to spare them.

While these greater exploits in *France* and *Scotland* pass'd thus, many brave Actions with small numbers were perform'd in the confines of the English and French Pale; insomuch that a company of adventurers there, nick-named the Crakers, grew very famous thereby; till, being at last oppressed by the *Count Dan-martine*, who with one thousand five hundred horse and eight hundred Foot, assailed them, being onely one hundred seventy five Foot and twenty five Horse, they took their end: which happen'd not yet till they had fought it out, to the last man. The like feats also were done, betweene the Borders of *England* and *Scotland* on either side, some of which our Chroniclers particularly relate. But as these warres in severall Countries, drave the King to an excessive charge, so, in *October* this yeare, it was required, from all men worth forty pound, that the whole subsidy, granted in Par-

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Octob. 1.

Novemb. 19.

Decemb.

March. 22.
1522.

Aug. 31.

Hall.

1524.

Decemb.
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liament, and payable in foure yeares, should be anticipated, and brought to the King in one entire payment.

This the Commons imputed to the Cardinall, but he apprehended it not, as thinking his Ecclesiasticall dignity would ever prove a sufficient protection for him against the hate of the people. Therefore, he doubted not to be the author of many rash Counsell, upon pretence onely of furnishing the Kings necessities; neither did he beleeeve, that, when he had precipitated the Royall Authority to violent and dangerous courses, himselfe should fall: as thinking his place in the Church so high, as would give him leave ever to looke securely upon any ruine, some arguments whereof appear'd in his designe to build two Colledges, one at *Oxford*, the other at *Ipswich* (where he was borne) at the price of throwing downe certaine Monasteries, and appropriating the Revenues thereof to this use. The designe for the Colledge at *Ipswich* was to erect onely a Grammer Schoole, to traine up the youth till they were ready for the University; but that in *Oxford* (call'd first Cardinal's, then King's Colledge, now Christ's Church) was nobler; for the building was intended most ample and magnificent, (as the foundations and first lines demonstrate,) the number of Students, Professors, &c. great; as appears by a Catalogue found among our Records, and inserted here.

Decanus.

Subdecanus.

Sexaginta Canonici primi Ordinis. ———— } Omnes Studijs incu-
Quadráginta Canonici secundi Ordinis --- } bituri.

Tresdecem Presbyteri Conductitii } Omnes Divinorum Celebrationi
Duodecem Clerici Conductitii --- } quotidie inservituri.
Sexdecem Choristæ. ———— }

Professores Collegii & Academiæ publici.

Sacræ Theologiæ. ———— Medicinæ.

Iuris Canonici. ———— Artium Liberalium.

Iuris Civilis. ———— Humaniorum Literarum.

Professores Privati & Domestici.

Philosophiæ. ———— Sophistriæ.

Logices. ———— Humaniorum Literarum.

Censores Morum & Eruditionis, Quatuor.

Præfeti Ærarii, Tres.

Vacantes colligendis Redditibus, Quatuor.

Ministri Communes Collegii, Viginti, in re-

Oeconomica prædictis subservituri.

Summa totius numeri, Clxxxvi.

Assignantur item annuatim non mediocres pecuniarum Summæ, Partim in excipiendis Convivio extraneis insumende; Partim in Eleemosynas singulis anni quartis erogande. Præter sumptus equitii, ac aliorum, quæ in tanta familia in-dies occurrunt, & sunt necessaria.

I finde also, that about 1524, he sought in *Italy* and elsewhere, for able men to be his Readers. Among whom at this time the Excellent *John Ludovius Vives* (a Spaniard) was sent to him to be Professor of Eloquence in *Oxford*. And, for Books, he sent to have the rarer sort copied out of the Popes Library.

1523.

These so great preparations made the Cardinall use many rigorous means of getting moneys, as by visitation of Religious houses, &c. and at last by the ruine of divers. To performe this yet, he was to obtaine the consent of the Pope and his King. The reasons represented to the Pope, were I suppose of this nature.

That his Holinesse could not be ignorant what divers effects this new invention of Printing had produced. For as it had brought in and restored Books and Learning, so together it hath been the occasion of those Sects and Schismes which daily appeared in the World, but chiefly in *Germany*; where men begun now to call in question the present Faith and Tenents of the Church, and to examine how farre Religion is departed from its Primitive Institution. And, that which particularly was most to be lamented, they had exhorted Lay and Ordinary men to read the Scriptures, and to pray in their vulgar Tongue. That, if this were suffered, besides all other dangers, the common people at last might come to believe that there was not so much use of the Clergy. For if men were perswaded once they could make their own way to God, and that Prayers in their Native and Ordinary Language might peirce Heaven, as well as Latine; how much would the Authority of the Masse fall? how prejudiciall might this prove unto all our Ecclesiasticall Orders?

That there were many things to be look'd too in these Innovators, but nothing so much as this; since it was cleare, that the keeping of the Mysteries of Religion in the hands of Priests, had been a principall means in all ages, of making the Priesthood Sacred and Venerable. That these Mysteries and Rites therefore, as the greatest secret and *Arcanum* of Church-government, should be preserved. Nay, that the Clergy should rather fly to Tropes and Allegories, if not to Cabale it selfe, then permit that all the parts of Religious worship, though obvious, as to fall easily within common understandings, should be without their Explication; since it might well be questioned whether the Essence of Religion (consisting in the Doctrine of good life and Repentance) might be held sufficient alone to exercise even the most vulgar capacities; unlesse frequent Traditions concerning former times, and such obscure passages as need interpretation, did concur. In which state of things therefore, nothing remain'd so much to be done, as to prevent further Apostacy. For this purpose, since Printing could not be put down, it were best to set up Learning against Learning; and, by introducing able persons to dispute, to suspend the Layity, betwixt feare and controversies. This, at worst

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worst yet, would make them attentive to their Superiors and Teachers. All which being maturely weighed by his Holinesse, it was not doubted but he would advise, and commend to all Christian Princes, the erecting of new Colledges and Seminaries for the advancement of Learning; and here in *England* particularly, where many favourers of *Luthers* Sect, but especially of *Zuinglius*, did appeare. Yet because his Holinesse by our Ambassadors at *Rome*, had divers times been informed of the great expences of his King in the warres he made with *France* and *Scotland*, he did not think it the best course to desire any money out of his purse. That therefore he had thought of another expedient; which he humbly offerd to his Holinesse; which was, that in regard the number of Monasteries was greater in this Kingdome, then that there could be found Learned men to supply them; That it were not amisse to diminish the one a little, to increase the other. That as this would take away the objection of ignorance, wherewith the new Sectaries in *Germany* had so much branded the Clergy, so it would furnish able persons to resist their Doctrine, and uphold the Credit and Reputation of the Roman Church. Therefore he would be an humble suppliant to his Holinesse to give him leave to throw downe a few superfluous Monasteries, and to imploy the Revenues of them to the building of two Colledges; One at *Oxford*, th' other at *Ipswich*; and to believe, that all things being rightly considered, the fall of those few, might be a meanes to keep up the rest, especially since, in this Kingdome the number of them was thought excessive.

To the King; As he needed not to use those Motives, so he discreetly conceald such as might discover the secrets of Ecclesiasticall Government. For certainly, what fault soever might be objected to the Cardinall, he seem'd still a devout servant to his Religion, as aspiring thereby unto the Papacy. Therefore, he said little more unto the King, then that it was fit so learned a Prince should advance Learning, and maintaine that Faith, whereof the Pope had made him the Defender. For this purpose, he should advise him to found more Colledges. Yet because his warres and other Occasions had so exhausted his Treasury, he would aske no more, then that the care thereof should be committed to him; who, if his Highnesse so thought fit, would onely suppress some little and unnecessary Monasteries, and imploy the Revenues to this use. King *Henry* also considering, that if, for his urgent occasions, he were necessitated at any time to seize on the other Religious Houses, he might this way discover how the people would take it, grants his request. Our King thus concurring with the Pope, who, in favour of the Cardinall gave way to this suppression, that overture was first made, which being pursued afterwards by the Kings sole Authority, became the finall Ruine of all Monasteries.

Clement

Clement the seventh hearing of the preparations of these great Princes, had sent in the beginning of this yeere an expresse Legat, which was the Archbishop of *Capua*, with instructions to procure an Union betwixt them against the Turke. He had already been with *Francis* and the Emperor, without effecting any thing; and was now come to our King; but finding the same difficulties, he was forced to returne, without other satisfaction, then a particular of the demands by our King made, and the reasons of them; which our Cardinall promised also to certifie unto the Pope. Therefore, in a particular dispatch to *Rome*, he wished our Agents there, to shew an inclination to peace; reserving, neverthelesse, one eare open to the exploits of *Bourbon*; whose prosperous successe in *France* (he said) might be such as to alter the case. Howsoever, that the place of Treaty might be *Calais*, whither himselfe offered to come in person.

This while (in the beginning of this yeere) the Princes of *Germany* held a Diet at *Noremberg*, whither *Clement* (the new Pope) sent as Legate Cardinall *Campegius*; much complaining of their *Postulata* or *Gravamina* the last yeere, since many points in it smelt of Heresie. About *April* also the Emperor from *Spain*e sends to the Princes at the Diet, desiring them to see the Decree made at *Wormbs* against *Luther* (1521) to be observed. (Thus to comply with the Pope it seems, whom he desired to retaine on his side against *Francis*.) The Princes neverthelesse at the conclusion of this Diet, made a Decree, that as soon as might be, the Pope by the consent of the Emperour should call a Councell in *Germany*; and, in the mean time, things to be ripened for a peace in Religion, &c. This second urging of a Councell (for it was pressed also the last yeere to *Adrian*.) provoked much Pope *Clement*; who, knowing our Kings zeale to the Roman See, and particular hate of *Luther*, sent a Letter to King *Henry*, complaining of this behaviour of the Princes of *Germany*; and to win our King the more, he sent him a Rose of Gold, (consecrated and curiously wrought) by *Thomas Hanniball*, (who now returned) as also a Bull, sealed with Gold (*Dat. tertio Non. Martii*) for Confirmation of his Title of *Defensor Fidei*.

In the meane time, by often dispatches, the Cardinall, in our Kings name, urged *Bourbon* to undertake his expedition into *France*; to which purpose our King was to allow him an hundred thousand Crowns a Moneth. *Bourbon*, on the other side, required that our King, or his Lieutenant, should at the same time enter *Picardy* with an Army; which was promised. When (having given Oath to acknowledge *Henry* the eighth King of *France*) He advanceth towards *Provence*, *June 24* (on the Emperors part *Monsieur de Beaurain* attending him; and on our Kings, *Richard Pace*;) and in the beginning of *July* enters *France*; where, proclaiming liberty to the Common people who willingly came in, he tooke

divers

1524.

March.

Jan.

April.

May 8.
1521.

April 18.

May 16.

May 19.

June 24.

July 2.

1524.

Aug. 19.

Sept. 27.

Octob.

July.

Novem.

divers Townes. Neverthelesse, his course was staid. For, where-as he had a Fleet of the Emperors to second him, coasting along the shore, to bring Victuals to the Army: Now the French Navy being too strong, kept them off, and so intercepted their provision. The supplies also of money to be sent him by the Emperor and King of England were slackned; for each of these Princes feared least the other should reap the fruit of this Expedition; And Charles de Lanoy the Viceroy of Naples was thought, besides, to be willing that Bourbon should be repulsed, as one whom he envied for being made Lieutenant in his place. Yet, for all this, Bourbon layes siege to *Marseillis*; but in vaine; for it being stoutly defended by *Renzo de Ceri*, and *Philip Chabot*, Francis also with a great power comming to relieve it, at the same time Bourbons Souldiers mutined for want of pay, (although Sir John Russell had newly brought twenty thousand pound sterling from our King;) the Seige broke up, and the Duke imbarquing his Cannon, retired to *Genoia* with some losse, the Prince of *Anrange* being taken prisoner there.

It was now mid-October, and a season, in all probability, not to begin any great enterprize. Neverthelesse Francis who had left Claude his wife in July last, and left Louise his mother Regent of France during his absence, pursued his designe to conquer Milan; contrary to the advice of the Pope (who perswaded peace) and of his Counsellors; (who at least advised him not to goe in person.) Charles de Lanoy hearing this, puts Antonio de Leyva in Pavia, with twelve thousand Spaniards, and six thousand Lanquets; and with the rest of his Army hastens to Milan. But as he found the Citizens there not much affectioned to him, and some of the French Vanguard was approached, he left the Town, and together with the Duke of Bourbon and Ferdinand d'Avalos Marquesse of Pescara, with their forces, retired to Lodi. Whereupon Michel Antoine Marquesse of Salaffes, and Lowys Seigneur de Trimoille entered Millan. Francis being presently informed hereof, advances his Army; yet so, as according to an ancient Military rule, he would not leave so strong a place as Pavia behind him. But the observing hereof cost him deere. While he laid siege to Pavia; the Imperialists were but in an ill estate; the Pope at most standing as Neuter; the Florentines friends but in appearance onely; the Venetians excusing themselves, as suspecting the Emperour, in that he would not signe the Investiture of Millan to Francesco Sforza; and our King, instead of giving more Money, requiring that which was due to him, (being 133000 Crowns yeerely, in regard of the Pension withheld by Francis,) which yet being refused by Charles made him averse. Besides, he considered the designes of the Emperor were onely on Italy. Francis on the other side had a flourishing Army, consisting of about thirty thousand, whereof yet the most part were Mercenaries and Voluntiers; and therefore particularly

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mentioned by me, as not remembring to have read in any History, that so many of this kinde (being irregular and properly under no command) should be admitted to the hazzard of disordering a whole Army. And for the other part, being Mercenaries, he had found them slow, wilfull, of small trust, and oftentimes venall; though it cannot be denied, that those whom *Francis* in particular now used, have been reputed in all times a valiant constant Nation. All which I have the rather observed, that the successe which *Francis* had not long after, might seeme lesse strange unto the Reader. The Nobility that came with him were indeed principall persons, *Henry d'Albert*, (the Titular King of *Navarre*) the Dukes of *Lorraine*, *Longue-ville*, *Alancon* and *Albanie*, (who, the Spring before had left *Scotland*, upon promise made him by the Nobility, that nothing should be innovated there, till his returne) The Countes of *St. Paul*, *Vaudemont*, *L'aval*, the Marshall of *Foix*, *Chabanes*, and *Mountmorancy*, the Admirall de *Bonivet* (chiefe Authour of this Counsell) *le Seigneur de Fleuranges*, *le Vidame de Chartres*, *Buissy d'Ambroise*, *Richard de la Pole*, and many other brave Gentlemen.

The manner which *Francis* used in besieging *Pavir* seem'd to take up more time then stood with the season, (being now Winter) and the advantage he had over the Imperialists, who were neither in number nor vertue sufficient to repell him. This leasure the Pope made use of to mediate a peace, by the means of the Bishop of *Verona*, and (when that could not be done) to keep *Francis* yet in good terms with him, promising him, therefore indifferency at least, both as he was *Communis Pater*, and as he conceiv'd him the stronger. But, finding that the Treaty of Accord took no effect, was perswaded by the French Ambassadors (resident with him) to make a League with *Francis*. The perswasions the French used, were promises, and certaine propositions of peace, upon such conditions as should be very advantageous to both. And thus at last the Pope by the secret intervention of *Io. Matthei* the Bishop of *Verona*, made peace with the French, encouraging them together (saith *Bellay*) to attempt *Naples*, which yet the Pope dissembled strenuously, both with our Kings and the Emperors Agents; though, when he could hide it no longer, he pretended he was forced to it by the French. Yet, it may be the Pope was not a little inclin'd hereunto by a Message which came from *England*; For I find in our Records, that not long after the time that *Francis* passed into *Italy*, there came from *France* into *England*, on *Loüis* the Regents part, one *John Joachin*, a Genouesse, whose comming (as things then stood) was much suspected by the Imperials. And the more, that he kept himselfe close, and repaired every day to the Cardinall, and consulted with him onely; but so much was discovered as the Popes Agent here, by a Letter, advised his Holinesse to make Peace with *Francis* in time; which the Pope did (although

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to his losse, as will appeare in its place.) And now *Francis*, not fearing the Imperialists, sends the Duke of *Albany*, with *Renzo de Ceri*, and about twelve thousand men, against them of *Lucca* and *Siena*, for the Popes service; and after, to attempt *Naples*, where all the places were unprovided of sufficient Garrison. Besides, he had sent the *Marquesse de Saluces* with foure thousand men to *Savona*, from thence to attempt *Genoia*. Again, three thousand Italians (their Commander *Genovanni de Medicis* being hurt) disbanded, and six thousand *Grisons*, hearing of some troubles in their Countrey, returned; so that his forces were much weakned. Which *Charles de Lanoy* understanding, took the lesse care to defend *Naples*; as believing the French unable to second the Duke of *Albany*. And, therefore, gave order onely to the Duke of *Trajetto* to defend the Countrey the best he could; while *Bourbon*, pawning his Jewels to the Duke of *Savoy*, went to *Germany*, and raised twelve thousand men.

May.

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July 29.
Aug. 20Euch.
Sept.

During these passages in *Italy*, the affaires of *Scotland* seemed to change forme; for the Duke of *Albany* being now so far distant from them, the prime Nobility of *Scotland* (notwithstanding the promise exacted of them by the said Duke, when he departed, (which was in May 1524, promising to returne in September next) inclin'd to the Queens side. So that presently after they began to consult of making peace with *England*; which because they knew King *Henry* would never grant, as long as they acknowledged the Duke of *Albany* Governour, (for so he had lately intimated) they agreed to abrogate his Authority, and to invest the young King in the exercise of his Regall power. To this purpose, the Queen of Scots wrote to her brother King *Henry* to assist his Nephew herein; who sent to the Borders his Lieutenant, *Thomas* late Earle of *Surrey*, now (since his fathers * death much lamented, for his great vertue) Duke of *Norfolke*, and Treasurer of *England*, to procure the liberty of the young King. Hereupon the Queen, assisted by the Earles of *Arren*, *Lenox*, and divers of the chiefe Nobility, brought the young King from *Sterling* (where the Governour had appointed him to reside till his returne) to *Edenburgh*, where he undertooke the Administration of the Kingdome, July 29. whereupon Allegiance was sworne to him, and the Duke of *Albany* was exauctorate; yet not with so generall a Vote, but that the two Bishops of *St. Andrews* and *Aberdon* disliked it; alledging both the non-age of the King, and the promise of the Nobility to the Governour, of not Innovating till September. Upon this they are both confin'd, but shortly restor'd to their liberty. Our King soon after sent Ambassadors, *Thomas Magnus* (a Civill Lawyer and a Priest,) and *Rattcliffe* (a Gentleman) to reside in *Scotland*; commanding from thenceforth all hostility to cease. Whereupon a Truce was taken, during which the Scottish Ambassadors were to be sent into *England*, for the concluding of a firme peace. Also (for
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establiſhing the young Kings power) he offered to maintain (a while) a Guard for him of two hundred persons. But this good Correspondence was a little clouded; for while these things were in hand the Earle of *Anguis* and his brother *George Douglas*, formerly banished (as we have shewed) into *France*, found meanes to escape into *England*. The Earle desired ovr Kings ayd, for his restitution; but the Queen of Scots, who retained her old grudge to him, and (perchance) had newly cast an eye on *Henry Stuart*, (whom afterward she married) laboured the contrary; remonstrating to our King, by divers Letters, that his coming to *Scotland* at this time would trouble the State. For the Earle of *Arrain*, whose power and reputation was great, being Enemy to the said *Anguis*, she said would oppose him; but our King suspecting by some actions that *Arrain* was French, suffered about *October* the Earle to enter *Scotland*, to counterpoise him; taking of him at his departure a promise or obligation, 1. To procure and maintaine the young Kings Authority; to the exclusion of the Duke of *Albany*. 2. To seek to be reconciled to the Queen with all humility. 3. To make friendship with *Arrain*, as long as he maintaines the young King, and averts him from *France*; whereupon also our King promised, that if he did the contrary, he would maintain *Anguis* against the said *Arrain*, &c. Thus was *Anguis* restord to his Countrey for a while; but the Queen took it ill that he was come, and the Ambassadors appointed to be sent to King *Henry* for peace; were in danger to be staid; yet I finde that *December* 19. they came, being *Gilbert Kenid* Earle of *Cassilis*, &c. and intreated peace, and the Princeſſe *Mary* as wife for their King. Our King gave hope of both; (for I finde that both the Emperor and *Francis* made overtures of matches for King *James* at this time.) Howbeit, when our Commissioners in private conference treated of peace, and the Princeſſe, it was upon these conditions, 1. That they should renounce the League with *France*, and instead thereof make the like with *England*. 2. That the young King till he be ripe for marriage shall be brought up in *England*. It seems yet the Scottish Ambassadors Commission was not large enough to treat these points; so, *Decemb.* 20. *Cassilis* (leaving his fellows here) goes to *Scotland*, and shortly after (*March* 19.) returns to King *Henry* with the resolution of the Nobility, and Letters from Queen *Margaret*, shewing, that the Lords of *Scotland* will be content to relinquish the French; so that the match with the Princeſſe *Mary* may be made sure; but they required that the promise, whereby she was engaged to the Emperor, be first discharged. Our King hearing this, said he would conferre with the Emperor about it; and so nothing being concluded, but a Truce for three yeeres and a halfe, the Scottish Ambassadors departed in *April*.

The Emperor hearing of this Treaty, dispatched hither *Adolpho de Borgona*, Senior de *Beures* Adm. of *Flanders*, with the Presid. of *Malmes*

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July.

Octob. 4.

Decem. 19.

Decem. 23.

Hall.

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Decemb. 30.

March 19.

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to require that the Princesse *Mary* might be delivered to him, promising hereupon to declare her Empreſſe, and make her Governesse of the *Lowcountries*; her Dower also was required to be paid presently, and that our King in person would the next yeere invade *France*. But before our King could give a perfect Answer to these particulars, newes was brought of the battell of *Pavia*, and the taking of *Francis* prisoner, the manner whereof was thus.

Jan.

Pavia was a place easie enough to take, had either the French pressed it roundly, or a lesse valiant Captaine then *Antonio de Leyva* defended it. But while *Francis*, as being confident he was Master of the field, drew the siege out in length, he gave not onely time to the Imperialists to joyne an Army, but at last failed miserably in his enterprise. The advise he approv'd, after a breach and assault made in vaine, was to open a way to the Town, on the one side of the *Tesin*; for, as that River divided it selfe into two Channels, whereof one passed by the walls, (which had no defence on that part, but the River, being not fordable) his intention was to divert this current, and so to leave the walls bare. But one rainy night alone so sweld the River, that all the Dammes and Workes which the French had raised were carried away by the violence of the stream. His ablest Councillors hereupon wishd him to raise siege, and give place to the season. Besides, as the Imperialists, with a great Army, were now marching towards him, they thought it not fit he should be inclosed betwixt the Town, (wherein was a strong Garrison,) and the Forces now approaching. It was the even of Saint *Matthias*

Feb. 24.

in *February* 1525, (being the day of the Emperors Nativity) when the *Marquis de Gasto* leading the Vantguard, the *Marquesse of Pescara* the Battell, and *Charles de Lanoy* accompanied with *Bourbon*, the Rereward, came in good order neer the French Army. Their resolution was to weary the French all night with Alarmes and Skirmishes, and towards morning to fall on them with the whole Army; so that nothing of importance was intended till full day light; when *Francis*, pointing his Ordnance against them, so pierced their Squadrons, that they were forced to retire to a more cover place. *Francis*, thinking this was a flight, draws his Army out of his strong intrenchments into an open place, with intention to pursue them. The Commanders of the Imperialists having thus obtained what they desired (for they wanted both money and victuals to subsist any long time) encourag'd their souldiers to fight, telling them, that though a King was present, there was not therefore more danger, but more honours and riches proposed to them. That they should but follow their Commanders, who would lead them to an assured victory. The Souldiers hereupon (being not ignorant of the necessity they were in) resolutely promised to go on. The *Marquis of Pescara* having advanc'd a little to discover the enemy, return'd; and, with a cheerfull countenance, turning towards the Spaniards, told them that he must not conceale from them the cruell com-

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mand the French King had given, that no Spaniard should be received into mercy. This being a meere invention of the Marqueſſe ſo kindled their courage that they required the Signall, promiſing for the reſt, to ſell their lives as deere as they could. Herewith then a ſerious battell began; in which yet becauſe the Mercenaries, and eſpecially the Suiſſe, did not ſhew their accuſtomed valour, all the charge fell on the few French that were preſent. None yet fought more bravely among them, than the King; inſomuch that with his own hand (as his enemies did afterwards confeſſe) he kill'd the Marqueſſe of *Civita de St. Angilo*; which example ſo encouraged the reſt of his Nobility, as they omitted nothing that could be done in ſo little number. During this brunt, *Antonio de Leyva*, throwing down ſome part of the walls of *Pavia*, iſſued forth with the beſt of his Garrifon, and fell on the backs of the French then fighting. This wholly routed the Army, inſomuch that all now began to fly. The King had his horſe kill'd under him, whoſe fall ſo engag'd his leg, that he could not recover himſelfe. In this poſture one *Juan de Urbieta*, a *Guipuscoan*, ſeazed on him. But the King declaring himſelfe, and ſaying he yeilded to the Emperor, *Urbieta* without offering any violence, received him as his priſoner. The Kings leg yet lay under his horſe; *Urbieta* thinking by this means he was ſure from eſcaping, runs to ſuccour his *Alferes*, who was then in danger of being killed, deſiring the King onely to take notice that he wanted two teeth before, and that he would remember it as a mark that he took him firſt. With that one *Diego de Avila* came, to whom the King alſo naming himſelfe, and ſaying he was already yeilded to the Emperor, *Diego* demanded, whether he had given any Gage thereof? The King ſaying, None was required, *Diego* laid hold on his Sword, (which was bloody) and his Gauntlet, and therewithall delivered him from his Horſe, by the help of one *Pita*, who for his pains took his Order of *St Michael* from him. This ſo much troubled the King, that, not knowing how to help himſelfe, he offered a great reward to the Souldier to let it alone, which yet the Souldier denied, ſaying he would carry it to the Emperor. The King being now on foot, divers ſouldiers came in, and as they obſerved ſome contention among thoſe that took him, would without further enquiry who he was, have kill'd him. But one *Monsieur de la Motte* (or *Pomperante*, as the French have it, a French man,) comming by chance thither, kneeld to him, and kiſſing his hand with all reverence, made them know how rich a prize they had got amongſt them; The King yet cauſ'd him to riſe, ſaying onely, that he ſhould behave himſelfe like that man he had ever eſteemed him. Herewith, a great concourſe flocking in, the King was perſwaded to take off his Helmet, which was no ſooner done, but every one tooke a part of a great Pennache (or Feather) he wore thereon, others more preſumptuouſly, cut out pieces out of a Coat of Armes or *sobra-veſte* he wore over his Harneſſe. At all which this magnanimous

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King shewed no other countenance, then that of scorne, as knowing sufficiently, that in despite of fortune, his valour had made him comply with his dignity. The chance of those who deserted the King was various; many were killed, others, thinking to passe the *Tessin* were drowned, among whom six thousand Mercenaries, (the most part Suisse) are accounted. *Henry de Albert*, thinking to save himselfe by flight, was taken. And now the bruit being generall that the King was made prisoner, divers French, who might have escaped, out of a singular piety to their King, returned, and yeilded themselves, saying, they would not returne to *France* and leave their King behind them. The first of the chiefe Commanders that came in, was the Marquesse *de Pescara*; after him *Guaſto*, and others; at last *Bourbon* being armed *Cap a Pee*, and with his Sword all bloody in his hand, comes towards the King, who hereupon demanded his name: Being told, he stept (if one may believe the Spaniard my Author) a little behinde the Marquesse *de Pescara*. He also perceiving the King troubled, goes to *Bourbon*, and (after he had told him that the King was there) demanded his Sword; which *Bourbon* without more ado rendered, and thereupon, running to the King, and lifting up his Beaver, cast himselfe on his knees, and humbly demanded his Royall hand to kisse; which yet the King refused. Hereupon *Bourbon*, with teares in his eyes, said, Sir, if you would have followed my counsell, you should not have needed to be in this estate, nor so much blood of the French Nobility shed as stains the fields of *Italy*. The King hereupon turning his eyes to heaven, now replied only, *Pacience*, since Fortune hath failed me. Further discourse was hindred by the Marquesse of *Pescara*, who, desiring the King to mount on horsebacke, conducted him towards *Pavia*. But the King intreating he might not be kept prisoner in a Town before which he had lately so puissant an Army, they brought him to a Monastery adjoyning. *Henry de Albert* the Comte of *St. Paul*, and divers other prisoners being delivered to severall Custodies. From hence the King was remov'd to a strong Castle called *Picquiton*, and there kept with a great guard of Spaniards under *Hernando de Alancon*, till other order came from *Charles*; to whom, immediately after this victory, a Messenger was sent, to acquaint him with the successe. In the mean time *Francis* was used with all respect. For more ostentation whereof, *Charles de Lanoy* brought (before Supper) the Bason, the Marquesse of *Guaſto* the Ewer, and *Bourbon* the Towell; which courtesie he requited, by inviting them to sit at the Table with him. After which, requiring some money might be furnished to him for play, he pass'd away the time the most cheerfully he could.

March 10.

Charles was at *Madrid* when this great news came to him. The sence he shewed of it, was such as became a wise Prince, and one that was not himselfe exempted from a Quartan. He compared the afflictions of Fortune with those of nature, and found the difference

rence so little, that he thought himselfe to want even the advantages of Liberty as much as a prisoner. For, if he considered *Francis*, as in the custody of his Guards, he lookt upon himselfe as in the custody of his Physitians, and confin'd to his Chamber by a stronger hand then that which held *Francis*. Moreover, he said, it was not for Christians to rejoyce for their Victories against each other, but onely against Infidels.

Our King was not advertised hereof sooner then the ninth of *March*. When a Messenger from the *Princesse Marguerite*, Governesse of the *Low-countries*, informed him of all the particulars. *Charles de Lanoy* not omitting also to * write to him thereof (as I finde by our Records.) This being brought to Counsell, it was thought fit the King should comply with his Confederate *Charles*, in giving some publique demonstration of joy. Therefore the King going to *St. Pauls*, and causing a Masse to be sung in a more solemne manner then ordinary, seem'd to celebrate the victory, though inwardly not so well satisfied thereof. For, as he considered *Charles* grown now to more greatnesse then stood either with reason of State, or due terms of neighbourhood, He deliberated with his Councell what was next to be done. Whereupon it was thought fit to send immediately Ambassadors into *Spaine*, with charge to represent unto the Emperor, how that this warre being made at a common charge, it was reasonable the fruit should redound to both. That the part his Highnesse pretended to, was Inheritance in *France*, which he desired (upon some fitting Treaty with *Francis*) might be restored. To which his Highnesse doubted not but the Emperor would afford his best assistance; as well because it was just in it selfe, as that it was according to their late Treaty. Or, if this could not be attained by faire means, to require the Emperor, by vertue of the said Treaty, to proceed in levying Forces to make war in *France*, wherein his Highnesse would likewise concur. Neither could his Highnesse doubt that the Emperor would refuse to embrace this motion, since the benefit hereof would finally accrue to him; for as his Highnesse was purposed to ratifie and make good the intended match betwixt the said Emperor and the *Princesse Mary*, who was heire not onely to the Crown of *England*, but to his Titles in *France*, so all at last would devolve on him; which therefore might be thought so beneficiall and advantageous, as he ought not to thinke it much to deliver up *Francis* to his Highnesse hands, upon consigning of the said *Princesse* to his. Especially, since by an expresse Article of the fore-said Treaty, they were bound mutually to deliver all usurpers upon each others Right. All which being founded upon a solemn agreement, confirmed by Oath, could not seem insolent, what indisposition soever might be found in the Emperor to accomplish it. Notwithstanding which, if (as it was most likely) this proposition should take no effect, and that the Emperor would derive

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the totall benefit of his prize upon himselfe; that his Highnesse yet might make so much use thereof, as with more justification to take that order which pertain'd to his present occasions, and the peace of Christendome. This advice being approved by all, a Dispatch was made, and given to *Cutbert Tonstall* (Bishop of *London*, and Lord Privy Seale) and Sir *Richard Wingfield* Knight, sent then to *Spaine*; wherein also an Interview betwixt our King and the Emperor was proposed. In which further it was offered, that the *Princesse Mary* should be given into the Emperors hands upon fitting conditions. Many other particularities conducing to the ends above-mentioned were specified therein; though for the rest it seem'd not probable to some of our Counsellors, that the Emperor would accept them, as being resolved (what promise or advantage soever was presented to him) to suffer none else to partake of the profit or honour he had acquired in his Victory. This proposition finding no reception in *Spaine*, but what was before imagined, Our King returns to that brave and wise resolution he had formerly taken, to make himselfe Arbiter of Christendome, and to fall on him who interrupted the publique peace. Many reasons also of great moment concurred to this Resolution. For the Lady *Margarite* (Regent of *Flanders*) who ought by the late League to have raised forces against the French, began already to treat with them concerning an accomodation. Besides, the *Flemings* being grown strong by Sea, had not onely very insolently treated divers of our Merchants, but, contrary to a Remonstrance made in that behalfe, had inhanst our Coyne, and thereby secretly deriv'd great summes into their Countrey. Again, when demand was made onely for repayment of that money which was lent the Emperor in his greatest necessity, nothing yet was returned but a dilatory and frivolous excuse. Neither was our King ignorant of the Treaty which the Emperor had already begun for the ransomning of *Francis*. Nor of a match purposed with *Donna Isabell* *Infanta* of *Portugall*, which reflected on his daughters reputation. Lastly, the Popes Breve, representing the danger of Christendome through the prosperity of the Turke, (who had now taken *Belgrade*, and *Rhodes*, and thereby open'd severall wayes to *Italy* and *Germany*) and, together, exhorting all Christian Princes to joyne against the Common Enemy, had so prevaild with our King, that he thought fit to lay aside all Ambition to recover his inheritance in *France*, and to indeavour an universall Peace. In the furtherance of which good desire, as the remembrance of the kind interview betwixt him and *Francis* did operate not a little, so the reputation that *Francis* had gotten by his courage shewed in this late action, had kindled in the minde of our generous King a compassionate zeale for his delivery. Therefore, at the request of the Kings mother of *France* (who by the mediation of *Giovanni Joakim* had much dispos'd our King

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to returne to his ancient friendship with *Francis*) He sent to *Cutbert Tonstall* Bishop of *London*, and *Sir Richard Wingfield* Knight his Ambassadors in *Spaine*, to intercede for the delivery of *Francis*; who had begun the way already in a particular Letter to *Charles*; where, after an excuse of his not sooner writing, because they who had charge of him would not permit it, he said that the greatest comfort he found in this his miserable condition, was, that he had fallen into the hands of so generous a Prince, who therefore would not force him to any thing, which might bee unjust to require, or impossible to performe. That hee hoped therefore sufficient security would bee accepted for his delivery, since thereby, instead of detaining an unusefull Prisoner, hee should make a King his slave. Howsoever, that it was more profit to have him a faithfull friend, then to suffer him to dye desperate. None yet was so vigilant and intentive either for his delivery, or the Generall good of the Kingdome, as *Madam Louïse* his mother (Regent of *France*) who, by many forcible and reiterated Ambassades and Treaties, drew most of the Christian Potentates and Republicques to favour the deliverance of her Sonne. Through her care also *Andrea Doria* (Generall of the French King's Gallies) reconducted the Duke of *Albany*, who, though farre engaged in the Enemies Country did yet, without any considerable losse of his men, returne to *Marseilles*, April 25.

April. 25.

The Emperor now finding that all the chiefe Princes and Estates in Christendome would puissantly labour for the delivery of *Francis*, sent *Adrian de Croy Seigneur de Beaurain* with certain propositions dated *March 25. 1525.* unto him. Whereof this is the Summe.

That an unversall Peace and League should be concluded betwixt all Christian Princes, and security on every side be given, for the continuance thereof.

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That either of them two, with twenty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse should invade the Turk.

That, for further security, the *Dolphin* should marry with the Princessie *Maria* (daughter to the King of *Portugall*, and the Queene *Leonora*.) and the Dowry should be a mutuall disclaime in each others Inheritance.

That the King of *France* should restore and leave the Dutchy of *Burgundy* in that estate and manner as it was in the time of *Charles* the last Duke thereof; And *Theroüenne*, *Hesdin*, and all that was usurp'd in *Artois* should be redeliver'd.

That *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* should reinjoy his former estate, and (particularly) have the County of *Provence* conferr'd upon him, which thereupon he should hold under the Title of King thereof.

That the King of *England* should have all restor'd that appertain'd to him, or otherwise was agreed upon.

That all the followers of the Duke of *Bourbon* should be reintegrated in their former possessions.

That

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That the Prince of *Aurange*, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, the *Seigneur de Bonze*, and *d'Autroy*, should be set at liberty, and all restor'd to the Prince of *Aurange*, which was taken from him in the warres of *Brittany*.

That *Madam Margarite*, Aunt to the Emperor, and *La Reyna Germana*, second wife to *Ferdinand* of *Spaine*, with divers other Princes and great persons (particularly nominated in the said Articles) should be righted in their just demands, for restitution in all things taken since the warre.

That all Commerce betwixt the subjects should be renewed hereupon.

That the chiefe Parliaments of *Paris* and elsewhere in *France*, should satisfie the agreement.

That the King himselfe, being at liberty, should, with all due solemnity, confirme it, as also the *Dolphin* as soone as he came to the age of foureteene.

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When these Articles were presented to *Francis*, some of them so displeas'd him that he is said in a fury to have drawne his dagger, and spoken those words, It is better for a King of *France* to dye after this manner. Infomuch that *Hernando de Alanco*n who was present, hastily took it from him. Yet, to gratifie the Emperor, hee gave order that the Prince of *Aurange*, and *Don Hugo de Moncada* should be set at liberty. *Moncada* comming to Court, brought two Letters one from the King, the other from *Madame Louÿs*, his Mother, by which (as also by the intervention of the Arch-Bishop of *Ambrun*, and *Philip Chabot Seigneur de Brion*, (who were deputed Ambassadors upon this occasion) these conditions following were offered.

That *Dona Leonora* (Sister to the Emperor, and Relict to the late King of *Portugall*) should not be given in Marriage to *Bourbon*, (howsoever promised him) but to the King of *France*, and the *Infanta Dona Maria*, her daughter, unto the *Dolphin*.

That the Dukedom of *Burgundy* should be held by *Francis*, as the Dowry to the Queene *Leonora*, and should be left to the Heires-males betwixt them. If no such issue yet should happen, that the Dukedome should then descend to the second son of the said Emperor; If the Emperor should have no Sonnes, but daughters, that then the second Sonne of the King of *France* should marry one of the said daughters, and have *Burgundy* for her Portion.

That *Francis* would renounce all the right and interest hee had in *Millan*, *Genoia*, and *Naples*, together withall debts and Pensions that could be demanded on that occasion.

That hee would release the superiority and dominion that hee pretended over *Flanders*, and *Artois*, and for this purpose would obtaine the consent of all the Estates of *France*.

That he would restore *Hesdin* and *Tournay*.

That, for the Lands he held neare the River of *Some*, he would pay the Emperor a just price. That,

That, when the Emperor should goe to his Coronation into *Italy*, or otherwise that if he or his brother *Ferdinad* should make war, he would pay halfe the charges of his Army, and goe along in Person.

That, if the Emperor would passe into *Italy* by Sea, he would command all his Galleys to attend him at *Barcellona*.

That, if the Emperor would make warre against the Infidels in *Africke*, or *Greece*, he would pay halfe the charges of the Army, and attend the Emperor in Person.

That all the Emperor had Capitulated with the King of *England*, and all that was due by way of borrowing or Pension to the said King, should be paid and accomplished, in such manner that the Emperor might be altogether discharg'd, and free thereof.

That he would restore to the Duke of *Bourbon*, all his Estate, and pay him his Pensions, and moreover give his daughter in marriage to him, together with such a Portion as was fitting her degree and quality, and that when any Army should be rais'd by him for the Emperors service, the said Duke should be Generall, in case the King went not himselfe in Person, and that all former disservices, and unkindnesses should be forgotten.

That sufficient security by the Parliament of *Paris* should be given of these particularities.

Upon Mature deliberation taken concerning these propositions, The Emperor replyed, that the Dutchy of *Burgundy* was his Inheritance, and therefore not to be dispos'd of, or alienated according to any mans fancy or arbitrement. Concerning the marriage propos'd between *Francis* and *Leonora* his Sister; That he could resolve nothing without the consent of *Bourbon*, to whom he was promised. That for the busineses of *Italy*, he would innovate nothing, but rather keep all quiet. As for *Naples*, since *Francis* had no right thereunto, there was no occasion to make use of his disclaime. That it would content him much to have *Burgundy* restor'd in the same manner that his great Grand Father *Charles* injoyed it. And that he accepted well of his Shipping, when he would thinke fit to goe and receive his Crown in *Italy*. The French on the other side instead of *Burgundy* offered great summes of money; but *Charles* insisting still upon *Burgundy*, nothing was concluded. So that, leaving *Madrid*, the Emperor went to hold his Courts (or Parliament) at *Toledo*, where, among other things, it was Petitioned by the Estates assembled, that the Emperor, being now of age to marry, should take to wife *Donna Isabella Infanta* of *Portugall*, and not the Princeesse *Mary* our Kings daughter.

While affaires passed thus betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, Our King, who knew he might have use of money on these occasions, and (howsoever) did well understand that the maintaining of a sure Peace at home, was almost as costly, as the making of a warre abroad, advised with his Councell how to provide himselfe. Yet

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as the Cardinall had undertaken the King should never want, as long as he might mannage the publique affaires; So they gladly discharged themselves on him. But Princes ought to take heed, into whose hands they commit their extraordinary power, least it hazard their ordinary, it being the Clue of that Labyrinth of State, which ought not rashly to be put into anothers hand. Neither should they inforce any thus violently; when businesse may be done in a calme and gentle manner. The Harmony of Government consisting in such a delicate proportion, that no one part can safely be strained higher, unlesse the rest may well be tuned and accorded thereunto. This appear'd in the Actions of this year, (being the seventeenth of the Reigne of our King,) when, Commissions being granted forth into all the Counties of *England*, for the levying the sixth part of every lay-mans goods, and the fourth of the Clergies; The people, in generall took it so ill, that it was like to have grown to a Rebellion; alleadging, First, That these Commissions were against the Law. Secondly, their own poverty, and that the King, since the foureteenth of his Reign, had of them twenty fiftens. But as this seem'd to be done, without that the King was fully inform'd thereof, so when the sequence appear'd, it was resolved to disavow the whole proceeding. Our King therefore, by Letters sent through all the Counties of *England*, declar'd, he would have nothing of them but by way of benevolence: This got the Cardinall many a Curse, and the King as many Blessings. Notwithstanding, under this Title of Benevolence he required great summes of all his Subjects, and particularly of the Citizens of *London*. But one of their Lawyers answered, that by the Statute, 1^o. *Ri. tertii, Cap. secundo*, such Benevolences were forbidden. But it was replied, That Lawes made by usurpers oblige not Legitimate Princes. That *Richard* the third, was not only a Tyrant, but a Murtherer of his own Nephews, and therein more fit to suffer by the Law, then to make any. Therefore his intentions, were, only by popular and licentious wayes, to obtain the favour of the Commonalty, as having no other means to subsist. That our King, being the true and undoubted heire of the Crowne, could be tyed hereby no further then it pleas'd himsele; it being absurd to think, that a Statute invented by a factious assembly, and approv'd no otherwise then by a Criminall in the highest degree, should binde an absolute and lawfull Monarch; wherefore if they had no better evasion, it were not fit to maintain this. Thereupon the Cardinall purposing to examine them one by one, concerning what they would give, hee begins with the Lord Major: But the Major desiring leave not to declare himsele fully, till he had spoken with the Common-Councell of the City, the Cardinall wisht him and the rest of the Aldermen to come to him privatly, and give what they would. In the Country yet, (where they seem'd more obstinate,) some Ring-Leaders of the
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people (who had taken Armes) upon the perswasion of the Duke of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* submitted themselves, and were brought to *London*, and there imprisoned. The King yet, persisting in his intention not to punish any on this occasion, (as being advertis'd that the Common sort of his subjects excused themselves by their want of meanes, and not of affection to supply his Majesties occasions) brought the matter to the Counsell-Table, where the Cardinall, by way of Apologie, said, that he had done nothing herein, without advising first with the Judges, who affirm'd positively, the King might lawfully demand any summe by Commission, and that the Counsell of State confirm'd this course. But the King saying that he was made beleieve his Subjects were richer then indeed hee found them by this Commission, all the fault was laid on the false informers, and Pardon given to all those who had denyed the former Benevolence. Hereupon the offenders were brought to the Star-Chamber; where, after a sharp charge laid against them by the Kings Counsell-Learned, the Cardinall said, That, notwithstanding their grievous offences, the King, in consideration of their poverty, had granted them his gracious Pardon, upon Condition, that they would give in, sureties for their good behaviour henceforth. But they replying, that they had none; The Cardinall first, and after him the Duke of *Norfolke* said they would stand bound for them, wherewith they were discharged.

The Cardinall who, by a Concurrence of the Papall and Regall authority, had suppressed divers Monasteries, and given that Terror to the rest, that he drew large summes from them, would not yet desist so, but continued still his purposes of converting the profits of all these, which by any colour, might be reputed Supernumerary, unto other uses, among which while he reduced the Monastery of *Beggam in Suffex*, A disguised company, in strange visors, taking the Channons along with them, reimplaced them, and so departed; promising, at the ringing of their Abbey-Bell, to come at all times to their succours. But these Apparitions did not long haunt the house; for the King's Counsell, understanding hereof, so examined the Channons, that they at last confessed the Authors, who therefore were sent for, and grievously punished. The Cardinall thus every way establishing his authority, was thought by this time, between visitations, making of Abbots, Probats of Testaments, granting of Faculties, Licences, Dispensations, and many other wayes, besides the great Pensions he had from Forraine Princes, to have made his Treasury equall to the Kings (Notwithstanding the summes he often transmitted to *Rome*;) in which way of enriching himselfe, one *John Allen* Doctor of Law, his Chaplain, accompanied with a great Traine, and riding from one Religious house to another, in a kind of perpetuall progresse, or visitation, did the Cardinall no little service. But as this at last became a publique grievance, so the King tooke notice of it, in so sharp a manner,

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ner, that the Cardinall was enforc'd, not only to excuse himselfe with much subinission, but to promise never to do so any more; protesting with all that he had made a Last Will, or Testament, wherein he had left a great part of his Estate unto his Highnesse. Upon which submission of the Cardinalls (as I take it) the King sent him this Letter, written all with his own hand, as we find it in our Records.

As touching the matter of *Wilton*, seeing it is in no other straine then you write of, and you being also so suddenly (with the falling sick of your servants) afraid, and troubled, I marvaile not that it overslipped you as it did. But it is no great matter, standing the case as it doth; for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your Letter, and your default was not so great, seeing the Election was but conditionall. Wherefore, my Lord, seeing the humblenesse of your submission, and though the case were much more heynous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad, that, according to mine intent, my monitions and warnings have been benignely and lovingly accepted on your behalfe, promising you, that the very affection I beare you caus'd me thus to doe. As touching the helpe of Religious Houses to the building of your Colledge, I would it were more, so it be lawfully; for my intent is none, but that it should so appeare to all the world, and the occasion of all their numbling might be seclused and put away; for, surely, there is great murmuring of it, throughout all the Realme, both good and bad. They say not that all that is ill gotten is bestow'd upon the Colledge, but that the Colledge is the cloake for covering all mischiefs. This grieveth me, I assure you, to heare it spoken by him, which I so intirely love. Wherefore, me thought I could doe no lesse, then thus friendly to admonish you. One thing more I perceive by your own Letter, which a little me thinketh toucheth Conscience, and that is, that you have received money of the Exempts for having of their old Visitors. Surely, this can hardly be with good Conscience. For, and they were good, why should you take money? and if they were ill, it were a sinfull act. How-be it your Legacy herein might, peradventure, *apud Homines* be a cloake, but not *apud Deum*. Wherefore, you, thus monished by him who so intirely loveth you, I doubt not, will desist, not onely from this, (if conscience will not beare it) but from all other things, which should tangle the same; and, in so doing, we will sing, *Te Laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Te Laudat Omnis Spiritus*. And thus an end I make of this, though rude, yet loving Letter, desiring you as benevolently to take it, as I doe meane it, for I ensure you (and, I pray you thinke it so) that there remaineth, at this houre, no sparke of displeasure towards you in my heart. And thus fare you well, and be no more perplexed. Written with the hand of your loving Sovereaigne and Friend,

HENRY R.

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One of the liberties which our King took at his spare time was to love. For, as all recomendable parts concurr'd in his Person, and they, againe, were exalted in his high dignity and valour, so it must seeme lesse strange, if amid the many faire Ladies, which liv'd in his Court, He both gave and receiv'd temptation. Among whom, because Mistresse *Elizabeth Blunt*, daughter to Sir *John Blunt* Knight, was thought, for her rare Ornaments of nature, and education, to be the beauty and Mistresse-peece of her time, that entire affection past betwixt them, as at last she bore him a Sonne. This Childe, proving so equally like to both his Parents, that hee became the best Embleme of their mutuall affection, was call'd *Henry Fitz-Roy* by the King, and so much avow'd by him, that having now attain'd the age of Six years, Hee was made Knight publicly, and the same day created Earle of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, and Lieutenant Generall beyond *Trent*, and Warden Generall of the borders of *Scotland*, and * shortly after Admirall of *England*. After which, hee was first bred up together with *Henry* Earle of *Surrey*, in the Castle of *Windsor* (which the Earle elegantly describes in a Sonnet extant in his workes) from whence (*November 1532.*) they went both together to Study at *Paris*, which acquaintance and friendship was indear'd againe by a match of the said Duke with *Mary* the Earles Sister; by whom yet he had no issue. Howbeit, I find, hee was very personable and of great expectation, insomuch that hee was thought, not only for habilitie of body, but mind to be one of the rarest of his time, for which reason also he was much cherished by our King, as also because he had no issue Male by his Queene, nor did, perchance, expect any.

The Cardinall had now built his faire Palace at *Hampton-Court*. But as hee wisely considered, that it would but adde unto that envy for which hee had already suffered so much, He gave it the King, who, in exchange, permitted him to live in *Richmond House*.

The Credit that *Luther*, at this time, had gotten among those Germans, who were either weary of their obedience to the stricter parts of Ecclesiasticall Government, or desirous to reforme the errours and abuses of it, (now so generall, as even Pope *Adrian* himselfe confessed that many were crept into *Rome*) had prevailed farre. Yet as others examined which way hee tooke to make his Reformation, so they thought Religion yet not so exactly formed, but that it might bee cast in a better Mold. Therefore not onely *Huldricus Zuinglius*, at *Zurich*, beganne a Reformation somewhat varying from that of *Luther*; but one *Muncer* in the confines of *Turingia*, having invented a Doctrine, opposite

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enough to the Church of *Rome*, yet differing from the other Reformers in many things, Published it with much applause of the inferior sort. For, as he said hee had power from God to depose Princes, and substitute others, and that, againe, Hee taught, All goods should be Common, and divers other Articles tending to Popularity, He was followed by huge multitudes. To temper yet this licentious Doctrine, He Preached Austerity of life; counselling Men to Prayers, Fasting, and all other devotions; which might argue, His intention was not so much to invade other Men's possessions, as to establish a Moderate Equality. Thus did hee season falsehoods with Truths, and ill with good, while the vulgar sort, who could not distinguish betwixt them, admired, and followed all. To remedy these so dangerous assemblies and opinions, the chiefe neighbouring Princes raised some Forces; and prevail'd so farre, that, at last, they dissipated, and kill'd their whole Army. Neither was it difficult, they, for their best defence, singing onely a Psalm, (whereby they invoked the Holy Ghost) while *Muncer* (who it seemes trusted least to his own Doctrine) fled away; yet being pursued and taken, together with his Companion *Phifer*, they shortly after lost their Heads. His Sect yet tooke not his end so; as being revived againe, in part, not many yeares after, by *Iohⁿ of Leyden* and *Knipper Doling*, who, to his other impieties added this, that in a throng of people, being borne upon mens Shoulders, he would breath on them, and bid them receive the Holy Ghost.

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Such was the generous disposition of our King, that not onely for *Francis* then a Prisoner, but the expelled King of *Denmarke*, *Christiern*, he interceded with his best Offices. Therefore, this yeare, he sent *Henry Standish* Bishop of *Saint Asaph*, and Sir *Henry Baker* Knight to perswade his Subjects to recall him home; whence yet nothing had chased him so much as the guilt and horror of shedding so much blood there (so great a persecuter is Cruelty of it selfe:) But the angry Danes obstinately denyed. The next instance then was, that at least his Sonne (who was Nephew to *Charles*) might succeed. But this also was refused; They alleadging they durst not commit the supream power over themselves, into the hands of one, who, they thought would imitate and revenge his Father.

The French King being weary of his restraint in *Italy*, had desired he might be removed into *spaine*; both as he hoped the Emperor might be perswaded to come to speech with him there, as that he reputed change of Prison to be a second liberty. *Charles de Lanoy* also concurr'd in this request, as fearing he might be taken out of his hand. Having obtained this favour, he found not yet the Emperor sufficiently disposed to see him, though other-

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wise

wife he could not complaine of being either debar'd the pleasure of hunting, or any other reasonable exercise. Finding yet still that the Emperor did estrange himselfe so much, as not to vouchsafe him one visit, he fell sick; for he did not think that his misfortunes had made him forfeit his dignity; or that, for being a Prisoner of war, he had extinguished his Title to be a King. *Charles* understanding this, whether out of compassion, or feare of loosing *Francis*, resolves to goe to him at the *Alcazar de Madrid*, where, coming to his chamber he embrac'd *Francis*, who said presently *Mon-sieur, vey aqui vuestro esclavo*; The Emperor answered again *No Sino, buen hermano, y amigo libre*. The King replied *No Sino, vuestro esclavo*. The Emperor answered againe, *No Sino, libre amigo, y buen hermano*; and thereupon wisht him to have a care of his health, which he much desired, and that his busineses would succeed well. The Emperor not thinking this curtesie sufficient, returnes to see him the next day again; which so comforted *Francis*, that he amended suddenly. Whereupon the Emperor resolved to returne to his busineses at *Toledo*. But Madame *Marquerite Duchesse de Alancon*, Sister to *Francis*, hearing of his sicknesse, made haste to see him. Whom therefore the Emperor courteously entertained, and accompanied to her brother's lodging; where, after many affectionate protestations, he left them together, and so held on his Journey to *Toledo*, whether Madame *de Alancon*, not many dayes after, followed him, mediating still the delivery of her brother. To whom she desir'd the Emperour to give his Sister *Leonora*, upon the conditions above-mentioned; and that the King, her brother, would provide for *Bourbon* a match equall to this; wherein she was thought to have intimated her self, as being newly made widow by the death of her husband, the Duke of *Alancon*. As for the right of *Burgundy*, she desired it might be determined by way of justice before the 12 Peers of *France*; but the Emperor disliked this, saying, that he was contented that learned persons in the Law on both sides should treat here of, and that the Pope should be Umpire; but Madame also did not approve this. The French writers adde, that promise was made by *Francis* at this time also, that the King of *England* should receive intire satisfaction. Madame *de Alancon*, finding at last how little her intreaties prevail'd, desired leave to return, and by the way to see her brother, which was granted. Here then was propos'd how he might escape; which was at last resolv'd, by changing cloathes with a Negro, who carried Wood and Coales to the King's chamber, and blacking his face with Cole-dust. Which invention as it is like enough to be a Ladie's, and somewhat better then the lending him her Maske, I have thought fit to give her the honour of. This plot was kept secret, onely betwixt the King, his Sister, one *Clement Chappion* his Chamberlaine, and an other Treasurer. But Monsieur *de la Roche-pot* striking this *Chappion* on some occasion, he, as being discontented and without remedy,

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flies to the Emperor, and discovers all. The Emperor yet would not suddenly beleieve it, nor without better inquiry into the businesse; as not thinking (if one may beleieve the Spaniard my Author) that the King of *France* would, in such an undecent and unworthy manner, procure his liberty. Therefore, in favour of this conceit of the Emperor's, hee so represents the crime, as if *Francis* ought to beleieve, that it was more Honorable for him to stay in prison, then escape it; howsoever it seemes his ancient courage was so farre from being abated, as it increased rather by his close keeping. Therefore he sent *Monsieur de Montmorancy* to tell *Charles*, that he was resolved to indure any thing sooner than to restore *Burgundy*, or yeeld through constraint that which did not become him, so that he desired onely to know the place of his Imprisonment, and number of his attendants. The Emperor answered, that he was content to appoint him a place, and to nominate those that should guard him; for the rest, protesting that it griev'd him much that *Francis* should refuse to doe that for the Ransome of his person, which he was bound to doe, for the sake of Justice only. But ample Commission and consent being come from Madame the Regent and Parliament of *Paris* to transact a further agreement, *Francis* demanded that he might have *Donna Leonóra*, and, for her Portion, the Counties of *Mascon* and *Auxere*, promising, in consideration thereof, to restore the rest of *Burgundy*. But to this demand of *Leonóra*, *Charles* answered againe that being obliged to the Duke of *Bourbon*, he could do nothing therein without acquainting him first: yet, to satisfie the King, he sent to *Bourbon*, to let him know how much it concerned him, that *Francis* might have *Leonóra*. But *Bourbon* (it is doubtfull whether out of his former contumacy and stubbornesse, or out of a violent affection to the Lady) answered, that hee had lost great possessions in *France*, only to have the Honor to match in that neerenesse of blood to the Emperour. This seem'd much to trouble *Charles*; at last, sending for *Bourbon*, he offer'd him, in recompence of *Leonóra* the Investiture, of *Milan*, which *Bourbon* accepted, the writings or Patent for which my Author sayeth he saw in *Simanca*, not expressing in the meane while, how this concurr'd with the Investiture, which, a little before, he saith, the Emperour gave to *Francesco Sforza*. To reconcile which difficulty I shall produce (out of a dispatch extant in our Records) the reason, as I conceive it; for though *Charles* had (together with the possession) granted *Sforza* the Investiture of *Milan*, yet it was upon condition, that *Sforza* should pay him twelve hundred thousand Crowns towards his charges, and that the said Investiture should remaine in the hands of *Lanoy*, till the warre of *Italy* were ended. But *Sforza* finding this too hard, joyned with the adverse Party, and gave occasion to the Emperor to bestow the Investiture on *Bourbon*. And he had reason to be content therewith; For *Donna Leonóra*, hearing of

of this competition about her, decided the controversie in favour of *Francis*; sending word to the Emperour, that she had rather be a Queene of *France* then wife to *Bourbon*.

This while, the Pope, the Venetians, and Princes of *Italy* on the one side Leagued together for the defence of *Italy* against the Emperor inviting also our King into the treaty; our king on the other, mediated for *Francis*; neither did it diminish the suspicion entertained by them that *Charles* pretended to an universall Monarchy in Christendom, because, presently upon the making of *Francis* Prisoner at *Pavia*, he had written to our King, as well as to all other the said principall Persons, that he should take it well if they did not meddle with the Dominions and Estates of *Francis*, since, being his prisoner, hee could do no lesse then protect him against all others. While these Treaties proceeded, *Henry de Albret*, King of *Navarre*, found a more compendious way to his Liberty, by corrupting his guards. The Count de *Saint Paul* also devis'd meanes to escape without paying any Ransome.

Madame *Loüise* the French Regent continuing her Messages and Ambassades, sollicites our Kings assistance for the redeeming of her Sonne. To which purpose a Treaty was concluded at *Moore*, August 30. 1525. in this manner, as our Records have it.

Aug 30.

That all injuries, done and received in the late warre betweene *England* and *France*, shall be forgotten.

That confederation for mutuall ayd and intercourse of Merchandice shall be established, together with free passage of subjects through each others Dominions, so that they exceed not a hundred armed men.

That all taxes and impositions laid by each of the Kings upon the Subjects or Merchants of the other, within these last 50 years, shall be extinct, and no new ones imposed.

That one shall not protect the disobedient Subject of the other, nor entertaine Rebels, Traytors, or Fugitives; but, within twenty dayes after due requisition made, shall deliver them up.

That no Letters of Reprisalls (or Merk) shall be granted on either side, but only against the principall Delinquents, and that but in case of denyall of Justice.

That, if the Subjects of the one or the other offend against this Treaty, they shall be punish'd, without that the Treaty shall, any way therefore, be infringed.

That, presently upon the ratification of this Treaty, the prisoners of warre on the one and the other side shall be released, as also the French Hostages.

That, in this Treaty shall be comprehended the friends and allies of each Prince. That is to say, on the King of *France* his part, the Pope, the Kings of *Scotland*, *Hungary*, *Navarre*, and *Portugall*; the State of *Venice*; the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Lorraine*, *Geldres*, *Ferrara*; the *Snisse*, the Marqueses of *Montferrat* and *Saluces*. On the

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King of England's part, the Pope, the Emperor Charles, the King of Denmark, of Hungary, of Portugall, Queen Mary Dowager of France, Lady Margaret Arch-Dutcheffe of Austria, Ferdinand brother to the Emperor, Arch-Duke of Austria: the State of Venice; the B. P. of Liege; the Dukes of Urbin, Cleve, Tuilliers; the house of Medici, the Florentines, the Duke of Ferrara, the Hansatique Townes; Upon condition, that they accepted it within Six Moneths next ensuing. Whose violating of the League yet should not be understood as a breach betwixt the principall contractors.

That yet this Treaty shall not extend to the maintaining of any receiv'd into it, so, as it should hinder the principall contractors to recover their right and Lands whatsoever, with-held by any, since the Treaty of 1518.

The King of England shall doe his best endeavour, to procure, as soone as may be, the Liberty of Francis, and to induce the Emperor to accept reasonable conditions.

That this Treaty shall be sign'd and sworne to by Francis, within three Moneths, if he get his liberty so soone, or, otherwise, hee shall confirme it by his Letters, written with his own hand, and sent to King Henry the eighth. And that Madame La Regente shall renounce all exceptions, which in Law as (by *Senatus-Consultum Velleianum &c.*) may be taken against this Treaty.

That the Cardinall of Bourbon, Duke of Vendosme, Duke of Longueville, Comte Saint Paul, Mr. de Lantrech, Mr. de Montmorancy, Mr. de Pressi, Comte de Maleuse, and Comte de Bryan, as also the principall Cities, Paris, Lyons, Orleans, Iolosa, Amiens, Roüen &c. shall, under the Obligation and forfeit of all their goods, sweare hereunto, to observe this Treaty, within three Monethes after the date hereof, (in which also their heires and successors shall be comprehended) giving, for this purpose, a Bond with their Seale annexed, to be sent to the King of England, within three Monethes. Moreover certaine Bonds were given for the debts and moneys hereafter specified. viz. Two Millions of Crowns, at the payment of fifty thousand Crownes at a time in Calais, The first payment to begin within fourty dayes after the Treaty. The second the first of November next ensuing. The next the first of May following, and so from terme to terme, and yeare to yeare, till the whole be satisfied to King Henry or his successors. After the payment of which, the said King Henry shall, during his life (and no longer) receive yearly the summe of 100000 Crownes.

Aug. 30.

This Treaty was concluded Aug. 30. by the Commissioners on both sides; viz. for our King, William Arch-Bishop of Cant. Thomas Carlis Ebor. Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Henry Marquesse of Exon, Charles Earle of Worcester, Nicholas Bishop of Ely, and Sir Thomas Moore. For the Regent of France, were John Brinon, Premier President de Roüen, and Giovanni Ioachim Seigneur de Vaulx, Mr. de Hostel to Louise. And was *proclaim'd in September; and, in October John

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Octob.

Taylor

Taylor Doctor of Law, and Sir William Fitz-William were sent into France, to take the Regents Oath. By another Treaty this yeere at Lyons, I finde the Regent obliged herselfe to pay all the Arreages due to Mary our Kings sister out of France, by reason of her marriage with Louis the twelfth, as also to suffer her to enjoy the profits and rents of all the Lands left her in joynture, according to the Treaty Octob. 8. 1514.

Francesco Sforza being informed now that a strong League was intended by the Pope, Venetians, and divers others, against the Emperor, was perswaded to enter into it, upon pretence that by their assistance he might sufficiently defend his Countrey. But this was his ruine; for the Marquess of Pescara understanding hereof, or (as others say) supposing it onely, questions him; but Sforza denying constantly that ever he gave his consent thereto, the Marquess demanded the Castle of Milan and Cremona for security. But Sforza utterly refusing this, the Marquess of Pescara tooke Milan and laid siege to the Castle (which onely remained to Sforza) and after Pescara's death (which happened by sicknesse) the Duke of Bourbon. The conclusion hereof was, that Sforza (by constraint) yeelded the Castle upon conditions, and so retired at length to the Army, raised by the League against Charles the yeere following.

The Emperor who had now treated of marriage in many places, * concluded it at last with his Neece, Donna Isabellathe Infanta of Portugall, and daughter of Mannell and Maria, Infanta of Castile, whom yet he married not till January 2. 1516. Alleadging for his excuse to our King, that at the request and petition of his Courtes or States assembled at Toledo, he had preferred this Lady before our Princeesse Mary, which therefore he desired might be understood for no breach of friendship. Our King also considering the tender age of his daughter, not yet fit for marriage, and that it was an incongruity to ally himselfe with a Prince against whom he might have so soon occasion to draw his Sword, (as may appeare by the League above mentioned) seemed very well content to relinquish the Match, upon this mutual consent. After which time the friendship betwixt them grew so remisse, at last it dissolved wholly, Insomuch that the Ambassadors of both sides were recalled home, and Charles, who before was accustomed to signe his Letters to King Henry alwaies *Tuus Filius & Cognatus*, from henceforth subscribed onely *Carlos*.

But I the lesse wonder that the Emperor now began to take State upon him, since a richer booty then that of Francis fell into his hands, that is to say Peru, where the Mines of Potest (and many others which for want of Labourers remain to this day buried and unusefull) were first discovered. Which began in this manner.

Ulasco Nunnez having first * discovered, from a hight Rock neere Darien, the Mar del zur, * Hernando de Magellanes (a Portuguez, but set forth by Charles the fifth) afterwards found out the Straits that beare

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Octob. 3.
1514.

July 24.
1526.

Novem.

Sandov.

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* 1513.

* 1520.

1525.

* 1521.

April.

Novem. 8.

* 1523.

Sept. 6.

* 1525.

* 1533.

Sandoval

Historia de-
los Incas by
Garci Lasso de
Vega.

bear his name, and passed through them with two ships to the Isle of Zebut, and others in that Sea; but * dying in the voyage, his companions went on to Borneo and the * Moluccas, and many other places, whence one of the ships * returned to Spaine, by Capo de Buena Esperanca, and so first compassed the Globe, Juan Sebastian de Cano a Biskayan being Pilot. The other ship was taken by the Portuguez. Yet, as the Continent towards that Sea was unknowne still, Francesco Picarro living at Panamà (being the furthest part of Land, where it is narrowest, betwixt the North Ocean and the Mar del Zur) first attempted the * discovery of that Coast, bending at last to Peru, which afterward he * Ransackt; For landing his men at a time when there was dissension betwixt Guancar the lawfull heire, and Atabaliva his younger brother, he made his advantage thereof, to the overthrow of both, and of Atabaliva first, in this pretext. Picarro having his Forces in a readinesse, sent a Dominican Frier, with a Crosse in one hand, and a Breviary in another, who (as the Spanish writers have it) told Atabaliva (then in the head of his Army) that God was Three, and yet One, and that he made the World of nothing, and that he sent his Sonne down to be born of a Virgin, and to die for our sinnes upon a Crosse, like that he bore; and that he rose the third day, and left Saint Peter his Vicar, and the Pope his Successor, who had given the Emperor that Countrey; if he would not believe this, commanding him also to make War, and destroy him & his Religion. Atabaliva, who though full of superstitious worship, did yet venerate a supreme Deity (confessed in these parts by the name of Viracocha, or Baracocha, as in Mexico by that of Tentib, and in Guatimala by that of Cabovit, in Nueva Espanna by that of Tecahuvagumaorecoti,) and together acknowledged Vertue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, after this life, as believing the soule Immortall; found this Ambassage strange, and said, he believed no Power on earth was superiour to himselfe, yet that he would be glad to hold friendship with the Emperor; and for the Pope, he wondred at him, because he gave that which was none of his. As for his Religion, he would not dispute it, since it was so ancient, and received in his Countrey. And, for worshipping of Christ that died, he said, he thought he had done better in worshipping the Sunne and Moon that never died, as believing (which I finde by the History of the Incas, written by one of that Blood-Royall) that the Sunne did goe about the World on Gods errand. Lastly, he demanded, who told him that God had made the World on that fashion? To which the Dominican answering, the Breviary, and together putting it in his hands; Atabaliva turning over a few leaves (as if he expected some such expreffion from thence) but finding he understood nothing, threw it away, wherewith the Dominican exclaiming that the Gospell was on the ground, and demanding vengeance, Picarro discharged some great Ordnance, and his small shot against him, wherewith the terrified Indians

Indians fled, and *Atabaliva* was taken prisoner. *Atabaliva* hereupon offers for his ransome as much Gold and Silver as would fill a great Sala or Roome where they were, which being accorded and almost performed in effect, *Picarro* upon false pretences most cruelly put him to death, though Baptized; For which also the Conspirators and *Picarro* himselfe came at last to ill deaths, as the Spanish Writers observe. Howsoever for the present, the Spaniards proceeded in their Cruelty to others, of all sorts, especially of the Blood-Royall, and got infinite Treasure, their Temples being planked with Gold, and their graves full of Treasure and Riches, which were buried with them. But I doubt I have insisted too long upon these Barbarismes.

The yeere of our Lord 1526 was now entered when *Charles* required his Councell to advise him whether it were best to deliver *Francis*; and if so, upon what terms? *Charles de Lanoy* Vice-Roy of *Naples* did not thinke fit the Emperor should lose the benefit of such a prize; Therefore, though he perswaded the delivery of *Francis*, yet he wisht that the most advantageous conditions that could be made thereof should be taken suddenly, and before the League, which was now forming against him, could be concluded. That, this being done, the Emperor was more free to provide for the businesse of *Germany*, to resist the *Turke*, and to suppress *Barbaroxa* and other Pirats that infested his Seas. Others, and among them *Gattinara* the Chancellor, said, that there was lesse danger of *Francis* being in prison then abroad; especially, since it did not appeare sufficiently, the new League would be broken off, when *Francis* had his liberty, but rather strengthened and confirmed, as being not directed so much for the delivery of *Francis*, as opposed to the greatnesse of *Charles*. That many things might be done while *Francis* was unsetled, which would take no effect when he were restored to his former estate. Therefore, his best course were to finde some meanes to reverse the children of his Prisoner, and other affaires in *France*, within his power, that so nothing might interrupt his Designes elsewhere. And that himselfe should undertake his journey to *Italy*, before he let goe so dangerous an Enemy, who if once loose, would rather make war for redeeming his losses, then improve them by standing to any servile conditions. Lastly, that his Imperiall Majesty ought to believe, that if *Francis* being in prison would not make restitution of *Burgundy*, he would muchlesse doe it when he were free. *Hernando de Vega* said, that *Francis* was very well in *Madrid*. To which, *Gattinara* replied resolutely, there might be use both of detaining and letting him goe; onely, since he saw so little hope of performance (what security soever were given) he thought it best either to let him goe freely, and therein put a perpetuall Obligation upon him, or to keep him still where he was. This was a wise advise. The Emperor yet chose rather to adhere to them who

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counsell'd him to prevaile himselfe of the occasion. Therefore, considering *Francis* offered his two Sonnes for Hostages, while himselfe going to *France*, mediated with the Estates for restoring *Burgundy*: and that, without this personall intercession there was little hope of any satisfaction or peace; he thought it best to deliver *Francis*, as that which at least would declare to the Christian World, that he desired the quietnesse thereof. So that upon the fourteenth of *January* a Treaty (called the Concord of *Madrid*) was concluded, the Tenor whereof according to the most substantiall Articles is here set down.

Charles the Emperour, and on his part *Charles de Lanoy* Vice-Roy of *Naples*, *Hugo de Moncada*, and *Juan Aleman*: And *Francis le Roy Tres-Christien*, and on his part *Francis* Archbishop of *Ambrun*, and *Jean de Selue* *Prinier President du Parliament de Paris*, and *Philip Chabot*, having Commission from *Madame Louÿsse* Regent of *France*, in vertue of the power given her by *Francis*, before his imprisonment (thought therefore Authenticke) did upon the day and yeere above written Treat, Accord, and conclude these Articles following:

1. That there shall be a good and secure Peace and Confederation established between the two Princes, so that they shall be Friends to the Friends, and Enemies to the Enemies of each other, for the mutuall defence of their Estates and Kingdoms.

2. That Traffique and Commerce shall be renewed betwixt their Subjects on either side, upon payment onely of their ancient Customs; and that the Sea shall be secured from Pirates.

3. That the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, together with all the rights, members and dependances, shall in the name of Him, his Heires, and Successors, be restored within the space of six weeks after the delivery of *Francis*, notwithstanding any Decrees of Parliaments, pretence of the Salique Law, or other claime whatsoever.

4. Because yet, for the better performance of these things which are required, the French King alleageth it is necessary that he should presently repaire home; it is therefore concluded, that upon the tenth of *March* next the said French King shall be set free in that part of *France* which adjoyns to *Fuentarabie*; upon condition neverthelesse, that at the same houre and instant, (the number of Attendants on both sides being equall) the Dolphin his eldest sonne, and Duke of *Orleans* his second sonne, or (instead of the said Duke) *Monsieur de Vendosme*, *Iohn Duke of Albany*, *Monsieur de St. Pol*, *Monsieur de Guise*, *Monsieur de Lautrech*, *Monsieur de la Val*, the *Marquis de Saluces*, *Monsieur de Rieux*, the great *Seneschall of Normandy*, the *Mareschall de Montmorancy*, *Monsieur de Brion*, and *Monsieur de Aubigny*, should be delivered to *Charles* as Hostages till all conditions were performed; which being done, that within the space of foure weeks a Ratification by the Parliament of *Paris*, and all the other Parliaments of the said Kingdome shall be delivered unto

unto *Charles*; whereupon the said *Charles* doth sweare and promise upon the Faith of a Prince to return the said Hostages, upon condition yet that the third sonne of *Francis*, being Duke de *Angoulesme*, should at the same time be given to *Charles*, to be kept and brought up in his Court, and with him. And the French King doth furthermore promise, in case these things were not performed, (that is to say, the restitution of *Burgundy*, and the rest in six weeks, and the Ratification in foure more ensuing) to returne prisoner to *Charles*. And, for this purpose, as he had sworne already, so when he is at liberty, he shall renew and confirme the said Oath, before such Commissioners as *Charles* shall appoint. And that upon his said returne to *Charles*, his Hostages should be delivered.

5. That *Francis*, for Himselfe, his Heires, and Successors, shall renounce his whole right, claime, and interest, in all the Kingdomes, Estates, Lands, and Seigneuries, which are now in the possession of *Charles*, and especially in the Kingdome of *Naples*, as well for all propriety therein, as any pension or payment demanded for the same. And that the Investiture thereof, given by the Apostolique See to his Ancestors or him, as also all Capitulations made to this effect heretofore, shall not be available for the said Kingdome of *Naples*, or for the Estates of *Milan*, *Genoia*, *Asti*, and their dependencies. And that the Grants or Writings to this purpose, whether Pontificall or Imperiall, or onely between him and *Francesco Sforza*, should be delivered to *Charles*. And that *Francis* shall, for Him, his Heires, and Successors, renounce all his demand or claime to *Flanders*, and all other places thereabouts, now in the possession of *Charles*, together with all superiority over them. In lieu whereof, the said *Charles* promiseth to relinquish his Title to *Perone*, *Montdidier*, the Counties of *Boulougne*, *Guines*, *Ponthieu*, as also all the Cities, Townes, Seigneuries on both sides of the River of *Some*, now in the possession of *Francis*, reserving onely the Countries of *Masconois*, *Auxerrois*, and *Bar sur la Seine*, which shall be disposed of particularly hereafter. And that all other Lands, Townes, and Seigneuries not mentioned in the presents, shall be restored to the Estate in which they were before the Wars.

6. That, in performance of the League defensive betwixt both Princes, they shall suffer no hostile Forces to passe through either of their Countreies, to the hurt or prejudice of the other, and that either Prince being invaded, may have of the other five hundred Horse and ten thousand Foot, with convenient Artillery (or any lesse number) at the charges of the demandant; and, for the offensive League, that it shall extend no further then to their joynt Enemies, and by the mutuall advice and consent of both.

7. That a marriage shall be had and made betwixt *Francis* and *Leonora*, a dispensation for that purpose being first obtained, and that she shall be delivered to *Francis* at the same time that the Hostages shall be restored by *Charles*.

8. That

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8. That her Dowry shall be two hundred thousand Crownes *de Solcil*, besides her Arras (*i. a pledge given in Spaine where marriages are recorded*) which did appertaine to her upon her first marriage.

9. That, besides the aforesaid summe, the Emperour out of his abundant love to his sister *Leonora*, shall bestow the Counties of *Masconoïs*, *Auxerrois*, and the Seigneury of *Bar sur la Seine* on her, and her heires males onely.

10. That the Queene *Leonora* shall renounce all rights of Goods or Heritage that might descend to her from the part of her Grandfather *Maximilian*, her father King *Philip*, or Queen *Joane* her mother, save onely the collaterall succession, in case the said *Charles* or his brother *Ferdinand* should die without issue.

11. That the said Queene *Leonora* shall receive from *Francis* Jewels to the value of fifty thousand Crownss to remaine to her, her heires and successors.

12. That if the said *Francis* and *Leonora* shall have issue male betwixt them, the eldest sonne shall be Duke of *Alacon*, and have in possession the Dutchy thereof, conferrd on him by *Francis*, and on his mothers part the above-mentioned Counties of *Masconoïs*, *Auxerrois*, and *Bar sur la Seine*, and that his other sonnes shall be provided for according to the degree, reserving still the right belonging to the Dolphin. And that the daughters shall have such portions as the Kings of *France* usuallly give.

13. That, in case *Francis* die before *Leonora*, she shall have for Arras sixty thousand Livres Tournois of Rent, yeerly to continue, during her life onely.

14. That, in case *Leonora* survive *Francis*, it may be lawfull for her to returne to *Spaine*, *Flanders*, or *Burgundy*, and carry with her all her Goods and Jewels; and that before the solemnity of the said Marriage, the seale of the said King and Dolphin, and of the estates and principall places of the said Kingdome of *France*, together with due acknowledgements and obligations shall be given, to the intent they may be forc'd to the accomplishment thereof, both by way of Excommunication, and also by Arrests, and detaining of all persons of the said Kingdome, of what quality soever.

15. That a marriage shall be solemnized between *Francis* the Dolphin, sonne and heire to *Francis*, and *Donna Maria* daughter to *Leonora*, and her first husband *Manuell*, in words *de futuro*, when the said Lady shall attaine to seven yeeres of age, and by words *de presenti* when she shall be twelve. And that her brother *Don Juan* King of *Portugall* shall give his consent thereunto, with sufficient provision for her Dowry.

16. That the said Infanta *Maria* shall at twelve yeers of age be conducted to *France*, and consigned to *Francis*.

17. That *Francis* shall use his best means to dispose *Henry d' Albret*,

bret, together with his Brothers and Sisters to renounce their Title to Navarre, or when they could not procure any such disclaime, not to assist him or them in their pretences. That Francis likewise shall use his best meanes to dispose the Duke of Guelldres to leave (after his life) the Dutchy of Guelldres and County of Zutphen to Charles, or when he could not procure this, to assist Charles with three hundred Horse and foure thousand Foot to recover it.

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18. That Francis shall not give assistance to Duke Ubricke of Wirtenberge, nor to Robert dela Mark or his sonnes, against the said Charles, but rather help him to repress them, nor interpose himselfe by way of Treaty in favour of any Potentate of Italy.

19. That when Charles shall passe in person to Italy, Francis shall lend to the said Charles his Fleet in the Mediterranean Sea, being well equipped, for the space of three Moneths, and no longer. And, whereas Francis promised to assist Charles, both with men and Artillery for his Voyage, he should in lieu thereof, pay in money two hundred thousand Crownes, giving him good security for it; yet, if the Emperour demanded five hundred great Horse, together with sufficient Artillery, Francis should furnish them at his own proper costs.

20. That because Charles, for the better drawing Henry King of England to his party against Francis, had promised to pay unto the said Henry the summe of one hundred thirty three thousand three hundred and five Crownes yeerely, in lieu of those Pensions and Rents which the said Francis was bound to pay to Henry, and during such termes as was agreed betwixt them; (as by a Treaty concluded at Windsor June 19. 1522, more at large appeareth,) and because, since that time untill a late League betwixt Francis and Henry, all the said money remains in arreare; And because Francis saith, he hath taken order with Henry for the payment of the said intire summe; therefore it is agreed, that Francis shall save harmlesse the said Charles from all demands on the part of Henry; And, furthermore, shall give an Authentique Copy of the said late agreement betwixt him and Henry, sometime before the end of foure Moneths next ensuing the date hereof; as also of the Acquittances he shall receive from Henry upon payment of the said summes, which shall be such, as Charles, his Heires, and Successors may remaine indemnified and discharged thereof for ever. So that, if Charles should be called upon for satisfaction in these particulars, Francis shall take the businesse on himselfe, and defend it as his owne, without that Charles shall be any way molested therein.

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21. That, because this particular Treaty is made in the way of a Generall League, intended to be agreed on and concluded hereafter against Turkes, Infidels, and Heretiques; therefore,

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that supplication should be made in both their names unto his Holinesse, that he would write unto all Christian Princes and Estates to joyne herein; as also to Authorize a Cruzada for the said Enterprize; to endure at least for three yeeres next ensuing, not exempting Ecclesiasticall persons from it. And, if need be, that *Charles* and *Francis* should go in person to this Holy warre by Sea, that then they shall joyne and unite their forces together with those of the great Master of the Knights of Saint *John* of *Jerusalem*, and the *Genovesi*; or, if the danger appeare not so great, as to require their presence in the said Warre, that then a Generall for conducting the said forces shall be appointed by *Charles*; or, if otherwise it should be thought necessary themselves should goe in person, that then Ambassadors and Commissioners should be appointed to reside in each others Dominions for the determining of all differences that should arise in their absence.

22. That, because *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, together with divers of his Friends, Allies, and Servants, did for a while absent themselves from *France*, and the service of *Francis*, and that for this cause the Dutchies of *Bourbon*, *Auvergne*, *Chastelerant*, the Counties of *Clermont*, &c. had been taken away from them, it is agreed, that *Francis* presently, or at furthest in six weeks after his delivery, shall restore unto the said Duke of *Bourbon*, as well as to all the rest of his Friends, Allies, and Servants, (whether Ecclesiasticall or secular) their former possessions, together with the just value of all the Goods that have been taken from them, as also the Writings or Deeds by which the said Possessions were formerly held, and also the true profit of the said Lands and Possessions, during their absence, and to stay all suits and proceedings against them on this occasion. Furthermore, that the said Duke shall not be constrained personally to appeare in the French Court, but that he may administer, and dispose of all his Estate and Possessions, by sufficient Deputies and Officers appointed thereunto, and receive the Revenues thereof, in such place as himselfe shall chuse, when it were out of *France*. And that the said Officers shall not be molested in execution of their charge. And, as for the Right the said Duke of *Bourbon* pretends to the County of *Provence*, and the Dependencies thereof, it is agreed that a just and equall hearing and decision thereof shall be permitted and given before competent Judges, whensoever the said Duke shall recommence his former suit therein; and that the said Duke, his Friends, Allies, and Servants, may without prejudice to their Rights or Possessions stay or continue in the service of the Emperor. And that, for performing of all these particulars abovementioned, *Francis* shall give good and sufficient warrant and assurance, according to form of Law, and the terms usuall in this case.

23. That

23. That, before the fifteenth of February next all prisoners on both sides, and particularly *Philibert* Prince of *Anrange* shall (without paying any Ransome) be set free and returne to their severall Counties, unlesse their Soveraignes by mutuall consent doe otherwise determine.

24. That all Rebels and Fugitives on either side shall be remanded, (onely those in the Dutchy of *Milan*, *Genoua*, and County of *Asti* excepted) who shall be freely pardoned, and within six Moneths restored to their former Estates. As for those who are charged with heynous crimes of that nature, as they cannot be returned home, without scandall and inconvenience, it is agreed, that upon a Moneths warning they shall depart from those places to which they are retired, upon the penalty of being apprehended, and sent to their lawfull Soveraigne or Superior.

25. That all Prelates and Ecclesiasticall persons, as also all Subjects, of what condition soever, shall on either side returne to their former Places, Estates, and Possessions, notwithstanding any Confiscation, Guist, or Alienation thereof whatsoever.

26. That, because in the Cortes of *Castilla*, the Consuls and University of *Burgos* had complained of divers losses they had received, contrary to some ancient Priviledges, (both before and since these warres) which they pretend to hold from the Ancestors of the most Christian King as Duke of *Brittany*, it is therefore agreed, that upon verification of the particulars, the said priviledges shall be confirmed, and a friendly end made, or otherwise Justice done on the offenders.

27. That, because the Clothes made in *Catalunna*, *Rosellon*, *Cerdenna*, and other places of the Crowne of *Arragon*, are not permitted to be carried through the Territories of *France* into other Countries without danger of Confiscation; it is therefore agreed, that paying their ancient Customes, they shall have a free way and passage, both by Sea and Land, along all the French Dominions.

28. Because *Madame Margarete*, Aunt to *Charles*, hath much mediated this peace; and because a certaine Neutrality, by the consent of *Charles*, was accorded betwixt her and *Francis*, for the Countries in her possessions, during their late warres, according to which she ought to enjoy the County of *Carlois*, and certaine Granaries of Salt, &c. notwithstanding which, they have by force been taken from her; It is agreed therefore, that they, together with the profits in arreare, shall be restored to her, during her life onely. And, that afterwards they shall descend on *Charles*, and his heires.

29. That, because the Queene *Donna Germana de Foix*, widow

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dow of Arragon, saith, she had received a definitive sentence in the Parliament of Paris, by which the Townes and Lands of *Marcent*, *Tursen*, *Gavierdey*, and *Gavaret* are adjudged to her; It is agreed that *Francis* shall see the said sentence executed by strong hand, if need be.

30. Item, Because *Philibert de Chaalon*, Prince of *Aurange*, since his service of the Emperor, hath had divers places and rights in *Dauphine* and *Bretagne* taken from him by *Francis*, and some moneys detained; It is agreed, that he shall be restored to his former possessions, and the said moneys paid, and good and speedy justice done him in his other demands.

31. Item, because *Philip de Croy* Marquis of *Arecon*, pretends to divers Lands, and other Rights in France, which since these Warres have been taken from him; it is agreed he shall be restored to them, and justice done him in his other demands.

32. Item, because the Princesse of *Chimay* pretends to certaine Goods and Inheritance descended to her, as in the Right of the *Seigneur de la Brit* her Father, as also to some Goods of her mother and Brethren; It is agreed that good and speedy Justice be done her.

33. Item, that *Henry* Count of *Nassaw* shall have right done him by *Francis* for part of the Dowry of his wife.

34. Item, that *Adolpha* of *Burgundy*, *Seigneur de Beures* Admirall of *Flanders*, shall be restored to his right of the Castle and Lands of *Crevecœur en Cambreis*, in the manner he held it before the warre.

35. Item, that *Monsieur Charles de Pompet*, Camarero to the Emperor, shall have the money restored him, which contrary to the Priviledges of the University of *Paris*, he was constrained to pay for the ranome of his children, Students there, when the late war began.

36. Item, that *Guillaume de Vergi* shall have right done him for the Seigneury of *Sau-de fier en Perchois*.

37. Item, that the Seignuers de *Frenes*, *Conde de Gaures*, *Monsieur Audriano de Croy*, de *Reulx*, de *Meleny*, *Conte de Spinay*, and *Sieur de Reulx*, shall have the Goods restored which they enjoyed before these late warres.

38. Item, that the *Marquis Antonio de Saluces* his Mother and Sisters, as also *Frederico de Baugy* shall have those Goods restored, which were taken in these late warres, and Justice done them.

39. Item, that the *Seigneur de Monago* Bishop of *Grafo* shall be replaced in his Bishopricke, and Justice done to him, and against those who killed his brother.

40. Item, that the *Seigneur de Luz* shall be restored to his possessions which he enjoyed before he entred the Emperors service;

vice ; and good and speedy justice done in certaine Lands he pretends descended to him from his Ancestors during those warres.

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41. *Item*, that the Pope, the King of England, Hungary, Poland, Denmarke, Portugall, and Scotland, Don Ferdinando brother to Charles, (and his Lieutenant-Generall of the Empire) Madame Margarete Aunt to the Emperor, the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, who are obedient to the Emperor, the Seigneurs of the Ancient Leagues and Cantons of High-Germany, may upon notification of their desire to be admitted into this League, (and not otherwise) be received thereinto at any time within the space of six moneths next ensuing.

42. *Item*, that Francis being set at liberty, shall in the first Towne he shall come to within his Kingdome, give Letters Patents for the ratification of this Accord, and send them to Charles. And that the Dolphin, when he shall attaine the age of fourteen, shall likewise ratifie them with a solemne Oath, in which he shall renounce all advantages, which by minority of age he might take hereafter to infringe the said Oath.

43. *Item*, that both Charles and Francis shall ratifie this present Capitulation and Agreement, and all that is contained therein, (each for his part) before Ambassadors appointed for this purpose ; and especially Francis, when he is free in his Kingdome, shall sweare solemnely upon the Evangelists in the presence of the true Crosse, to keepe and hold all that is contained in the said Capitulation ; and that both of them shall submit themselves herein to the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction and Censure, even to the Invocation of the secular power to constrain them ; And that they shall appoint their severall Proctors to appeare for them in the Court of Rome, and before the Pope, where they shall voluntarily accept the condition and fulmination of the said Censures, in case of Contravention ; And that neither of them shall demand or sue for absolution of this Oath or Censure ; or if they doe, that it shall not be availeable without the consent of the other.

44. *Item*, because no man may pretend ignorance, it is agreed that this Peace shall be published before the fifteenth of February next, both in the Dominions of Charles and Francis, and especially in the Frontiers, and such other places as have been accustomed in the like case.

This was Signed : *Francois, Carles de Lanoy, Don Hugo de Moncada, Francois Archevesque de Ambrun, Jean de Selue. Chabot.*

The Treaty betwixt them being concluded in the manner above-mentioned, the Archbishop of Ambrun, for the last Seale

Sandoz.
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and solemnization thereof, said Masse. This being done, *Francis* comming to the Altar, and putting his right hand upon the Book of the Evangelists, (which the said Archbishop held) did sweare by the Sacrament, and the holy Evangelists, not to break this capitulation all the daies of his life, nor to give counsell or favour that any other should breake it. The like Oath was taken by the Vice-Roy of Naples, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, and the Secretary *Aleman* in the Emperors name. (For the Emperor in person did not thinke fit to ballance his free Oath, with that of *Francis*, then in restraint.) This being performed on both sides, the Vice-Roy took the Faith and *Pleyto omenaie* (being a kinde of homage) of *Francis*, who as a Prince and the most Christian King promised and gave his fidelity and Royall word to returne into *Spaine* a prisoner within the space of six moneths, in case he did not accomplish all that was there capitulated betwixt them, giving his hands thereupon to be held betwixt those of *Charles de Lanoy*. This being ended with much seeming content on all parts, the Emperors Commissioners went to *Toledo*; where, upon relation to the Emperor of what was done, it was thought fit to send the *Seigneur de Praet*, Chevalier of the *Toison d'Or* who had been in *England*, and was now his Ambassador in *France* to meet with the French King at *Bayona*, and there to require of him, according to the Articles, a new and more ample ratification of his Oath.

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Some few daies after this Treaty (commonly called *Concordia de Madrid*) *Charles de Lanoy* having power and Commission from the Queen *Donna Leonora*, privately contracted a marriage with *Francis* in her name, and then having Commission from him again, went to the Queen *Leonora* and contracted a marriage with her in the name of *Francis*. After which time the Emperor treated no more with *Francis* as a prisoner, but a neere Ally, in so much that at the next visit, he offered him the right hand. I observe yet the Emperor would not permit *Francis* to enjoy *Leonora* his sister till he had fully accomplished the Concord betwixt them. Neither did he, in his last words to *Francis*, (being then licensed to depart) seem so sensible of any thing, as of her honour. At which time also (for further obligation of *Francis* unto this agreement) I finde by *Sandoval*, he demanded of *Francis* whether he remembred well all that was capitulated betwixt them? *Francis* answered, Yes; for further confirmation repeating the most particular Articles. *Charles* then demanded, Are you willing to performe them? *Francis* answered againe, Yes. Adding, he knew no man in his Kingdome would hinder him. And, when you finde that I doe not keepe my word with you, I wish and consent that you hold me for *Lasche & Meschant*. *Charles* replied, and I wish you to say the like of me if I doe not give you liberty. Whereupon they lovingly bid each other a long farewell. This being done, *Charles* returned.

There

of King Henry the eighth.

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There was much difficulty yet about the exchange betwixt *Francis* and his two sonnes, neither could they (almost) devise how to secure it from jealousie on either side. At last these Articles were agreed.

Feb. 26.

1. That no man at Armes, or other Souldier might within ten daies before or after the exchange and delivery be permitted to come within twenty League of the place; and that those who were come already should retire.

2. That no Gentleman of the French Kings household should passe *Bayona*, till the King were come to *S^t Ivan de Luz*.

3. That the number of Foot garrisons in either Frontier should not exceed a thousand. And that when Madame *Louise* the Regent had declared whether she would give the two eldest sonnes of *Francis* in Hostage, or the Dolphin only with the twelve others above mentioned, that then it should be advised whether the number were to be increased.

4. That at the day of the delivery neither man nor woman, neighbour nor stranger should be neere the place.

5. That six daies before the delivery, *Charles* should appoint twelve persons to visit the Coast, on that side where the River of *Fuentaraby* joyns with *France*: and that foure persons appointed by Madame *Louise* should be ready there to doe whatsoever was required for performance of these Articles. And that for this purpose Madame *Louise* might also appoint twelve on the other side of the River, whom foure on *Charles* his part should likewise attend.

6. That neither on one or other side of the said River (passing neere *Fuentaraby*) there should be any Boats or Pinaces, but two (which must be of the same bignesse) to passe *Francis* to the one, and the Hostages to the other side, and that the twelve Deputies on either part should take order herein.

7. That there should be no Gally, Ship, or Pinace in the Sea within five Leagues of the place appointed for the Delivery.

In sequence of which capitulation, it was further agreed, That *Charles de Lanoy*, with twenty five armed men, with Swords and Daggers onely, for guarding of the French King, and as many with *Monsieur de Lautrech*, in like manner weaponed, for conducting the two Hostages, should come to the sides of the above-mentioned River; in the middle of which a little Bridge, upon a Barque fastened with Anchors, should be built, on which yet no body should stand; and that two Boats of equall bignesse, fitted for twenty Oares apeice, should be ready there, of which *Francis* should choose one; which being done, twenty Rowers, all French, and unarmed, should enter his Boat, and bring it to the side of *Spaine*, at the same time; that the other with twenty Spaniards unarmed

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likewise, should be brought to the French Coast. That thereupon *Charles de Lanoy* conducting the King, and taking ten persons onely with him should passe to one side of the said Bridge at the same time that *Monsieur de Lautrech* with the Hostages, and ten persons should likewise come to the other. That none of the said persons yet should put themselves upon the Bridge, but *Charles de Lanoy* with the French King and one other, and *Monsieur de Lautrech* with the two Hostages, and *Madame de Brisac* and *Chauvigny*. That thereupon the exchange should be made in one instant. Before yet any thing was done the same day, that a Boat with foure Rowers Spanish and foure French, and a Gentleman of either Nation, should visit the Coast on both sides, and take order that every thing should be prepared. For feare yet least some supposititious children should be tendered instead of the Dolphin and his Brother, it was agreed further, that the *Seigneur de Praer*, the Emperors Ambassador should come along with them, while another Frenchman was allowed to attend *Francis* in his passage.

March 18.

Thus upon the eighteenth of *March* 1526, after one whole yeere and some daies imprisonment, was *Francis* delivered to his Boat, and by mutuall consent, at the same time accompanied with twelve Spaniards (whereof *Charles de Lanoy* and *Hernando de Alanco* his Guardian were two) to the French shore, while the Hostages, accompanied with the like number came to the Spanish coast; neither was there any thing more that might be thought remarkable in the performance of all this, but that a stay was made while the two children kissed their fathers hands, and that his last words to *Lanoy* confirmed againe his promise to the Emperor. As soon as *Francis* came to his own ground, he got hastily upon a Turkish and swift horse, and suddenly putting Spurs to him (if we may believe *Sandoval*) and casting one of his Armes over his head, and crying *Je suis le Roy, Je suis le Roy*, posted to *S. Ivan de Luz*, and the next day to *Bayona*, where the Lady his mother and many other principall persons with much anxiety attended him.

March 19.

I am the more particular in the Relation of these passages, both that the example is rare, as that it leads to the understanding of that which followeth in our History; and the rather, that it was the subject that chiefly took up the time and thoughts of our King, whensoever his prospect was turnd on forraigne affaires; inso-much that he might be truely said a principall Actor in them. And now he held it his part to relieve *Francis*. Therefore as he had sent *Cutbert Tonstall* Bishop of *London*, and *Sir Richard Wingfeild*, long since into *Spaine* to mediate his delivery with the Emperor, so now hearing he was in his way homewards, he dispatches *Sir Thomas Cheney* to congratulate his safe returne, and to take

take his Oath to the Treaty of *Moore* above-mentioned; which *Francis* accepting, sent a messenger immediatly to advertise our King of the conditions of his delivery, and to acknowledge that he ow'd him chiefly his liberty, as both *Sandoval* relates it, and our Records, under his own hand, confirme; which faire termes produced, afterwards, a more firme correspondency betwixt them.

Charles de Lanoy & *Hernando de Alanco*n having in vaine solicited *Francis*, at *Bayona*, to accomplish that part of the late Concord and Agreement he was bound to there, seem'd yet to receive some satisfaction, that they were referr'd untill their coming to *Paris*. (The King pretending he could doe nothing, effectually, till hee had spoken with the principall persons of the Estate and Parliament. Here againe they pressed *Francis* unto the performance of that he was bound to by so many Oaths and promises. But *Francis*, for a conclusion, positively answered, that it was not in his power to dismember any part from the Kingdome, without consent both of the same part, and the whole Kingdome; And therefore, with many loving words, desired that his Ransome might be chang'd to some equivalent summe of money. But *Charles* would by no meanes hearken thereunto. Therefore, as he had by Treaty happily detained the Queene *Leonora* from passing into *France*, so he determined rather (at what price soever) to take off the Pope, Venetians, and *Francesco Sforza*, and the Florentines from a League they were entering into with *England* and *France* against him, then to decline any way the least Article of the late Concord and Agreement.

This League (called *Clementina* & *Sanctissima*) was begun (as the French have it) by the instigation of our King, during the Imprisonment of *Francis*, but not perfectly concluded, till about two Moneths after his delivery. To give this a more auspicate beginning, the Pope (as the Spanish History hath it) sent to the French King a Relaxation of the Oath he made to observe the concord and Treaty of *Madrid*, upon pretext alleaged by *Francis*, that those of *Burgundy* would not consent, by any meanes, to be alienated from the French Crowne. *Charles de Lanoy* & *Hernando de Alanco*n finding matters thus distemper'd, and unlike to sort to any good end, desired leave to returne, which *Francis* granted, upon condition that they would goe to *Spaine* immediatly, and not to *Italy*, whither (in regard of his Government) *Lanoy* desired much to passe through the French Territories. Though others write, and our Records confirme it, that they departed not till the following Teaty was sworne, at *Cognac* in their presence. Which that they might make more specious to the Emperour, they offered him place to enter into it, upon certain conditions. This Treaty, concluded between Pope *Clement* the seventh, *Francis* the French King,

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the Venetians, *Francesco Sforza*, and the Florentines, was to this effect.

1. That the contractors of this League and concord shall be friends of the friends, and enemies of the enemies of each other. That this Clause yet shall not extend to the Dominions held by the Pope and Venetians, out of *Italy*. And that the said Contractors shall, particularly, defend the Person and Dignity of the Pope against all his adversaries.

2. That place shall be left for the Emperor *Charles* to enter hereinto, if he desire it, and for *Henry King of England*, not onely as a Contractor but Protector of this most holy League and Concord, as also for *Don Hernando*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and the rest of the Kings, Princes and Potentates of Christendome. Provided yet, that the said *Charles* shall not be admitted hereunto, but upon these ensuing conditions. That is to say, unlesse he first restore the two Sonnes of *Francis*, which he detaines as Hostages, and take in Lieu of them, some reasonable and fitting Recompence and satisfaction. As also unlesse he leave the Dutchy of *Millean* freely unto *Francesco Sforza*, and the rest of the Estates and Dominions in *Italy*, in the forme and manner they were before the late warre; And unlesse, when he enters *Italy*, to be Crown'd there, he bring with him such Family and Traine only, as the Pope and Venetians shall think fit; which yet is intended shall be such, as may take away suspition of violent attempt, and preserve together the Imperiall Dignity; And unlesse within three Moneths, after the Conclusion of the said Treaty, (the King of *England* entering into it) he pay unto the said King all the Money due to him.

3. That an Army shall be raised by the said confederates, which shall consist of thirty thousand Foot, two thousand five hundred men of Armes, and three thousand Light Horse, together with the Artillery and Munition fitting thereunto. Whereof, the Pope should furnish eight hundred men at Armes, and seven hundred Light Horse, and eight thousand Foot: The French King eleven thousand Crownes the Moneth in Money, and five hundred men at Arms (called *Majstres*) comprehending one thousand Light Horse: The Venetians eight hundred men at Armes, and one thousand Light Horse, and eight thousand Foot; *Francesco Sforza*, the Duke of *Milan*, foure hundred men at Armes, three hundred Light horse, and foure thousand Foot. That certaine Suisse should be raised for the said League, at the charge of the French King; who, besides the above mention'd, shall have a powerfull Army to hinder the passage of any considerable Forces into *Italy*. All which, are to be employed against the Perturbators of the Peace of *Italy*, untill they be reduced to the Estate of not being able to keepe the Field.

4. That

4. That, when this Treaty shall be ratified by all the confederates, they shall joyntly desire *Charles* the Emperor to restore the two sonnes of the French King, and, in case he refuse, shall denounce warre to him, till he restore them. For the execution whereof (the war of *Italy* being ended) the confederates shall furnish to the said French King ten thousand foot, one thousand men at Armes, and a thousand Light Horse, or money for the raysing and payment of them.

5. That the Confederates shall defend each others Estate against all Invasion : In which case those of *Italy* shall furnish ten thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse to the French King, and he as many to them againe.

6. That the Confederates shall have an Armado of twenty eight Gallies at least, whereof the French King shall furnish twelve, the Pope three, and the Venetians thirteen, to be imploy'd in this war, unlesse the French King have particular use of his part. 7. That, for removing all suspition of attempt upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, the French King shall not only permit the present Duke to injoy it, but shall defend him against all adversaries, with the proportion of Forces above mentioned, he paying, in consideration of the claime and expence of the French King, such a Pension (at Lyons in *France*) as the Pope and Venetians shall ordaine ; which yet shall not be lesse then five hundred thousand Duckats yearly.

8. That, because this peace may be universall over *Italy*, all goods taken away in these late occasions, shall be restor'd, and all men re-inplac'd in their former possessions.

9. That the French King shall give some Lady of the Bloud Royall of *France*, (by the nomination of the Pope) for wife to the Duke of *Millan*, and shall procure the Suisse to defend his State on all occasions, as they were formerly accustomed. That the *Concado de Asti*, as being distinct from *Millan*, and anciently pertaining to the House of *Orleans*, shall be restored to the French King, or at least the government thereof, to be administred by the Duke of *Orleans*, second Sonne to the French King, or his Deputie.

10. That *Antonio Adorno* shall remaine Duke of *Genoia*, if either he enter into this League, or, otherwise, alter the forme of the City government, in such sort as may be thought most for the security and quiet of *Italy*, reserving yet to the French King his Title and right of Superiority, in the manner he held it when he was in possession of the said City.

11. That, if the Emperor deny or delay to performe what is required in the second Article, that then presently after ending the war for the Pacification of *Italy*, the Confederates shall invade the Kingdome of *Naples* ; and, if the Emperor be expulsed thence, that then it shall remain at the disposition of the Pope, as being held in Feud of the Church ; and that, in recompence of the pretence, which the

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French King hath to it, the Pope, with consent of all the Cardinals, shall binde himselfe and successors to pay yearely to the King of France a convenient Pension, which shall not be lesse then sixty five thousand Crownes *de soliel*.

12. That in Case any of the Confederates should dye or faile, yet the League should continue firme among the rest, and that the Successors of the dead may enter into his place.

13. That all the Confederates shall take upon them the defence and protection of the House of *Medicis*, even to the restitution of them to their former greatnesse and dignity.

14. And because the most serene and powerfull King of England, Defendor of the Faith, hath alwayes affected Peace, as appeares by the good Offices done to the French King, and hath alwayes imploy'd his Forces in service of the Catholique Church, as his Father did before him; And because no Authority, Superior to his, can be interpos'd either for the Conservation of good Men in Peace or repressing of those who are ill: Therefore, it is agreed, that his Majesty shall be Protector of the most Holy League and Concord. For which purpose, the said Confederates doe offer to him and his Heyres an Estate in the Kingdome of *Naples*, with the Title of Duke or Prince, not lesse worth then the yearly rent of thirty thousand Duchats. And to the Cardinall of York, for his great paines and service in this Businesse, they offer an other State in *Italy* worth ten thousand Duckats yearely.

15. That the Confederates shall make no Treaty with others then these who are mentioned in this present Concord: And that, if, before this time, they have made any, it be reputed as of no force and value.

16. That, before the ratification of this Concord, every one, who is contained in it, shall name his friends, provided, that they be not Subjects, nor vassals, or enemies of the greater part. And so the Pope nominated the King of England, and the Marquesse of Mantua, reserving the naming of the rest within the time appointed. The King of France naming the King of England, Scotland, Navarre, Portugall, Polonia, Hungaria, The Dukes of Savoye, Lorraine, and Gueldres, and the thirteene Cantons of the Suisse; The Venetians nominated the King of England, reserving the naming of the rest within the time appointed.

17. That the French King send his Moneys within the space of a Moneth to Rome, or consigne them to Venice or Florence, and give security for payment to the Banquers six dayes before every moneth.

18. That all, who enter the League, shall, in the space of one Moneth, approve and confirme it. And if the Duke of Milan, because he is straitly besieged, cannot performe his part, that then the Pope and Venetians shall signe it for him.

And

And thus farre I have followed the Spanish Relation. By the French I find only such a League was sign'd at *Coignac* in *France*, the two and twentieth of *May*, 1526.

¶ Our King finding himself thus chosen Protector of the League, advises what to do; which being accordingly debated by his Counsell, it was resolved, most prudently, that he should not be a Party, where he might be a Judge.

The Emperor also, inform'd hereof, protested against *Clement* the seventh, as an ungratefull person; he having been by his favour first made Cardinall, and after Pope, in despight of Cardinall *Soderino's* Allegation, that he was a Bastard, and, therefore, incapable of either of the said dignities: Neither had he other evasion to clear himselfe, but that he produced witnesses, how his Father, *Julian de Medicis*, before his death, (which he received by a stab as the Priest lift up the Host) had at length marryed his Mother. Against the French King he exclaimed, as perjur'd and false; and against the Venetians, as unconstant. Howsoever, his greatest care was how to divide them. Therefore, though in *Italy*, upon publishing of the League (*July 8*) Solemnly, by the Pope, they levyed their appointed numbers, yet *Francis*, being put in hope of the restitution of his Children, delay'd so much on his part, That, at last, the Imperiall Army constrained *Sforza* to yeeld *Millan*, reserving yet the Revenues thereof to his use, as hoping thereby to content him. But the despited and distrustfull Duke, not satisfied herewith, fled to the Forces, which the League had then on Foot, in *Italy*, of which, the Duke of *Urbino* was made Generall. This while the Emperor was advertised, how, in sequence of the Pope's Relaxation of *Francis* his Oath, the Parliament of *Paris* and Kings Councell had disannull'd and annihilated the Concord of *Madrid*, as being concluded by a Person who was constrain'd, and in Prison. To colour yet this refuse, *Francis* sent Ambassadors to *Granada*, (where the Emperor was) to tell him againe, *Burgundy* could not be Alienated from the French Crowne; and that, if hee would returne his Sonnes at a reasonable Ransome, (which I find by the French was two Millions of Crownes) he would take his Sister *Leonora* for his Queene; if not, that he would recover them by force. The severall Ambassadors also of the Confederates, which were in his Court at that time, (and particularly the English) concurr'd herein; requiring further, that he should recall the Spaniards out of *Lombardy*, and restore *Francesco Sforza*; leave his pretence to *Naples*, and not goe to *Italy* with an Army, and that he should pay the King of *England*. All the Contractors of the League, in Case of refusall, denouncing warre. The Emperor answerd, That the French King should doe ill, not to keepe his Oath and promise. Neither could he excuse himselfe sufficiently by laying the fault on his Parliament or Kingdome, they being privy and consenting to it. That he would detaine the Hostages;
and

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and, for the Queene *Leonóra*, she was not demanded in such termes as it was fit to send her. For *Francesco Sforza*, that he would chastise him as his Vassall. That he would hold his right in *Naples*. That he would goe to *Italy*, when and how he list. And that, if all made warre against him, he would, by the help of his good Subjects, defend himselfe against them all, and that he would pay the King of *England* with French Money.

I must returne now a while to speake of home busineses, that the Reader may see wherefore our active King prevail'd himselfe no more nor otherwise of these great occasions. It was only want of Money ; The scarcity whereof also was the excuse his people made, for not furnishing those Contributions, he demanded. Hereupon our King inquires into the causes. Among which because secret transportation of Money was thought one of the greatest, he advises concerning the remedy. All his Counsellors yet did not concur in the same opinion ; for some affirm'd, no Merchant would carry away Coine unlesse he found gain by it ; And that this, returning home againe, enrich'd the Country. Others said, there were subtleties yet, which, if order were not taken, would draine away our moneys insensibly, it being manifest to all, that would take the paines to consider it, that, unlesse the Commodities and Coine of our Country kept both Standard and proportion with those, with whom we Traffiqued, there would be losse. That the Crafty Flemmings, therefore, when they desired to raise the price of their Commodities, inhanst likewise the value of our Money, especially Gold ; least our Merchants should be discouraged to buy, when they find the price of the Commodity so much rais'd. The consequence whereof was, that our Merchants desired, by stealth, to convey over their Money in *specie*, as having, thereby, the benefit of the inhancing ; whereas, if they received it in the *Low-Countries* by Bill of credit or exchange, they should not only loose this benefit, but pay somewhat to those which furnish'd them. Againe, that when our Merchants had occasion to returne from the *Low-Countries*, they were not suffered to carry back their Moneys in *specie*, but were forc'd to take Letters of Exchange for them in *England*, by which they lost againe. Thus, notwithstanding all Prohibitions and Searches, great sums were convey'd over, to the impoverishing of the Kingdome. The onely remedy whereof therefore was, to cry up our Money at home, to the same Rate that it passeth at a broad, which will both keepe our Money from Transporting, and make the Exchange without losse : Neither was there other meanes to prevent these Inconveniences : which had now extended so farre, that our Gold was as frequent and currant among our Neighbours, almost, as at home ; Whereas yet, little, or none of their Gold was to be found in our ordinary payments. Besides, they made an other advantage hereof : For as their Standard was baser then ours, so they Coined our Gold

Gold againe, and made no little profit that way. Thus did our neighbours many wayes procure the wealth of their Country and damage of ours; and would do more, when timely order were not taken. Which our Historians have thought worth the setting downe, and my selfe have the more insisted on, both to shew the rate of Gold and Silver in those times, and to help the Reader to understand the second enhancing under this King Anno 1544. Therefore thus I collect. The Angell-Noble of Gold was hitherto in waight $\frac{1}{6}$ of an ounce, in estimation six shillings eight pence of Silver, which Silver was two ounces. Thus the proportion of Gold to Silver was twelve to one. Againe, an ounce of Silver (or halfe-Angell) pass'd for three shillings foure pence; so twelve ounces (or a pound) was just forty shillings, which is two pound, as we commonly count our Money.

But Henry the eighth now, by Proclamation, advancing the value of both (one tenth part) the Angell was raysed to seven shillings four pence (which was the rate at which it pass'd in the Low-Countrys.) And, consequently, an ounce of Gold estimated at forty foure shillings, and an ounce of Silver three shillings eight pence, and a pound weight at forty foure shillings, the proportion being (*ut supra*) twelve to one. The sudden benefit of this appear'd such, that, in November following, there was another enhancing of one forty fourth part. So that the Angell was seven shillings six pence, the ounce of Gold forty five shillings, and the ounce of Silver three shillings nine pence. And, by these meanes, much of our Gold (as our Historians observe) was brought back again. But Anno 1544. these Mettalls were againe enhanced one fifteenth part. So Gold came (from forty five shillings) to forty eight shillings an ounce; and Silver (from three shillings nine pence an ounce) to foure shillings; and a pound waight of Silver was forty eight shillings.

This while Solyman brought two hundred thousand men into Hungary, with which (neere Buda) he wholly defeated the Army of Louis King thereof, being forty thousand, and constrained him to flye away: till, by the fall of his Horse, having his Legge engaged, he was drown'd in lesse then a span-deep of water and mud, so that it concern'd all Christian Princes to make Peace, but chiefly the Emperour, whose Sister King Louis had marryed; and whose brother Ferdinand in the right of his wife, Anne, Sister and Heire to the said King of Hungary and Bohemia claimed to succeed in both Kingdomes. Francis, being not Ignorant hereof, thought fit to prevaile himselfe of the occasion. Therefore hee sent in September 1526. the Arch-Bishop of Bourdeaux (with whom also the Nuntio and Venetian Ambassadors joyn'd offices) to desire the Emperour to send back his Children, and to accept some honest Ransome in Money; promising, withall, his love and friendship. But Charles, now incensed, told the Arch-Bishop, that, if he would have

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have his children, he must, according to his Oath and promise, return prisoner himselfe; (adding, that his Kingdome could not hinder him herein, however he pretended they would not consent to the restitution of *Burgundy*.) Wherein yet, he should but imitate the example of King *John* his predecessor; who, being prisoner in *England*, and permitted to goe home upon the like termes, did (when he was not able to pay his Ransome) most faithfully return again, and yeeld his body unto custody, where he dyed. Then, taking the Ambassador aside, (as *Sandoval* hath it) he bid him tell the French King his Master, that he had done *Laschement* and *Meschamment*, in breaking the Concord of *Madrid*, and that, if hee denyed it, he would make it good in person against him. But *Francis* wanted not courage to reply in the same Language, as will appeare afterwards.

In the meane time, as hee thought it concern'd him to defend his reputation in any probable way, rather then to confesse in himself so notable a fallhood; he caused an Apology (penn'd by the Chancellor of *France*) to be published, and sent to all Christian Princes, the effect whereof was.

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That the Emperor had first broke the confederation of * *Noyon*, in denying the Tribute due for the Kingdome of *Naples*, the restitution of *Navarre*, and divers other Rights. Besides, that hee had made warre in *Milan*, which was his by inheritance; the Concession of Popes, and Donation in Fend by *Maximilian* the Emperor. And, which was worst of all, had enticed his Vassall the Duke of *Bourbon*, to rebell against him, and invade *Provence*. That, thereupon, hee had, indeed, drawne his sword, and chas'd the Imperiall Army from before *Marseilles*, and followed it to *Italy*, where hee was unfortunately taken Prisoner; yet that he had protested to those, who kept him there, that, if the Emperor requir'd unjust or impossible things, he would not performe them, but rather that hee would revenge himselfe, when he was free. That, as he doubted, least, through his absence, some troubles might arise at home, hee had procured his liberty the best way hee could. In the whole frame whereof, if any thing were to be disliked, it must be rather imputed to the Emperor, who demanded unreasonable conditions, than to him who found no other meanes to escape. Notwithstanding, that, at his returne, he had for the satisfaction of his Honour, required of his chiefe Nobility and Counsellors, what he ought to do, both according to equity, and the maintenance of his Royall Dignity, who, upon mature deliberation, answered: That insolent Pactions and Contracts, which comprehend in them notable damage, and detriment to the Contractor, as being impos'd on him, from one more powerfull, ought to be held as violent, and involuntary, and therefore in themselves voyd. Besides, that, when he was sacred at *Rheims*, he was then sworne not to Alienate any Patrimony of the Crown, from which oath therefore, as being formerly

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formerly made, and more Obligatory, he could by no means depart; especially, when the Inhabitants of *Burgundy* (which was the Country demanded) would not consent thereunto. Wherefore, if the Emperor pressed him to any thing contrary to these Duties and Obligations, hee must think it was not without a speciall providence from above, that he recovered his liberty. For how could the Emperor be ignorant, that he was tyed by the greatest bond of Religion, not to violate the Right of his Crown? Or how could he beleive, that the Presidents of the Parliaments of *France* would consent hereunto, when they had taken their Oaths to the contrary? Howsoever, that none could think him false or perjur'd, as long as the *Hostages* (as the Counter-value of all that was capitulated) had beene deliver'd to the Emperour. Neither was it enough to say, that, in demanding *Burgundy*, the Emperour did but require his own; since that Dutchy was (long since) annexed to *Normandy*, and incorporated into the Crown of *France* by King *John*, and consequently govern'd by the same Lawes; Among which the *Salique* being principall, the Emperors Title, as being claimed from a daughter, was excluded. Furthermore, that this affaire had been Communicated to some out of this Kingdome, who understood well what was to be done in such Cases, and that he had received much Comfort. In conclusion, as there remained nothing else for him to do, so he had offered a Condigne Ransome in money, and other good Conditions, which might both redeem his deare Children, and testifie the desire hee had to recover his lately married wife, who was also detain'd from him; yet that hee was still refused. All which premises being duly considered, he appealed to all Christian Princes, and Potentates, as his Judges and Protectors, whether the fault were his, and not rather the Emperours, who, by his injurious and impossible demands, had frustrated himselfe. Thus (as many thought) did *Francis* strive to elude his Oath with reason of State; and to cover the breach of his Faith under a pretext of impossibility, without making any good excuse at all (that is extant) for his not returning, (though more easily palliated then the rest) both as suspicion of ill usage might be held a kinde of naturall defence and evasion in this kinde, and as his Kingdome would lesse consent hereunto, then to any other condition. And certainly, had the Emperour sufficiently considered all these Circumstances, he would have followed their counsell, who advised him, either to detain *Francis* till he had made some advantage thereof, or else have let him go freely. Neither should the Clementine League (begun during the imprisonment of *Francis*) have de-

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terr'd him ; as being not concluded so much in favour of *Francis* , as directly against him, whose greatnesse did then many wayes appeare. So that to let *Francis* goe, was but to fortifie his adversaries against himselfe. Hee thought fit yet, to command an Answer to this *Apologie* ; wherein the Title, by which hee claim'd all his doubtfull possessions, (especially that of *Naples* and *Province*) is set downe, and the Fault layd on *Francis* , with as much bitternesse as the cause requir'd, all which is set downe by *Sandoval*. *Francis*, finding now there was no other way to recover his children, but by force, makes all the friends he can ; wherefore, about the end of *July*, sending some Ambassadors to our King, a League was concluded, 8. of *August*, Anno 1526. by which both Kings did oblige themselves reciprocally, not to Treat or agree apart, or separately with the said Emperor, concerning the restitution of the two children of *Francis*, (when yet they were freely offered) nor the money due from the Emperour to our King ; but joyntly and together. And, as for all other businesses, they should passe without derogation or prejudice to their former Treaties, which were understood to remaine entire. And that neither of the said Kings should, in any kind, assist the Emperor, when he were invaded by the other. The persons who chiefly procured this Treaty, were *Giovanni Ioachim* (now styl'd *Monsieur de Vaux*,) and *Iean Brinon* the *Premier* President of *Roüen* ; who, being (as is before said) dispatched by *Francis*, came to King *Henry* April 28. and, being admitted, the President, in an Eloquent Oration in Latine, before our King, set in his Throne, and attended by the Ambassadors of the Pope, the Emperor, *Venice*, and *Florence* (who at this time laboured to draw him into the League of *Italy*) professed publicly, that it was the King's goodnesse meerly that made him abstaine from *France* at this Season, the occasion of invading it being so faire, during the Imprisonment of the King his Master. This being ended, Sir *Thomas Moore*, in the same Language, wittily answered him : Concluding at last, that since they acknowledged this goodnesse in the King, it should be an obligation on him to continue it ; wherewith the Ambassadors departed, much satisfied. Our King also, considering the difficulties hee found to procure Money, divided his time, betwixt businesses at home and his pleasures, not neglecting yet the publique weale of Christendome ; For which purpose, he sent Sir *John Wallop*, not only to the Princes of *Germany*, exhorting them to joyne against the Turke, but to *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, to comfort her for the losse of her Husband, adding with all such a supply of money as might testifie his Zeale to that Cause

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Cause was greater then theirs, who by kindred and neighborhood to the danger, were more concern'd therein.

The Army of the late League having now begun a Warre, with some doubtfull successe, in *Italy*, the Pope, for his justification, thought fit to write unto the Emperor, 23. *June* 1526, a kind of Apologie for his taking Armes; alleadging, that, as he was *Pater communis*, he thought himselfe bound, by all the wayes he could, to procure a generall good before any Particular, exhorting him for the rest, to moderate his immense Ambition, to give Peace to *Italy*, pardon to *Francesco Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, and contentment to all the confederates in their just demands. To which *Charles* sharply answered (by Letter Dated 17. *September* following) laying the fault of that dissention among Christian Princes (which had given occasion to the Turke to conquer so much in *Hungary*,) from himselfe, and on the Pope chiefly; telling him, among other things, that, regularly, hee ought not to draw his sword, when even it were against the Enemies of our Faith. Then, taxing him, as if hee were ungratefull, false, and an Incendiary, he declares how much he had done for the peace of *Italy*, and the Christian World, and among others, for *Francesco Sforza*, proceeding thence to a bitter expostulation with the Pope, as is more at large set down by *Sandoval*; by whom also I finde, that *Charles* solicited all the Cardinals, openly, to call a Generall Councell for the good of Christendome, (as of themselves,) when, otherwise, the Pope would not consent thereto.

This while *Don Hugo de Moncada*, comming into *Italy* to offer some conditions of Peace unto the Pope, and finding they tooke no effect, Treated secretly with *Pompeo Cardinal de Colonna*, and others of that Family; who suddenly, with three thousand men onely, or as others say six thousand, entred *Rome*, sackng part of it, and causing that terror to the Pope that he fled to the Castle of Saint *Angelo*. Neither could hee free himselfe, till hee had agreed with *Moncada* for a Truce of foure monethes with the Emperor, and the withdrawing his Forces out of *Lombardy*, And a Pardon to all the *Colonnese*. Whereupon *Moncada* also withdrew his Forces out of *Rome*.

Our King, being not yet inform'd hereof, had sent to *Charles*, to offer his best indeavours to the mediating of a Peace betwixt all Parties, protesting, that if he accepted his good will herein, he would disclaime all interest in the *Clementine* League, although that Ambassadors from all the Confederates were at that instant, in his Court sufficiently authorized to induce him into it. The Emperor hereupon sends instructions to his Ambassadors Resident in *England*, to Treat accordingly of an

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end ; to which purpose also he dispatches *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, who came to Court *January 14.* to Treat hereof. Howbeit, as matters were likely to be spun out into a greater length then stood with his Masters occasions hee shortly after broke off the Treaty. One Article whereof concerning the Spiceries of the *East-Indies*, I have thought fit to mention with particularity. For whereas by the decision of Pope *Alexander the sixth 1493.* the *East-Indies* were given to to the *Portugalls*, and the *Westerne* to the *Spaniards*, so that the first Bound was a Line drawne from North to South, distant from the Islands of *Capo Verde* the space of foure hundred miles Westward (all on this side being allotted to the *Portugall*, the other side being permitted to the *Spaniard*) this Line yet in favour of the *Portugalls* (who by their riches, power at Sea, and Conquests in *Africa* had made themselves much redoubted) was afterwards extended to eight hundred eighty miles Westward ; whereby betwixt these two Neighbor Princes alone a new World with the immense wealth belonging to it, was divided ; yet with this honour to the *Portugall* that his discoveries and possessions gave denomination to both, the River *Indus* having occasioned antiently the calling these parts after its name, and the new Conquests on the Spanish part, though hugely distant, following the Style. Notwithstanding which large Empire, able to satisfie any exorbitant Ambition, there wanted not emulation betwixt those Princes. Infomuch, that neither Alliance, Neighborhood, nor the danger they should incurre, if other Princes prevailed themselves of their dissentions, could keep them in good termes. Therefore I finde, by a Letter from *Edward Lee* our Kings Almoner, and now Ambassadour in *Spaine*, *Dat. at Medina del Campo, the 21 of Iannary 1527.* The Emperour laid claime to some Spiceries in the Eastern parts, which I finde, by *sandoval*, to have been the *Molucca's* lately discovered, (as we have shewed,) by the Companions of *Magellanes*, to the no little prejudice of the *Portugall*, who, to buy out the King of *Spaine*, offered, two Millions of Duckats ; which yet the Emperour accepted not for the present, but chose rather to offer a Treaty concerning them to our King ; and, thereby, either to draw a great summe of Money from him, and, together, to ingage us in a quarrell against the *Portugalls*, while himselfe continued his Navigation securely to the *West-Indies* ; or, at least, to detaine him a while, from a League he was now entring into with *Francis*. I doe not finde yet what answer our King return'd thereto. But as no effect followed, I beleeve the offer, though advantageous, was (out of ill information concerning these parts) rejected.

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And now our King finding no good to be done by Treaty, and understanding, besides, what rough usage the Pope had received from *Moncada*, resolves, according to his former League, to joyne against that Prince which appear'd most refractory. Therefore, conceiving the fault to be in *Charles*, he enter'd presently into a strict League with *Francis*, choosing rather to concurre with him particularly, then to embrace the *Clementine Accord*, as containing many Articles in it, that no way concern'd him. Therefore sending over Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, he proposes to *Francis* the Princess *Mary* in marriage (since *Charles* had denied him *Leonora*. And, besides, offers to enter an Offensive League with him (such as his confederat's in *Italy* had made) for the recovery of his children, and forcing the Emperour to reasonable conditions. *Francis*, gladly accepting this Motion, demands the Princess *Marie's* Picture, which, together with our King's, is granted, and the match treated, in *France*, by our Agents, the Bishop of *Bath*, and *Fitz-William*. The French King, if he married her, requir'd she should be presently given up into his hands : But our King not agreeing thereunto (by reason his daughter, was yet but eleven yeares old.) March the second, the Bishop of *Tarbe*, the Viscount of *Turrenne*, and *Antoine Vefey* the President of *Paris*, came into *England* ; where, on the last of *Aprill* (as I find by the French, and our Records) Three Treaties were concluded, in which these are the most remarkable Articles.

I.

In the first the preceding Treaty betwixt them was confirm'd. Besides, it was agreed, that the said Kings should send their severall Ambassadors to the Emperour, with Instructions conformable to each other, (so that their Language might be the same,) aswell concerning a Ransome of the *Dolphin*, and the Duke of *Orleans* (then Hostages with *Charles*) as payment of the Debts due from him unto *Henry*, and other satisfaction for his Rights.

II.

That they should propose also, in name of the said King, such decent conditions and offers, which should be by them advis'd, and pursue them instantly with the said *Charles*. And, if either hee refus'd, or made no answer within 20. dayes next following, or, otherwise, detained or excluded the said Ambassadors from coming to his presence, That then, by their Heralds (or Kings of Armes) they should denounce war against him, in such forme, manner, and order, as should be declared in the second Treaty.

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Furthermore, it was concluded, that an Alternative marriage (for so the *French*, and our Records call it) should bee made; betwixt *Mary* daughter of the said King of *England*, and the said *Francis*, or the Duke of *Orleans* his Sonne; and that the determination (of the Alternative should be resery'd to the enterview of both Kings, in the Towne of *Calais* (at a moderate expence) which should be declared presently after the refusall of *Charles*: In which case *Henry* should send unto *Francis* some faithfull Person, to advise concerning the particularities thereof. Also, the Articles of the said Alternative marriage were remitted untill the aforesaid time. Howsoever, it was presently agreed, that, if the said Princessse *Mary* or her issue did not succeed to the Crown of *England*, and that the said warre were not made against *Charles*, that then this Treaty of a more streight alliance should bee void. Notwithstanding which, if the said Alternative Marriage were broken off by the common consent of both Kings, they should yet bee obliged reciprocally unto the said warre. Upon condition still, that *Francis* should reinbourse (at convenient dayes of payment) unto King *Henry*, the expences hee should bee at; and, besides, should furnish unto the said *Henry*, as long as hee lived, yearly, of the Salt of *Broüage*, the value of fiftene thousand Crownes. But if the said Marriage were hindred on the part of *Henry*, the said *Francis* should not bee bound to pay the aforesaid expences of the warre. On the other side, that hee should pay them double, if the impediment proceeded from him.

2.

By the second Treaty it was agreed, that, presently after the refuse, delay, or non-admittance, of their Ambassadors, that the intercourse commerce, and Traffique betweene their Subjects and those of the Emperor should be forbidden. Nevertheless, that by their Ambassadors, they should offer the respite of forty dayes, to the intent that the goods of their said Subjects, might bee reciprocally with-drawne, if the said Emperor accepted it. That, for the making an actuall warre against him in the *Low-Countreys*, an Army should be levied of thirty thousand Foot, and one thousand five hundred Men of Armes, à la *Francoise*, a Band of Artillery (so termed then) and necessary Ammunition: whereof *Francis* should furnish the aforesaid one thousand five hundred Men at Armes, and twenty thousand Foot; and *Henry* tenne thousand Archers or Halberdiers, whom five hundred of the said Men at Armes should accompany and convey, whensoever, by the command of the said King, or

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or their Generalls, they should be divided from the body of the Army. And that victuals and other provision should bee delivered to them, at the same price that other Foot-men had it. That, for better keeping of the narrow Seas, as well as for hindring all intercourse, and Traffique into the said *Low-Countries*, a Navy should be equipped of fiftene thousand Men, besides Marriners and Seamen. Whereof *Francis* should furnish teene thousand, and *Henry* five thousand, each of them at their proper cost and charges. That at *Calais*, *Abbeville*, or other the most commodious Townes, under the obedience of the said Kings, certaine privileged Marts or Fayers should be appointed, and that those Merchants which usually frequented the *Low-Countries*, should be drawn and invited thither, by all meanes possible. That the number of their said Armies, both by Sea and Land, should bee kept intire, and that the Townes, and strong places, which were conquered, and prisoners taken, should be equally divided betwixt the said Kings. And that the Spices and other Merchandize of the Portugall ships, passing by the narrow Seas, should not be permitted to be sold in the *Low-Countries*; but onely in *France*, and *England*, while the said warre continued, according to the proportion of that use and necessity, that either of the said Kingdoms should have thereof; Provided yet that, if the King of *Portugall* did declare himselfe in favour of *Charles*, that, in this Case, he should be held as their Common Enemy, and his goods and Subjects adjudg'd as good prize. And that the like course should be held withall others who succour'd the Emperor in his said warres; which neither of the said Kings should abandon or leave off, or otherwise Treat of any Peace, Truce or other Cessation of Armes, without mutuall consent. That place should be reserv'd for the Pope, Vcnetians, and *Francesco Sforza*, to be comprised in the said confederation; upon condition yet, they should continue the warre begun by them in *Italy*, as long as the said Kings proceeded in their wars in the *Low-Countries*. That the said *Francis* should dispose *Henry de Albret* King of *Navarré*, as also the Duke of *Gueldres*, and *Robert de la March*, *Sieur de Sedan*, to make warre, on their part, upon the Countries of *Charles* next adjoyning to them. That if *Iohn Sepuse*, *Vayrode* of *Transylvania*, (pretending to the Kingdome of *Hungary*, against *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia* and brother of the said *Charles*) have not yet allied himselfe with the Turke, and that the said King of *Bohemia* did any way assist the Emperor against the said Kings; that then, by their joynt Letters, they should animate and comfort the said *Iohn Sepuse* to the defence of his cause, to the end hee might both abstaine from any dependencie on the Turke, and that hee might divert the succour of the said King of *Bohemia*. That also, by their joynt Let-

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ters, they should signifie to the Princes of *Germany* this confederation, together with the causes thereof, to the end they might forbear giving assistance to the Emperor, and be excited to bring the said Emperor unto reason, which whensoever the said Emperor would accept, *Francis* should condescend thereunto, by the intervention of *Henry*.

3. By the third Treaty, true, solid, firme, perpetuall, and inviolable peace, amity, union, confederation, League, intelligence, and concord between the said Kings, and their posterity, even to the end of the world, was accorded, by Decree, and Law, obliging them, and all Kings their successors, no lesse then the Oathes they take at their Sacriings and Coronations. According whereunto, they did respectively promise and agree, that the said Kings and their Successors, should never be inquieted or molested, by them or any of their Successors, being Kings, in the Lands, Countries and Seignuries, which either of them held for the present; which therefore they and their heires should quietly possesse for ever. In consideration whereof, the said *Francis* did bind himselfe, and his successors, Kings of *France*, to pay, every yeare, at two severall termes, after the decease of the said King *Henry*, to all the Kings of *England* his Successors, forty six thousand Crownes de *Soleil*, and twenty foure *Sols Tournois*, without deduction or prejudice of the summe of eighteen hundred thousand Dcc, xxxvi. Crownes de *Soliel*, xxxii. *Sols*, due to the said *Henry*, by Obligation, and Treaty of the xxx. *August*. 1525. or of that which should remaine to be paid after his decease; moreover the said *Francis* bound himselfe, and his Successors, Kings of *France*, to give of the Salt of *Broüage* yearly, as well to the said *Henry*, as to his Successors, to the value of 15000 Crowns, as is above mentioned. Furthermore, it was agreed, that, if any thing were attempted by any Subject or Ally of the said Kings contrary to this third Treaty, that their Peace and Amity should not yet be broken, but that the offenders and Delinquents only should be punished. and in every one of the said three Treaties, an expresse Article was inserted, that the precedent Treaty of *August* 30. 1525. should be by them confirm'd, and, no wayes, infring'd, or diminished. Lastly, by Letter or Agreement apart, bearing Date likewise 1527, the said Kings declared, that they would have themselves held, understood, and reputed as one and the same, and that either of them should be still concern'd in the other. These Treaties being concluded and *sworne, (yet so as the Bishop of *Tarbe* made not a few doubts concerning the Princeesse *Maries* Legitimation) which we shall finde afterward occasioned the devorce, they were dismist, and Honorably rewarded, and afterwards (as I finde) sent by *Francis* to *Spaine*.

May 5.

While these things passed, the Pope, assoone as the Imperials had quitted *Rome*, and left him at his liberty, sends to our King a Letter,
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Septemb. 24. complaining of the indignities offered to his Person by *Moncada*, and the *Colonneſi*, deſiring his Grace to ſet his hand to the revenge of it, and defence of the Apoſtolique See. Moreover he told our Ambaſſadors, (aſt they write) that if the King of *England*, by whoſe encouragement (he ſaith) he enter'd this Labyrinth, will yet effectually aſſiſt him, and the French King, amend his former ſlackneſſe, &c. he will do as hee did before, notwithstanding this late agreement with *Moncada*, to which he holds himſelfe not bound, becauſe he was forc'd to it. Whereupon our King in November, ſent him about thirty thouſand Duckats for a preſent. The Pope thus being heartned, cites the Cardinall *Colonna* to appeare at *Rome* upon paine of deprivation of his dignity: he, on the other ſide threatning to call a Councell againſt him, and depoſe him as a Simoniack; The Pope, hereupon, gathers an Army, and with about ten thouſand men, led by the *Conte de Vandemont*, brother to the Duke of *Lorraine* (to whom the Pope now pretended to give *Naples* as the right of his family) enters the Kingdom of *Naples*, takes divers places belonging to the *Colonneſi*, and apprehendeth the very Gates of *Naples*. But now new ſuccours comming from *Spaine*, the Pope was diſtreſſed and glad to Treat againe with *Lanoy* the Vice-Roy, and to give the Imperialiſts ſixty thouſand Duckats, whereupon alſo it was agreed that the Armies ſhould retire on either ſide, and a Ceſſation of war ſhould be accorded, for eight moneths. But the Pope finding this accord alſo too diſadvantageous (aſ having diſarm'd himſelfe thereby, and diſcontented both the French and our King) intends to diſavow it, and to provide himſelfe of Money) by creating 14 Cardinals, for which he had three hundred thouſand Duckats; But *Bourbon* prevented his attempts. For being actually generall of the Imperialls (who for want of pay, were to be maintain'd with Pillage) he takes a pretext to invade *Rome* it ſelfe; For (aſ the intelligence in our Records hath it) comming neare that City May 5. He ſent to the Pope for leave to paſſe through it, and his Territories into the Realm of *Naples*, and to have victualls for his Money; But the Pope denying it, *Bourbon* reſolves to aſſault *Rome*, which *Renzo de Ceri* an old Commander defended. But *Bourbon* having an Army of thirty thouſand Men, upon May 6. 1527. Marches directly to the walls; where carrying a Ladder before the reſt of the Souldiers with which he meant to ſcale the Town, a ſhot kill'd him; which kind of death ſome writers ſay, he call'd upon himſelfe, by a kind of Imprecation; when the laſt yeare, being at *Milan*, he made the Citizens buy their quiet at a great price, wiſhing he might be ſhot to death the firſt time, he went to the Field if they ſhould be oppreſſed any more, by ſuch payments, which yet hee forced them unto ſoone after. *Bourbon* being thus dead, *Philibert de Chaalon*, Prince of *Aurange*, threw a Cloake over, his Body, aſ fearing it might diſcourage his Souldiers. But they whether out of

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indignation for this losse, or greedinesse to sack the Towne, enter'd it with fury; killing in the way divers Bishops, and surprizing some Cardinalls that were flying to the Castle *Sant Angelo*; The Pope and *Renzo de Cen.* being already retir'd thither with seventeene Cardinalls, and the Ambassadors of *England, France, Venice, and Florence*, and about five hundred Souldiers. The Prince of *Aurange* (who now tooke upon him the charge of Generall) did all that was possible to restraine the Souldiers, from their frequent Murthers and Pillage. Notwithstanding which, their impetuosity was such, that (without making difference, betwixt holy places an prophane) they Ranfack'd the City for the space of six or seven dayes, killing above five thousand Men. Not content with this yet, they laid Siege to the Castle, and brought the Pope to such necessity, that to free himselfe from further danger, He and thirteen Cardinalls, that now remain'd with him, agreed, That foure hundred thousand Duckats should bee paid to the Army within two moneths, and that the Castle of *Saint Angelo*, together with those of *Ostia, and Civica, Vecchia*, and other places, should be deliver'd into the hands of the Imperialists. That the Pope with the said Cardinals should remaine in the Castle, till part of the Money were paid, and good Hostages given for the rest. Which being done, that he should goe to *Gajeta*, or some other place in the Kingdom of *Naples*, there to expect the Emperors pleasure.

Hereupon the Guard and service of the Popes Person was Committed to *Hernando de Alancen* and victualls put into the Castle (where the Pope remaind under some restraint not free from danger) though otherwise revered in all apparance, according to his dignity. And now the Cardinall *Colonna*, and others that sided with the Emperor began to Treat Concerning a Generall Councell, Conformable to a late Bull of Pope *Iulius* the second, by which it was declared, that a Pope might bee deprived from his Place, and an other substituted, when there were Cause for it (And they pretended to prove this Pope a *Simoniac.*)

It was now the begining of *June 1527.* when the Emperor being at *Valedolid* took notice of this successe, divulg'd already over all *Christendome.* Neverthelesse he shewd not any other sence thereof, then such as might be expected from one to whose ambition and power nothing could seem either great or new. Yet as he knew that all Christian Princes must needs be highly interess'd in the imprisonment of the head of their Church, so he thought fit to satisfie them herein. Among all which none seem'd so considerable as our King. To whom therefore in a letter dated from *Valedolid, 2 Aug. 1527* He made a kind of Apology for these proceedings; beginning first with giving an account thereof, then demanding our Kings advice; thereupon

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thereupon declaring also the causes why his Army could not be withheld from invading of *Rome*. Yet so, as he disclaimed any part, either the counseling or authorising thereof. Notwithstanding which (as God could draw good out of evill) so he hoped a benefit might redownd to *Christendome* thereby. Wherefore, that he should intreat him again, as his good Unkle and Brother, that he would send his Opinion what further was to be done in this ease. And particularly, that he would assist him against the Enemies of our Faith; against whom, when their intestine Wars were compos'd, he resolved to imploy his Blood and Life. He forgot not also, upon the* instance of ours and the French Ambassadors for the Popes liberty to* write gently unto his Highnesse, offering his love and friendship in case he desired it. But to the chiefe Officers of his Army, by his Agents *Antonio Veyeley*, and *Francesco de les Angeles* Generall of the Franciscans, he sent Instructions; which for some space amused them. For he commanded to set the Pope at liberty, yet so as together they should provide, that from a friend he should not become an enemy. The Prince of *Aurange*, *Hernando de Alanco*, and some other principall Commanders met hereupon; where, after a long consultation, how to reconcile and interpret this Riddle, they resolved at last, that to despoile the Pope first of his Money, and then to deliver him, was the best way to comply with their Instructions. After therefore having extorted great sums, not onely for the Emperors Occasions, but their own; he was dismissed out of the Castle of *S^t Angelo*, as shall be told in its place. Yet so, as they suffered him not to depart out of their reach; neither indeed did he think fit to do otherwise; so that although by the former Convention he was to be removed to *Gaieta*, ten Miles distant thence; or some other place belonging to the Kingdom of *Naples* (whither not onely the burning of his Pallace, Library and Records did seeme to compell him, but the Pestilence then raging in that City; (whereof also *Charles de Lanoy* Vice-Roy of *Naples* died; into whose charge therefore *Hugo de Moncada*, much against the Popes will succeeded;) yet, faith *Guiccardine*, with much diligence, intreaty, and Art, hee procured to stay in *Rome*. From whence upon the first surrender of the Castle hee complained (as I finde by our Records) to our King and Cardinall; protesting that all the helpe and succour hee could expect in this extremity, was from hence, and therefore implored his assistance. Which Petition therefore hee caused to be seconded by the thirteene Cardinals then with him, and to be dispatched hither by *Gregory de Casalis*, our Kings Agent in *Rome*, and now returning to *England*.

This while the Ambassadors of our King in *Spain* mediated potently for delivery of the Hostages upon more reasonable terms then had been hereunto proposed; and in conclusion so prevailed, that

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July 20,

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that (as *Sandoval* hath it) *Charles* protested to our Ambassadors, that for his sake onely he would relinquish his demand for the restitution of *Burgundy*, in which the difficulty of the peace consisted. Adding further, that for the same reason, he would accept, as well for the ranfome of the two sonnes of *Francio*, as for the recompence of the great expences he was at for breach of the Concord of *Madrid*, the sum onely which *Francis* had offered voluntarily long before to *Charles de Lanoy* (which were 2000000 Crowns) upon condition yet that *Francis* should observe the rest of the Articles in the said Concord. But all this againe was interrupted by the continuall intelligence of the Popes imprisonment, which so incensed our King that he would not so much as vouchsafe an answer to the above mentioned Letter of *Charles*, but prepared to joyn in a stricter League with *Francis*, as judging that *Charles* would never in so insolent a manner have captivated the Pope, had he not pretended to Universall Monarchy.

March 14.

Sleid. lib. 6.

This while *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* sent Ambassadors hither to invite our King to joyn against the Turke. Notwithstanding which, as *Iohn Sepuse Vayvod* of *Transylvania*, pretending he was chosen King of *Hungary* by the greater part of the Nobility, had lately complained of *Ferdinands* usurpation to divers Christian Princes, and particularly to our King, so no other satisfaction was returued, but a Protestation made by Sir *Thomas More*, that the fault was not our Kings if more were not done therein; all these miseries which he so much lamented being occasioned by the Ambition of *Charles* the Emperor, his Brother who (notwithstanding his mediation) could not be induced to accept the overtures generally proposed him for a peace. And that till this were done, the Turke must needs prevaile. Whereupon the Ambassadors were honourably rewarded and dismissed.

Hill.

May 3.

May 29.
Tillet.

Our King at this time intended to proceed according to his Treaty with *Francis*; but as he now heard that *Rome* was sack'd, he made May 29. a new confederacy with him, by which they agreed mutually to desist from their warre in the Low-Countries, and to transport it into *Italy*; according to which, *Francis* obliged himselfe to send an Army of 30000 Foot, and 1000 great horse, to joyn with the Venetians, and others of the Clementine League. And that *Henry* should contribute thereunto Monethly 32222 Crowns *de Soleil*, to be deducted out of the Money which the said *Francis* owed him; And that this Contribution should be understood to be in lieu of those Forces, which by the late Treaty he should have furnished for the Wars in the Low-countries. And that therefore all the other Articles of the said Treaty should remain in full effect and vertue. It was agreed also that *Henry* might send a Commissary which should visit the Army in *Italy*, and advertise him of all passages. For the better accomplishment of which Treaties, Sir *Thomas Bolen* Knight

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Knight, lately * made Viscount *Rochforte*, and Sir *Anthony Browne* being joyned in Commission with the Bishop of *Bath* (then Resident at *Paris*) were commanded to see *Francis* sworn thereunto, which accordingly was performed. Sir *Francis Pointz* Knight also, upon the tenth of *May* 1527, was sent to *Spaine*, where Doctor *Edward Lee*, and *Hierome* Bishop of *Worcester* (lately come from *Rome*, and dispatched to the Emperour) were resident on the part of our King. To accompany him in which journey and negotiation, *Clarenceaux* King of *Armes* was sent to last his part, when the gentle persuasions of our Ambassadors could not prevaile. The Proposition on their part to be made, was briefly this, That in regard our King was at halfe the charge of the warre, *Charles* should send him halfe the Prize and Booty taken at *Pavia*, and one of the two Hostages; and that if he denied, *Clarenceaux* should denounce him Warre. To this rough message, *Charles* answered with much gravity; That the Proposition made was of great moment on either part. So that whether hee accepted or refused it, it was fit hee tooke time to advise with himselfe, both that his good will to our King might be conserv'd, and *Francis* might be used according to his demerits, who had so perfidiously behaved himselfe, that hee had broke his promise almost before he made it. Therefore that hee would declare his resolution by Letters unto *Henry*; and that, till then, he would make them no absolute Answer. All which was done purposely by *Charles*, that hee might gaine time. Our King and *Francis* being advertised of this dilatory Reply, and together of the Popes distresse would no longer intermit to give order for their owne, as well as the generall Affaires of *Christendome*. Therefore our Cardinall was commanded to *France* both for concluding the marriage of our Princeesse *Mary*, either with *Francis* or the Duke of *Orleans* his sonne, (as is before mentioned) as also for other occasions, which shall be hereafter declared. Though whatsoever they treated concerning her marriage in so many places, and with persons of so different ages, her Husband, *Philip* the second, was now but newly born at *Valedolid*, *May* 21. 1527.

The Cardinall having kist the Kings hand, and received his Instructions, arrived at *Calais* with a Noble Equipage, being neere a thousand Horse, the eleventh of *July* 1527. departing thence towards *Boulogne*, (leaving yet the great Seale behind him in *Calais* with Doctor *Taylor* Master of the Rolles;) where he was met by *Monsieur de Byron* with a thousand Horse, and after by *John* Cardinall of *Lorraine*, and the Chancellour of *Alanson*, who accompanied him in his way to *Monseigneuril*, and afterwards to *Abbeville*. *Francis* in the meane time assu-

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June 18.

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May 10.

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ring him by Letter, that Himselfe and Madame *Louise* his Mother would meet him at *Amiens*, as soone as he had confiscated the Lands of *Bourbon*, and extinguished his Title and Dignity. This occasioned the Cardinals stay for some daies; yet so as hee wanted not a just exercise for that power which *Francis* had given him, wheresoever hee went to release all those prisoners hee thought capable of mercy. While hee staid thus at *Abbeville*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Edward Lee*, our Kings Ambassadors in *Spaine*, sent him the Emperours demands, in case the restitution of *Francis* his Children were propos'd; which, though high, were to be qualified by our King, if his Highnesse so thought fitting. Hereof therefore, by a Letter dated the twenty nine of *July* 1527, hee advertised our King; adding moreover, that though the Emperour were determined to traine the Pope to *Spaine*, (to which also hee heard the Pope was inclin'd) yet that the project was so dangerous, as it was not by any meanes to be suffered; since, thereby *Charles* might both establish the Imperiall Authority in *Rome*, and seize on the Patrimony of the Church, or at least constrain him to furnish what money he would, and together compell him to make so many Cardinals of the Spanish faction, as when the Pope died, would enable him to Elect what Successour hee pleased. Neither did hee see how this could be avoyded, unlesse *Andrea Doria* were commanded to use the Fleet he had then at Sea, for intercepting of the Pope; who, what shew soever he made of willingness to come to the Emperour, complained yet of his Captivity, as by a Letter written by the Popes owne hand in Ciphers, to his Highnesse, and conveyed by *Gregory de Casalis*, might appeare; which also was confirmed by divers Cardinals then attending him. Besides, that it were convenient, that the Forces his Highnesse was bound to furnish for the warres of *Italy*, should be joyned with *Lautrech*, (who was now designed by *Francis* to pursue the warre there) and imployed to hinder the Popes passage; In which affaire also, some Princes of *Italy* might be drawne to concur, when his Highnesse would write to them; All which was the rather to be speeded, that the Bishop of *Worcester* had written from *Spaine*, that the Emperour went to sow division betwixt him and *Francis*. This Letter was seconded by another of the same date, which yet contained onely an overture for a meeting betwixt Madame *Louise* and himselfe, on the one part, and the Emperour on the other, at *Perpignan*; wherein all these difficulties should be resolved. Moreover, by a Letter dated from *Abbeville* the 31 of *July*, he certifies the King, how *Monsieur de Bouclans* had propos'd on the Emperours part, a match betwixt the Duke of *Richmond*

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mond, naturall sonne to our King, and the daughter of Portugal with Millan for Dowry; which yet (as being colourable onely) he thought fit should not be much insisted on. Onely, because it was necessary to keepe good correspondence with the Emperour, hee thought it not amisse to entertaine speecch thereof. And together (by a Letter the first of August) to desire our Ambassadors in Spaine, to quench all Rumors concerning a Divorce bruited now betwixt our King and the Queen; and to assure the Emperour, that the first originall thereof arose onely from the objection, which the Bishop of Tarbe (when he was lately in England) made, concerning the Legitimation of the Princesse Mary. At last, Francis, together with Madame Louisse his Mother, comming to Amiens, the Cardinall with all his Train sets forth from Abbeville; whereof notice being given, Francis being Royally attended, meets him a mile and halfe out of the Towne; And, after Protestations that he owed his Liberty chiefly to our King, conducted him to his lodgng. Shortly after which, the Cardinall obtaining Audience; declared his businesse, consisting principally in three points.

First, *To require the Resolution of Francis concerning this Alternative of the Marriage a little before mentioned.*

Secondly, *To advise concerning the meanes of making Peace with the Emperour; upon such termes as the restitution of Francis his Children might be procured.*

Thirdly, *To determine how the Pope might be delivered out of Captivity; (for which purpose our Historians say, that the Cardinall carried over with him 240000 li. of our Kings Treasure.)*

To the first, it was answered, *That the Duke of Orleans (as more suiting in yeers) should be recommended to the Princesse Mary.*

To the second, *That Francis for reobtaining of his Children, would, among other things, renounce his claime in Milan.*

To the third, *Little more was said, then that the Pope (as soon as possible) should be set free, by Mediation, or Force.*

Besides which points, an interview was proposed on our Kings part, betwixt him and Francis; but Francis excusing himselfe by reason of the great Charges he must be at till his Children were redeemed, the motion was urged no farther.

After this, Francis brought our Cardinall to Compeigne; from whence he wrote to the King, that howsoever Francis did

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did promise to renounce *Milan*; yet, that it was best not overstrictly to tie him to it untill his Highnesse discovered whether the Emperour would really conferre it in Dowry upon the match formerly intimated. The King receiving thus much satisfaction by the Cardinals Negotiation, writ a Letter with his own hand, acknowledging therein the good service he had done him and the Kingdome divers waies; and particularly in three Treaties, concluded *August 18. 1527*, which, by the French and our Records, I finde thus related.

1.

The first Treaty was concerning the *Princesse Mary*; who (according to the reference formerly made) was to marry the Duke of *Orleans*; reserving notwithstanding unto a further time, the particularities of her Dote, Dowry, Transportation of the said Duke into *England*, the charges of his Family, and the like. Furthermote it was declared, that if the said marriage, either by death, or consent of both Kings, or any other accident, tooke no effect, That yet the other Treaties betwixt the said Kings (being of the thirty of *August 1525*. and of the last of *April 1527*.) should remaine in full force. The interview of the two Kings, which (the last of *April*) was agreed to be at *Calais*, was remitted to a further time. The contribution, to which the said *Henry* obliged himselfe for the warre of *Italy*, was expressed to be twenty thousand *Escus de Soleil* for *June*, and for *July* thirty thousand, and for every of the Moneths of *August*, *September*, *October*, thirty two thousand two hundred twenty two Crownes. Upon condition yet, that the said Contribution should be abated proportionably, if the number of Souldiers employed in the said warre were diminished. That, after the said Moneth of *October* *Henry* should contribute no more; and that, if peace were made sooner, he should be discharged of the said Contribution. And finally, that neither Prince might demand of the other, his money spent in this warre, as long as the perpetuall Peace was conserved.

2.

By the second Treaty it was agreed, that the said *Henry* should not charge himselfe with the protection and assurance of the peace, whensoever it should be concluded betwixt *Francis* and *Charles*: but in case onely that the said Peace could not otherwise be made, which therefore so hapning, the said *Francis* did agree, that he should take the said protection and warranty upon him. On condition yet, that nothing should be attempted by him by reason thereof, either against him, his Kingdome, or Subjects. Moreover, the said *Henry* consented, that, for the good of the intended Peace, the marriage betwixt *Francis* and *Leonora* Sister to *Charles*, should be validated and confirmed; upon condition yet, that thereby

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thereby no prejudice should follow to the Treaties concluded betwixt them. That if any peace were made with *Charles*, by which *Francesco Sforza* should enjoy *Milan*, it was declared by the said Kings, that they did not intend to renounce certaine Pensions assigned to either of them, upon the said Dutchy, by the League of *Italy*; when *Francesco* should refuse to pay them. That if warre were commenc'd by the said Kings against *Charles*, upon his refusall of the conditions offered to him, then the like Priviledges, Exemptions, and Liberties, that the English Merchants had a (yeere since) in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, they should now have in other places under the obedience of *Francis*, as long as the said warres should last; the said places to be nominated and agreed on hereafter.

By the third Treaty, it was concluded betwixt the said Kings, that no Councell-Generall; summoned by the Pope during his Captivity, or by the Emperours authority, should take effect; and, that for this purpose they shoud cause their Clergy on either side, by publique and solemne protestations to renounce and detest all such Convocation. That any Commandement, Sentence, Bull, Letter, or Breve proceeding from the said Pope, being in captivity, and tending to the damage of the said Kings or Subjects, and especially to the prejudice of the Legation of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, should neither be obeyed by them, nor suffered to be obeyed; but that they should be declared as of no effect, and the bringers of them punished. That during the said Captivity of the Pope, whatsoever by the Cardinall of *Yorke* (assisted by the Prelates of *England* assembled and called together by the Authority of the said King) should be determined concerning the Administration of Ecclesiasticall Affaires in the said kingdom of *England*, and other Countries being in the Dominion of the said *Henry*, should (the consent of the said King being first had) be decreed and observed. (To confirme which power, the Pope* sent him a Bull, to be Vicar-Generall throughout all the Kings Dominions.) It was also agreed, that *Francis* and his Clergy should have the like power in *France*, and other his Dominions, during the Captivity of the Pope. And here certainly began the Taste that our King took of governing (in Chiefe) the Clergy; of which therefore, as well as the dissolution of Monasteries, it seemes the first Arguments and Impressions were derived from the Cardinall; Who having now in a Conference with certaine Cardinals at *Campeigne*, resolved that the aforesaid Order for the government of the Church was in these times requisite, tooke on him the charge of our Ecclesiasticall Affaires (though *Guic-
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Sept. 21.

Sept. 30.

Bellay.

Octob. 20.

Novem. 10.

Sept. 15.
Sand.

ciardine write that he sent for a Bull to be Legate in *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, and the Imperialists gave out that he attempted to make himselfe Pope of the English and French Church, by a Schisme from the See of *Rome*. The passages betwixt the Cardinals above-mentioned being certified to *Rome* *Septemb. 16*, *Woelfsey* prepared to returne. Whereupon *Francis* not onely richly presented him, but conducted him through the Towne, and upon his way about a mile, being accompanied with the Titular King of *Navarre*, the Popes Legate, and his prime Nobility. The Cardinall now hasting homeward, came to *Calais*, where having established a Mart, hee arrived at Court toward the end of *September*, where much demonstration of affection was given him by our King. To correspond with this Ambassade, *Francis* sent *Anne de Montmorancy* Grand-Maistre, *John du Bellay* Bishop of *Bayonne*, *John Brinon* the Premier President de *Roüen*, and le Seigneur de *Humieres*, as his Ambassadors to ratifie the said League here. These, with divers other Cavaliers, (being in all about six hundred horse) were conducted to *London*, *October 20*. and lodged in the Bishop of *Londons* Pallace. After which, Audience being given them, they were *Novemb. 10*. entertained by our King at *Greenwich* with a Feast (the most sumptuous, saith *Bellay*, that ever I saw) and then with a Comedy, in which his daughter the Princesse was an Actor. On this day also the King of *England* received at the hands of *Montmorancy*, the Order of *S^t Michael*; And *Francis*, with no lesse solemnity, that of the Garter, in *Paris*. For which purpose, our King had sent over *Arthur Plantagenet* Viscount *Lisle* (naturall sonne to King *Edward* the fourth,) *Sir Nicholas Carew* Master of his Horse, *Sir Anthony Browne*, all Knights of this Order, and *Sir Thomas Wriothesley* Garter-Herauld. Both Princes likewise giving their Oath and Seale (which was in Gold) for the Ratification of the late Treaty.

Charles, being not ignorant of these Treaties, thinkes fit to prevent the execution of them, by a timely consent unto all that could in reason be expected from him. Therefore at *Palencia*, *Septemb. 15*. he offered this Agreement unto the French, English, and other Ambassadors residing in his Court; which also for the present they seemed to accept. That the Article for the restitution of *Burgundy* should be rased out of the Concord of *Madrid*, reserving still to the Emperour his Right. That *Francis* should pay for the ransome of his sonnes, the two Millions of Crownes which were offered. And that out of them so much should be allowed, as would pay our King. Furthermore, that *Francis* should take upon him to satisfie *Henry*, as well as to keepe *Charles* indemnified from the Obligation,

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ligation, by which hee tyed himselfe in *London* by particular Treaty, which was, that he should pay unto *Henry* the ancient pension which *Francis* payd him, together with any other summe that *Francis* should refuse to pay onely because he said *Henry* had declared himselfe his enemy. That the French should oblige themselves to restore *Genoia*, and all the rest that they had taken in *Lombardy*, before the Hostages were rendred. That in the particular of the Duke of *Milan*, *Charles* should nominate and appoint certaine Judges, who should determine the cause betwixt them. And that if hee were not found culpable, then his estate should be restored to him, and the investiture given him; otherwise, that the Emperour should dispose thereof as Lord of the Feud. That, in all the rest, the Concord of *Madrid* should be observed, saving in some few points of small importance. When these Articles were approved on both sides, the Ambassadors of *France* said, that they wanted sufficient Authority from their King to signe them, which yet they promised to send for, and procure. And so the conclusion of peace at this time was deferred on their parts. *Charles* not much troubled herewith, returnes to his former Arts of dividing our King from *Francis*. Therefore he sends privately to the Cardinall (now returned from *France*) offering him, besides his ordinary Pension, large summes for this purpose. Notwithstanding which (saith *Polydore*) because he had denied him the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, to which (if we may believe the same Author) he vehemently aspired, he was found inexorable.

This yeere our King sent out two faire ships to discover new Regions, then daily found out by the Portuguez and Spaniard; though, as no successe followed thereupon, I doe not finde the designe pursued.

This while, *Monsieur de Lautrech* made ready an Army of twenty six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, for the affaires of *Italy*; and, about *Iuly*, passed the *Alpes*. Wherewith the Clementine League (whose Forces were eleven thousand Foot, and about one thousand six hundred Horse) being much encouraged, an Answer was sent to the Propositions made by the Emperour, to the Ambassadors of the League, at *Palentia*. For which purpose a Secretary of *Francis* came the twelfth of *December* 1527 to *Burges* (where *Charles* then was) publishing by the way that he brought a finall Resolution of Peace; when yet indeed he brought Order onely to desie *Charles*, as will appeare afterwards. Yet, to shew some desire of Accommodation, the Ambassadors of *England* and *France* desired, two points of the Treaty of *Palentia* should be altered in this manner. The first was, that *Francesco Sforza* should be restored to his

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his Estate; and, afterwards, justice done concerning the complaints made against him. The other was, that the Hostages should be remanded, before *Francis* should deliver vp *Genoia* or *Asti*, or withdraw his Army out of *Italy*. And to induce *Charles* hereunto, it was offered by the French, to put security into the hands of our King, for the payment of three hundred thousand Duckats to *Charles*, in case of not rendring the said Townes, and withdrawing his Army. *Charles* replied, that though all this was Innovation upon the Treaty of *Palentia*; yet, to shew his desire of peace, he would put security for payment of so much money into the hands of our king, in case the French would agree to performe that which was concluded on their part; But the French Ambassadour saying, he had no Order to make any other end, then what was proposed, this great affaire remained suspended.

Our Ambassadour perceiving this, proceeds upon his Instructions, and makes foure demands.

1. The first was, That without any delay, *Charles* should pay to the King his Master all that was lent him heretofore.
2. The next was, That he should pay him a penalty of five hundred thousand Ducats, because he did not marry the Princessse *Mary*, as was agreed.
3. The third was, that he should satisfie for the indemnity he undertooke to discharge, upon the Declaration that our King made of war against *Francis*, (whereof mention is made formerly) which from the time it was due, was foure yeeres and foure moneths.
4. Fourthly, that he should deliver the Pope; and make him satisfaction for the losse and dammage he had sustained.

To which *Charles* answered, That hee marvelled why the King should presse him so much, since hee never denied the Debt; and that, if they required from him the Money, they should give him the security he entered into for the payment thereof. But our Ambassador saying, that they were kept among the Archives and Records of *England*; and that, for the rest, they were sufficiently Authorized to give him an Acquittance; *Charles* knew not well how to argue the matter further. As for the penalty of Marriage and Indemnity, he said hee would send an expresse Messenger into *England*, to acquaint our King with the Reasons why he did not hold himselfe bound to give any such satisfaction. And for the delivering of the Pope, he said Order was, and should be given. And indeed, I finde that about this very time, the Pope recovered his liberty. Which because it was occasioned by the proceeding of the French in *Italy*, let us looke backe awhile on those affaires.

The Army of the League formerly-mentioned, being commanded by *Odet de Foix Seigneur de Lautrech* (an able Generall) great hope was conceived; Both as he was supported by our King, and *Francis*, and the Venetians, at a common charge; (whereof our Kings part, according to the French History, was 60000 Angelots the moneth) as that the Imperiall Army, which sackt *Rome*, was much consumed with the Plague. By Sea also, *Andrea Doria* of *Genoua*, who had the command of the French Kings Gallies, a brave Commander, was appointed with a strong Fleet to second him; who, accordingly, so scour'd all the coast of *Genoua*, that no shipping on those quarters durst appeare. This caused great scarcity of victuals there; which being advertis'd to *Doria*, and afterwards to *Lautrech*, hee sends *Cesar Fregoso* with 2000 men thither; who, together with *Doria*, so prest that City on both sides, that, at last, it yeilded; Whereupon *Theodoro de Trivulci* was made Governour of it, on the behalfe of the French King. After this, *Lautrech* took (in the name of *Sforza*, and for his use) *Alexandria*, the Country of *Lomeline*, the Cities of *Vigevano*, *Biagras*, and *Novarra*, and besieged *Pavia*, to the great displeasure of *Antonio de Leyva* (then Governour of *Milan*) who wanting souldiers for himselfe, would yet spare some for defence of that Town. This did not hinder *Lautrech* yet to make a breach and enter it, at the second assault, where, in revenge of the King his Masters misfortunes, he permitted his Army to exercise all manner of licentious cruelty; And now *Milan* it selfe (which remained only to make an intire conquest of those parts) began to shake; neither could it have resisted long, but that a Mystery of State preserv'd it. For, as *Lautrech's* chiefe designe was on *Naples* (to which hee knew yet *Sforza* and the Venetians would not easily concur) so he thought fit to leave this strong place intire, as well to keep them in exercise, as to draw from them a greater dependence on the King his Master. For he understood well, that when he had put a Garrison in it in the name of *Sforza*, that hee and the Venetians would sooner have excluded him from his further passage to *Naples*, then given him any assistance; which would have frustrated both his chiefe Designes, since *Francis* pretended alike Title to *Milan* and *Naples*. Besides, the more moderate sort approved this course; for when the event of War had been prosperous or doubtful, it left a way open for Peace; while each party having somewhat to require, better Overtures might be given for a generall Accommodation. Lastly, these intentions of *Lautrech* were much facilitated by the intreaty of the Pope; who solicited him to expell the Remnant of the Imperiall Army from the Patrimony of the Church. *Lautrech*, hereupon, marcheth forwards; whereof *Antonio de Leyva* being informed, sallies forth of *Milan*, and with his small Forces, takes *Biagras*, and holds it, untill *Lautrech*, sending *Pietro de Navarra* back with 6000 men, wan it again, and settled *Sforza* in the possession thereof. *Lautrech* continuing thus his March, findes the Duke of *Ferrara*, and Marquis of *Mantua* ready to joyn with him.

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Bel.

Octob. 18.

Octob. 28.

Bel.

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The manner of weaker and inferiour sort of Princes being ever to comply with the more puissant and victorious Army. The sincerity yet of the Duke of *Ferrara* seemed questionable; both as hee had just cause to be offended with the Pope, and that hee had, a good while since, rang'd himselfe with the Imperialists; Neverthelesse, upon the Treaty, of a Match betwixt his eldest Son, and *Renee* Daughter of *Louis* the twelfth, all was compos'd, and hee receiv'd into the Confederacy. But among all, none was so much perplext as the Pope; who being not yet delivered from his Guards, knew not whether were better for him, to trust to the faire words of *Charles* (whose Agents now treated with him,) or to the assistance of the League. Neither could he (when this latter part were resolv'd) determine concerning the Seate of Warre. For as, to keep the Army of *Lautrech* at a distance, had been to leave himselfe in Restraint still; So, to invite him to his Territories, had been to expose his subjects to the Rapines of both Armies. Therefore, he varyed strangely in his private advices, answers, and Negotiations; insomuch that *Lautrech*, at last, was neither scandalized with his denyalls, nor confirm'd with his promises. Howsoever, *Lautrech* thought fit to pursue his point; whereof *Charles* being advertis'd, resolv'd by a timely and voluntary discharge of the Pope out of prison, to prevent compulsion. Therefore hee sends a particular dispatch to *Don Hugo de Moncada*, to set him free upon these conditions;

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Guicci. l. 28.

That the Pope shall not oppose *Charles* in the affaires of *Milan* and *Naples*. That he should grant him a *Croisade* in *Spaine*, and a Tenth of all Ecclesiasticall livings in all his Kingdomes. That *Ostia* and *Civitavecchia* should remain in the hands of *Charles*, for security hereof. That he should configne to him *la Civita Castellana*, and the Castle of *Furli*, giving Hostages till it were done. That hee should pay presently to the *Almaines* 77000 Duckats, and to the *Spaniard* 35000; and that, 15 dayes after his departure out of *Rome*, he should pay as much again to the *Almaines*, and within three months after give the rest, being in all about 300000 Duckats; and to deliver Hostages for performance hereof. Upon which Conditions he was to be set at liberty *December 10*. But the Pope prevented this, by escaping, in the habit of a Merchant, to *Monte Fiascone*, and thence to *Orvieto*, the night before they promis'd to deliver him. His Hostages yet, the Cardinals of *Cesis* and *Orsino*, remain'd till the money were payd; for obtaining of which, he was forc'd to have recourse to undecent wayes, making (as *Guiccardine* hath it) divers Cardinals for money, which, otherwise, deserv'd not that honour. He also gave the *Spaniards* licence for the alienating of Ecclesiasticall goods and possessions (and particularly in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the value of 600000 Crownes, as our Records say) giving therein a beginning (as some observe) to that liberty which was afterwards taken in divers places. But necessity is a violent Counsellour. Howsoever, the Pope was glad now, not only to finde his person free from Guards, but

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Guicci. l. 18.

but safe from attempts. The Cardinall *Colonna* (as a latter Author affirms) having labour'd much with *Hernando de Marçon* privately to make him away. Thus did the Pope enter, by night, and without other company but that of *Louis de Gonzaga* (the complice of his escape) to a Town, unable any way to relieve or protect him. From whence yet, though despoil'd of all his money, hee found meanes, within a few moneths, to return to his former greatnesse and Authority. Being now at liberty, he sends word thereof to Cardinall *Wolsey*, acknowledging him a great instrument thereof; And, withall, certifies our King of his Estate, desiring him to continue his protection of the See of *Rome*. Our Cardinall also (who the last year had caused the Litany to be thus sung, *Sancta Maria Ora pro Clemente Papa, Sancte Petre*, &c. as *Charles* who kept him in prison, had caused to be done in *Spain*, though Ironically, as most men conceived it) now came, in great triumph, to *St. Pauls* in *London*, and caused *Te Deum* to be sung, and Bonfires to be publicly made. The French Ambassadour in *Spaine* this while understanding well how matters were likely to passe, hastned the delivery of the Cartelles, of which the chiefe cause was ill usage of the Pope. For the performing whereof therefore, with more solemnity and ostentation, all the Ambassadours of *England, France, Venice, Florence*, and the rest, desired leave of the Emperour to depart, saying their Commission was expir'd. To which *Charles* briefly answered, that hee would detain them no longer, than till his own were recall'd from their Masters Court. Hereupon, it was thought fit to proceed unto the Defie; which though the Spaniards relate with much particularity and circumstance, I shall yet declare as briefly as I can, according to their Historie.

¶ Upon the 22. of January *Anno Domini* 1528. *Charles* being at *Burgos, Clarenceaux* and *Guyenne* came to the Court, and demanded Audience, which accordingly was granted them; Hereupon the said Heraulds, holding their Coats of Armes in their left hand, after three low obeysances presented themselves before *Charles*, who sate in an high Throne, being attended by his chiefe Nobles and Counsellours. *Clarenceaux* (whom *Sir Francis Pointz*, being now returned to *England*, had left there for this purpose) begins first, saying;

Sire, According to the Lawes and Edicts inviolably guarded by the Roman Emperours your Predecessors, as well as by all other Kings and Princes, Wee two in the name of our Kings, do present our selves before your Sacred Majesty, to declare some things, on their part, beseeching your Majestie, that, having respect to the above-mention'd Lawes and Edicts, you would, out of your benignity and Clemency, vouchsafe to give us security and good usage in your Dominions, while we attend your Answer, and that you would grant us a safe Conduct, till we come to the Lands and Seigneuries of the Kings our Masters. The Emperour promising to accord this, *Guyenne* reads a Cartell, sent from the King his Master, the substance whereof was, That because *Charles* would not condescend to an honest and fitting

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conclusion of Peace, nor pay unto the King of *England* that which he ow'd him, nor put the Pope at liberty, nor leave Italy in quietnesse; The King, my Master, hath commanded me to tell you, to his great griefe and displeasure, as also of his good Brother the King of *England*, that he shall from henceforth hold you his Enemy, notifying to you, that, from this day forwards, he intends not to keep any contract or agreement that may be for your profit and advantage, but that he will doe you, and your Subjects, all the harme he can, by Warre or otherwise, untill, upon honest and fitting conditions, you restore his Sons, put the Pope in liberty, pay the King of *England* that you owe him, and leave in peace and Repose all his Allyes and Confederates. Neverthelesse, he offers XL. dayes respit for the withdrawing your Subjects out of their Dominions, requiring the like for his.

Dated November 11. 1527. and Signed,

Guienne King of Armes.

Charles hereunto replied presently, That he had understood all he had sayd on the part of the King his Master, and that he did marvell much, that he should defy him, since, being his prisoner of Warre, and having his Faith plighted to him, he was disabled to proceed in this manner. Besides, it seemed strange to him, that he should defy him now; since he had made Warre with him a long time, and yet never defy'd him. Yet, that he trusted in God, he should be able to defend himselfe. As for that yee say of the Pope, none is more forry than my selfe, for what is pass'd, as being done without my knowledge, or Consent; But, for that, I must advertize you, that I received assured Newes yesterday, that the Pope is at liberty. As for the Sonnes of the King your Master he knows well I hold them as Hostages, and his Ambassadors know as well, that it is not my fault, if they be not delivered. As for that you say on the part of the King of *England* my good Vnckle and Brother, I beleieve that he is not well inform'd of all the passages in these affairs; otherwise, that he would not have sent me this message. But I shall advertize him of the whole truth, and doe believe, that, when he knows it, he will be the same to me that formerly he was. I never denyed the Money he lent me; and am ready to pay it, as by right I am bound. Notwithstanding which, if he will needs make Warre against me, I can doe no lesse than defend my selfe, and pray to God, he give me not more occasion to make Warre against him, than I have given him against me. As for the rest, I desire to have your Cartell under your hand, that I may answer more particularly. Hereupon *Guienne* tooke his Coate of Armes and put it on.

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Then *Clarenceaux*, not by writing but by word of mouth, spake to this effect. Sire, The King my Supreme Lord and Master, considering the necessity of Peace in the Christian World, as well for resisting the Turke, (who having taken the Isle of *Rhodes* and Fortresse

treffe of *Belgrado*, intends yet further conquests; as for repressing the Heresies and Sects that are newly risen; and finding that your Commanders and Army have lately Sack'd the City of *Rome*, and taken our holy Father prisoner, together with divers Cardinalls, who have been also put to Ransome, and that the Churches have been sacrilegiously profaned, and all manner of Religious Orders put to the sword; insomuch that by these Cruelties, and Mischiefes; the ayre and earth have been infected, and the anger of God drawn down upon us, if we procure not Reparation for them; And, because the Roote and beginning of these Warres proceeds from the contention and debates between you and the most Christian King; The King my Master, for giving an end to these differences, hath, by his Ambassadors, propos'd to you, severall times, such honest Conditions, that you ought not to refuse, if you desired peace; And the rather, that your unreasonable demands, would be an ill precedent for other Kings, and Princes, that may be subject to the like fortune; And whereas he also, as a Prince, being bound many wayes to the protection of the holy See, hath desir'd you to give the Pope intire liberty; And hath, oftentimes, requir'd the Money he lent you in the time of your Necessity, which yet you have not paid him:

For these causes, the King my Master hath thought fit to take a finall resolution, to desire you, without further delay, to condescend to equity and reason; and to tell you, that, since you have refus'd it hitherto, he could doe no lesse than conclude a League with the most Christian King, and other Confederates, by force of Armes to constrain you to that, which by right you ought to doe. Wherefore, the said King my Master, and the most Christian King, require you this once for all, to accept the Conditions they have offer'd you for Peace; declaring, in case of refusal, they must, (though not without great grieve and displeasure) hold you for their Enemy, denouncing Warre unto you thereupon, both by Sea and Land, and Defying you with all their Forces. Yet, if you desire to recall your Subjects out of all their Dominions, as they on their part, likewise, require, they offer you forty dayes respite for this purpose. This being said, he put on his Coate of Armes, and afterwards gave his Speech under his hand, Signing it, *Clarenceaux* King of Armes.

The answer, *Charles* made to this, little differing from what he made to *Guienne*, I shall not particularly relate.

Then *Charles*, calling *Guienne* aside, desired him, among other things, to tell the King his Master, that he thought he was not well advertis'd of something that he told in *Granada* to his Ambassadors, which did concern him much; And that he did hold him to be so gentle a Prince, that, had he known it, he would have answer'd him before now. Wherefore, that he should doe well, to take information thereof from his Ambassadors, since thereby he should understand

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stand, that I *Charles* have better kept, what I promised at *Madrid*, than he hath done; And I pray you faile not to tell this to the King; which *Guienne* promised; and so, doing his obeysance, departed. After which, the said Kings of Armes were called upon by *Juan Aleman*, principall Secretary to the Emperour, to receive the answer he sent to the Cartells. That, made to the French King, having little in it more than what is formerly set downe, I shall mention no otherwise, save only that a day was required for Treatie of repealing the Merchants on either side.

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To *Clarenceaux* he answered, by the Pen of his Secretary; That the progresse of the Turk in Christendome, and the captivity of the Pope, were not occasion'd by him, and that the King of *England* ought not to complaine, that he ever refus'd to condescend to honest and reasonable Terms of Agreement, since for his sake only, hee had released much of that, which *Francis*, of himselfe, had freely offered unto the Vice-roy of *Naples*. And all this before ever *Henry* did intermeddle with the said Peace. Also, that, for the same reason, he had accorded divers other conditions, which no other persons could have perswaded him unto. Whereas, on the other side, *Francis* had never done any thing to comply with him. As to the second point, which is concerning the liberty of the Pope, he was assur'd already from *Italy*, that he was free. So that no more needs to be said thereof. And, for that which pass'd in *Rome*, as soon as ever he was advertised thereof, he writ his Justification unto our King; Desiring (withall) his Counsell and assistance in that which he thought might be most for the service of God, and good of Christendome, to which yet he never answered. Which argued, he did not so much desire the liberty of the Pope (which by his loving advise he might have procur'd) as to pick a quarrell against him. And as for the Title which your King pretends of being *Protector of the Pope*, and *Defender of the Faith*, hee would not yeeld to him the honour of that duty, but that hee would say only, that if both had done what they ought, it would have been better for Christendome; Neither should those have been born out and favour'd, who have so manifestly broken their promise, which yet, according both to divine and humane Right, ought to bee conserv'd inviolable, both towards Friends and Enemies. As for the third point, which speaks of the Debts demanded, it is answered, That the delay of payment was caus'd by the Treaty betwixt your Kings Ambassadors and me, according to which, the said Debt should bee assign'd on *Francis* to pay; and, since that time, the Non-payment was occasioned by want of sufficient power in your King's Ambassadors to discharge me thereof. And as for the Obligation of Indemnitie, there being in arriere foure yeares and foure moneths at the rate of 133305 Crownes by the yeare; And for the 500000 Crownes to be payd as a Penalty for not having match'd with the Princesse *Mary*, it is answered, that the Ambassadors, having not with them the Originall Obligations and Contracts, by which these things should appear, he

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he thought himself excused, till convenient place were appointed, where, at the same instant that he paid the money, hee might receive the Securities he entred into for the said payments. As for the Indemnitie, there had so many things interven'd since, that hee thought he could produce five sufficient reasons to exempt himselfe, when indifferent Commissioners shall heare the businesse on both sides. And as for the penaltie, which the said Ambassadors demanded, there were three evident and peremptory reasons to cleere him from satisfying that demand. First because, by the Law Civill and Canon, all penall stipulation, by which the free power of marryng in any fitting place is prohibited, is, *ipso facto*, voyd, and of no effect. Second, That, when the Obligation for the said penalty were valid, yet the said King your Master cannot prevaile himself of the Treaty of *Windsor* (where the said penalty was agreed) unlesse he prove First, that he had intirely accomplisht all that was to be done on his part; which he thought was more than could be made appeare. Thirdly, That, before hee marryed, he requir'd the King your Master to send his daughter to this Kingdome, for the better satisfaction of his Subjects, who desired much to see him have Children, who might succeed him: Whereas your King thought fit rather to give Commission to his Ambassadors to consent to any other Marriage, than to send his Daughter hither. Besides which, it appeared, by certaine Letters that were taken, the King your Master Treated of a Marriage betwixt his Daughter and the King of *Scotland* his Nephew; which Treaty was begun long before he married with the Empresse. So that, when the stipulation were valid, the King your Master should pay the penalty, as being reciprocally agreed: On which yet he would not insist, as being void in Law. Moreover, that, contrary to the said Treaty of *Windsor*, he had secretly kept in his Court *John Joakim*, and afterwards publicly receiv'd the President of *Rouen*, as Ambassadour, who Treated on the part of *Francis*; And, because the Ambassadour, he had in *England*, had writ the truth of what he saw, and understood, he was ill-used, and threatned in the said Kingdome, and the dispatches, he wrote, taken, and opened by the Ministers of your King, contrary to all right both Divine and humane. And, which was worst of all, since the Imprisonment of the said *Francis*, the King, your Master, being required to set downe his claims and demands, whereby (according to the said Treaty) each of them might have recovered their right, and a good and durable peace be established in Christendome, yet the King your Master would never accept hereof, as thinking to make his advantage another way; which hath been the cause of all the breaches that have follow'd since. That yet he had forbore to take notice, or complaine of these offences, as being desirous to keep the friendship of the King your Master, which he esteemed so much, that he accorded, for his sake, almost all, that his Ambassadors demanded at *Palencia*, concerning the Peace with *Francis*. As for the defy you have made on the

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These Answers were read unto the said Kings of Armes by *Juan Aleman Seigneur de Bouclans*, and then given unto them, to be carryed to their severall Kings and Masters, in *Burgos* 27 Jan. 1528. Where-withall they had their safe Conducts to depart.

Thus did *Clarenceaux*, in stead of satisfaction for the Money, and kindnesse done to *Charles*, return with a Reply full of offence and evasion, unto his King and Master. Of which our King yet made no other account, than such, as became one, who holding himselfe free from all causes of suspicion and calumny, despised whatsoever in either kind was objected against him; since, having inviolably kept his intention and oath of falling on that Prince, which most interrupted the publike Peace, he thought it now his part, to joyn against *Charles*. For though in the beginning he interceded only for a Peace, betwixt him and *Francis*, (refusing therefore to bee the chiefe and Protector of the Clementine League) yet finding now, that the Generalls and Army of *Charles* proceeded to such an enormous outrage, as to take and hold the Pope prisoner, he thought he could do no lesse, than use all means that might conduce to his delivery, and the repressing of the exorbitant ambition of *Charles*, who was thought

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not obscurely to aspire to an universall Monarchy. As for the little cavills and punctiglios, concerning the receiving of *Giovanni Joakim*, or the giving a civill eare to a proposition of marriage in *Scotland*, and the like, as they were not, before some Contraventions of the part of *Charles*, so no effect did follow thereof, in those times when *Charles* most suspected them. Though, when our King was inform'd that *Charles* did, after his Treatie at *Windsor*, give and receive overtures of Marriage in more than in one place, it could not seeme strange if he tooke the same liberty. As for the opening of the Letters, our Cardinall by particular dispatches to Doctor *Sampson* Resident in *Spaine*, had, a good while since, so cleered his King from any sinister intention therein, that it ought not to have been further mention'd. For though, indeed, a stranger passing the Watch about *London* at an undue time of night, and in a suspected manner, had some Letters taken from him, which afterwards were opened by Sir *Thomas Moore*, and delivered to the Cardinall; yet the said Letters, which (as it appear'd afterwards) came from Mounseur de *Praet*, (who departed secretly out of *England*, without taking leave either of our King or his Counsell, and were written in Ciphre, and contained many dangerous falshoods) were, in due time, posted to the Emperour, whereby also he might perceive what ill offices his said Ambassadour did, and the fault laid on *de Praet*, who chose rather to use his owne Authority than to demand a Passe, in a time when he knew they could not otherwise be Convey'd, which likewise was the excuse for intercepting another Messenger, who carryed Letters to the Lady *Margaret* in *Flanders*, of the same Tenor; which yet she received presently after. And for the excuses not to pay the Money requir'd of him, or the penalty above-mentioned, they were but Arts, by which others might learne to deceive him in the same kind, and which therefore might instruct *Francis* to do the like.

Our Cardinall being thus incens'd against *Charles*, thought fit, as well in despite of him, as for the assertion of his Kings proceedings, publicly to give account in the Star-chamber of the whole State of this businesse; adding withall, that our King was resolv'd to make Warre against *Charles*. In the delivery whereof, though he did exaggerate the actions of *Charles*, even to the making him criminall of whatsoever either by the Law of God, or man he could be guilty; yet our Merchants, who, thereupon, should neither vent their chief Commodities in the Low-Countries, and *Spaine*, nor againe receive from thence supplies of some Commodities they stood in need of, would no way approve this Warre; as that, from which they saw neither profit nor honour likely to ensue; especially, when they heard, the Pope was delivered from his Imprisonment. Nevertheless, the Cardinall, pursuing his intentions, (as the Emperour had done First in *Spaine* to the English and French,) seizeth on the goods of the Subjects of *Charles*, and shortly after on the person of his Ambassador *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, upon notice given, that our Am-

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bassadour was staid in *Spaine*. The Consequence of this, was, that our Merchants presently found the like measure in the Low-Countries, to the great prejudice of that Entercourse and Commerce, which for many ages had pass'd betwixt both Nations. Upon newes yet, that our Ambassadours were well used in *Spaine*, *Hugo de Mendoza* was not only set at liberty, but perswaded, by some, that the defiance which *Clarenceaux* had made unto *Charles*, was by him hastened, at the motion only of the French Ambassadour. For which presumptuous act, he should therefore suffer death, as soon as he return'd to *Calais*. *Hugo de Mendoza*, glad hereof, sends a dispatch, by post, into *Spaine*, acquainting *Charles* with all these particularities. But as the *Courrier* past by *Bayone*, the Governour thereof opened and Coppyed these Letters, which afterwards he shew'd *Clarenceaux*, as he return'd homewards. *Clarenceaux*, at first, seem'd much astonish'd, but, at last, considering he had good warrant from the Cardinall, for all his proceedings, he recollects himselfe, and continues his Journey. He did not thinke fit yet to come to *Calais*, but, taking Ship at *Beulogne*, and landing at *Rye*, he secretly posted to *Hampton Court*, where the King was; using such means there, that he obtained speedy access to him, shewing, among other things, three Letters from the Cardinall, authorizing this defy to *Charles*. He assured him also of the good usage he had received there; insomuch, that (notwithstanding all these Rough passages,) he had been rewarded with a Chain of 700 Duckats. Lastly, he shew'd the Copy of those Letters the Governour of *Bayone* had intercepted: which so startled the King, that he protested against the Cardinall, as one, that not only usurped to much upon the Regall Authority, but represented things much otherwise than they were, unto him. The King, hereupon, sent for the Cardinall, and layes these insolencies and presumptuous to his charge in such a manner, that, howsoever the Cardinall excus'd himself, the King was observ'd to mistrust him ever afterwards. The matter hereupon was brought to the body of the Counsell; where, notwithstanding the Cardinall alleged that nothing was done, but what was conformable to the Kings intentions, as he conceiv'd them; yet, because in a Matter of this high consequence, he had proceeded too singly, without advising with the King and Counsell; he was reprov'd. In sequence whereof also (notwithstanding this designed Warre) some overtures were made for keeping the Commerce betwixt us, and the Low-Country-men still open, if it could be fairely done. Therefore the Dutchmen were Licensed to depart home, the Spanyards yet being not permitted to goe, till it appear'd, how our Merchants were used there.

The Lady *Margaret Regent* of the Low-Countrie, being inform'd hereof, doth, in Exchange of this curtesy, dismisse our English likewise, yet reteineth their goods, untill she might heare how the Spanyards were used in *England*. But together assures them, that, when she is satisfied thereof, all things should be safely restored.

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And now our Merchants (who used not the Trade to the many Northerne and remote Countries they now frequent) foreseeing the consequence of these Warres, refus'd to buy the Cloathes that were brought to *Blackwell-Hall* in *London*, whereupon the Clothiers, Spinners and Carders in many Shires of *England* began to mutine. For appeasing whereof, the Cardinall commands our Merchants to take off these Cloathes, at a reasonable price, from the poor mens hands, threatning, otherwise, that the King himselfe should buy them, and sell them to Strangers. But the fullen Merchants, little mov'd herewith, said, they had no reason to buy Commodities they knew not how to utter. Therefore, whatsoever was propos'd for *Staples* at *Calis*, or *Abbeville*, our Merchants did not, or at least would not understand it. But this discontentment did equally extend to the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, and especially to *Antwerp*, where the chiefe Mart was. The Lady *Margaret* considering this also, and fearing lest any Insurrection might follow, sends over, by the advice of the Emperours Counsell, the Provost of *Cassells*, and one other, to joyne with *Don Hugo de Mendoca*, for the obtaining, if nothing else, yet of a Truce and abstinence from War. These Ambassadors having obtained audience of the King, Mart. 29. 1528. *Mendoca* said unto him;

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Sire, The Emperour's Majesty doth acknowledge himself so much bound to your Grace for the many favours receiv'd from you, ever since his Minority, that he wil by no means take the Defyance given by your Herauld, as a peremptory denuntiation of war, til he hath heard further of your pleasure. Therefore, his Counsell hath appointed these two Noble persons and my self, to know your determinate Answer, and finall Resolution herein. The King, pawling awhile, as one that in his heart loved *Charles*, and yet was bound, by his late Treaty, to oppose him, Answered; *Of war I am nothing joyfull, And of war I am lesse fearfull*, I thank God, as having both men and money in readinesse, which I know other Princes lack; for all their high words; And therefore to war I could soon agree. Yet, before I make you a determinate Answer herein, I shall declare some part of my mind to you, and tell you accordingly, that, although your Master be a great Emperour, and mighty Prince, I cannot, nor may not, suffer him to bear down and destroy the Realm of *France*, which is our true Inheritance, and for which our Brother and Ally, the French King, payes us yearly a great Pension and Tribute, wherefore we, of Justice and equity, must maintain that Land, out of which wee have so faire a Rent, and such a profit. The Provost of *Casselles* replying hereunto, told the King; That the antient love and friendship which hath been betwixt your Realme and the house of *Burgundy*, *Flanders*, and the Low-Countries, is now so confirm'd and rooted in their hearts, that I assure your Grace, that, next their Sovereign Lord, they would soonest live and die with you. In which regard hee hoped, that no New Alliance could corrupt and change this so long settled and inveterate

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Amity. Which yet we say not out of Fear, as being well furnished for War, but out of that true affection, which we have ever born you. Therefore, though we offer you choice of War, or Peace, yet the Emperour intends no more herein, than to leave you the abutement of both. And thus much I will confesse out of my Instructions, that if you choose War, we have yet Commission in fitting Termes to sue for Peace; And, if you choose Peace, we have likewise Commission to thank you for it, and to offer both us and ours at your command. *Hugo de Mendoza*, to second this, said, that, of very right, the Emperour and his Dominions ought to have your love and favour before the French King and his Nation. Since the French had never applyed themselves to you, but in the time of their necessitie; whereas the love on our part hath been ever inviolable. This was an age, in which much Honour, and some Good-nature was to be found. Therefore our King, returning to his former affection to *Charles* (and the rather that he found so much was deferr'd to his mediation, in the affaires of *Francis*, as is above related) and, besides, having an eye on the busineses of *Scotland* (as will appear hereafter) and, howsoever, being desirous to conserve his Style and Dignitie of Arbitrator, told them, that, as he well perceiv'd the intent of their coming, so he would be well advis'd, how to make them a fitting answer; saying, that, in the mean while he was content there should be a Truce for a time; wherewith the Flemish Ambassadors returned home, well-satisfied that they had obtained this respite. The King, hereupon, adviseth with his Counsaillors; among whom, though those, who adhered to *Woolsey*, did perswade a Warre, yet the greater part (who did secretly disaffect the Cardinall) told the King, That the Resultance of Warre in the Low Countries could be nothing but a grievance to his Subjects, a decay of Trade, a diminution of his Customes, and addition to the greatnesse of *France*, who would have the advantage of all that was undertaken in this kind. Which being duly considered, it was thought fit to make an abstinence from Warre for eight moneths, and untill it appear'd (upon consultation betwixt the Emperours Ambassadors, and his) how a Generall peace might be made. Hereupon Letters were sent, not only to *Spaine*, and *Flanders*, but to *France*, manifesting the reasons, why the King had, for a while, suspended this Warre. In which Estate also the businesse continued, till answer was brought from forraigne parts.

The Bishop of *Bayonne*, resident here on the part of the French King, was no sooner advertiz'd hereof, but he demanded audience; which being obtained, he saith, That, though he doubted not, but his Highnes did well remember the late League, concluded betwixt him and his Brother the French King, which also was ratified and confirm'd by the three Estates of the Realme of *France*, by vertue whereof you have an Annuall Pension and Tribute to a great value paid to you, in consideration whereof, you have promis'd to defend the said Realme against all persons; yet, because it is well knowne to many, that

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that the Emperours Ambassadors have laboured the contrary, disposing your Highnes (all they could) to infringe the said League, I thought it my parr to put your Highnesse in mind thereof, assuring your Highnesse, for the rest, that, whensoever you should begin to make a Warre upon the Emperour and his Subjects, it would be a perpetuall Obligation, not only on him, but on the whole French Nation. The King replied hereunto, that, though it were more easie to enter into Warres, than to end them with Honour and profit, yet that he would preserve inviolable the League and Amity betwixt his Brother of *France*, and himselfe. So that the King, your Master, needs not doubt, but that I will defend his Country to the uttermost of my Power; Though, I must tell you, that, when I could procure him an Honourable, and advantagious Peace, I should think I had deserv'd aswell of him this way, as any other. Wherewith the Ambassador departed well-contented, yet so, as he was in some more uncertainty concerning the intended Warre. Therefore, he solicites the Cardinall, as his Masters best friend, to hasten the Forces, which our King had now in readinesse for a Warre with the Low-Countries; But, as the favour of the Cardinall began now somewhat to decline, so found he not that expedition which he was wont to receive in his addresses. Howsoever, the Warre betwixt the French and Flemmings continued. In which this memorable accident is recorded. That a French Ship lying at *Margate*, being set on by a Flemming, and finding her self too weake, the wind being fair for the River of Thames, packs on all her Sayles, and makes for *London*. The Flemming, as eagerly pursuing her, overtakes and boards her neer the Tower-Wharfe, which Sir *Edmund Walsingham*, Lieutenant of the Tower, perceiving, calls his Men together, and seized on them; where, though the Flemming boldly challenged his prize, yet the Kings Counsell, considering, that (in this place) both of them were under the Kings protection, it was thought fit to dis-misse them freely on either side.

It appeares before, how *Guyenne*, King of Armes, charg'd himselfe with a Message from *Charles* the Emperour unto the King his Master, conteining an affront and kind of challenge, which the said *Charles* had formerly declared to the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*. *Guyenne* having now performed his part; *Francis* could no longer forbear to take notice of it. Yet, because it seems he did not sufficiently apprehend the relation which the said Archbishop of *Bordeaux* made thereof, he requires of him more ample and cleere information. The Archbishop hereupon writes to *Charles*, and craves, that, under his hand, he would set downe what he told him by word of mouth; for the rest, making some excuse, that he did not remember it better. *Charles* answers him, and repeats the words; Shortly after which, *Francis* dispatches *Guyenne* with a Cartell; in the delivery whereof I shall set downe the formes were used, the example being so rare.

Guyenne having obtained a safe conduct from *Charles*, who also commanded

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commanded one *Montalvo*, a Gentleman, for his more security, by the way, to accompany him, comes to *Monçon* in *Aragon*, where *Charles* then was, 7. of June 1528. Having gotten audience the next day, *Charles* sitting in his Throne, and being well attended by his prime Nobility and Prelates, expects him. *Guyenne* comming hereupon to the lower end of a great Hall, puts on his Coate of Armes, and, after five low obeysances made, casts himself on his knees before *Charles*, and speaks thus.

Sire, I beseech your Majestie, that, continuing the good usage I have received hitherto, you will give me leave to performe that, that belongs to my office, and that, this being done, I may have leave safely to returne. *Charles* answered; King of Armes, doe thy duty, and my will is, that thou be alwayes well Treated. Then *Guyenne*, rising up, said;

Sire, The King my Master, being advertised of the words you commanded me to tell him, and of that which, before and after, you have spoken against his Honour, desires so much to justifie it, before all the world, (as in truth he may,) that he hath commanded me, for answer, to present you this Writing, subscribed with his owne hand, which when your Majesty shall please to peruse, you will find, how intirely hee satisfies all. Moreover, your Majestie will bee pleased to give mee leave to returne to the King my Master, for I have no further Commission. This being said, he seem'd to offer a paper unto *Charles*. Before yet *Charles* would take it, he said, King of Armes, ha'st thou Commission from thy King to reade this writing thou bringest? *Guyenne* answered, that he had. Then *Charles* sayd, King of Armes, I have heard that which you have said, and will looke on the writing which you have brought, and will doe in such sort, that my honour shall be preserved. And, for the King your Master, he will have enough to doe to keep his, it being a thing in a manner impossible. As for that which concerns my Justice, my Chancellor here shall deliver it. Then the Chancellor sayd, His Majestie, holding himself to the Protestations made heretofore on his part, protesteth here againe, that, for any thing that either now, or hereafter, he shall say, or doe, he doth not intend to prejudice or derogate from the Rights that belong unto him by the Capitulation of *Madrid*; and that, notwithstanding any breach on this particular occasion, it shall remaine in full force and effect. And that this Protestation shall be understood, as distributed and reparted in all the proceedings, that shall hereafter passe in this matter.

When the Chancellor had spoken this, the Emperour said; King of Armes, although, for many reasons, the King your Master be not capable of doing any Act in this kind, either against me or any else, yet, for the good of Christendome, and avoyding of more effusion of blood, and for giving an end to these Warres, and for no other reason, I doe inable him for this purpose; wherewith he tooke the paper

paper that *Guyenne* held in his hand. Then *Guyenne* said to him; *Sire*, If the Answer that your Majesty shall send to the King my Master be the security of the Field, or Fighting place, and that you please to give it me, I have Commission to bring it, and nothing else. Therefore, your Majesty will be pleased not to force me to any thing else, but the said security of the Field, in which the King my Master will assuredly present himself, with those Armes with which he intends to defend himselfe. And for me, your Majesty will be pleased to let me depart. *Charles* answered; Your Master ought not to prescribe me what I am to doe; I will doe what I have said; for which cause, aswell, as that something may be in this paper, to which I may reply by some particular Messenger, I charge you to procure him, a safe conduct, since you would not come without mine; which *Guyenne* promised; wherewith the Emperour calling *Juan Aleman*, his Secretary, charg'd him to Record all that had been done there. After which *Guyenne* (who seem'd to have taken his leave) said. *Sire*, I have another paper to present your Majestie by the hands of *Seigneur Aleman* your Secretary, if your Majestie be pleased to command him to receive it; which *Charles* likewise permitted. Whereupon all the principall persons present, and lastly *Guyenne* also, subscribed their names unto the Record. This being done, the Emperour commanded his Secretary *Aleman* to read in an high voyce the Cartell delivered by *Guyenne*.

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*The Cartell of Francis the French King to Charles
the Emperour.*

VV Ee *Francis* by the grace of God King of *France*, Lord of *Genoua*, &c. To you *Charles*, by the same grace, Chosen Emperour of the *Romans*, King of *Spaine*, We let you know that being advertis'd, how, in certeine Answers given to our Ambassadors and Kings of Armes, (which for negotiating a peace we sent unto you) you, desiring without reason to excuse your self, have accused us, saying, that you have our Faith plighted to you, and that hereupon contravening our promise we are departed out of your hands and power. For defending of our honour, which herein is, much against truth, impeached, we have thought fit to send you this Cartell; by which although we say, that no man under restraint can plight his Faith, and that, though this excuse is very sufficient, yet, as we desire to give satisfaction to every one, and aswell to our own honour, which we have kept, and will keep (God willing) to the death; We let you know, that, if either you have already, or shall hereafter lay to our charge any thing which may touch our Faith, or Liberty, or that we have done any thing, which a Cavalier that loves his honour ought not doe; We say unto you, that you have Lyed in your throate, and that as many times as you shall say it, you Lye. Being resolv'd to defend our honour to the last period of our life.

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And since, against Truth, you have layed this Imputation on us, write not to us any more, but assure Us the Field, and wee will bring the Armes; Protesting that, if, after this Declaration, you write to any part, or speak any words against our honour, the shame of delaying the Combat shall bee yours, since, being come to these termes, all cause of writing ceaseth.

Martii 28.
1528.
27.

Dated in our good Town and City of Paris
Mart. 28. 1527. before Easter.

Underneath which was plac'd the little Seale of *Francis* in Wax.

Records.

Sandov.

* Mart. 28.

This being the substance of *Francis* his Cartell, was communicated beforehand to our King, who advised him only (as I find in our Records) not to give the Emperour that harsh word of the Lye. In the Paper delivered to the Secretary *Aleman*, a Relation was made of some passages between *Francis*, and the *Seigneur de Granvele*, Ambassadour of *Charles* residing in the French Court, in which *Francis* pretended to excuse his breach of promise, by the constraint and necessitie he was in, saying, among other things, that he yeelded not himselfe to the Emperour, and therefore that he could not accuse him of breach of Faith. It was also declared there, how *Francis* caused the Cartell above-mentioned to be * read publikely before the Emperour's Ambassadour. Moreover, *Francis* laboured to avoyd the imputation layd on him by *Charles* for defying him now, when yet he had made six or seven years war without sending any such Defy. To which therefore he answer'd, that the Ambassadors of *Charles* had defied him first, at *Dijon*, and therefore it would not seem strange if hee defended himself. The rest was little more than some protestations against the late Imprisonment of the Pope, the deteyning of his two Sonnes for Hostages, some Complement for *Henry* King of *England*, some excuses for not having answer'd this businesse sooner; among which, the following, being somewhat extravagant, seems worth the relating: For, whereas *Charles* objected against him, that he kept his promise in *Madrid* better to *Francis*, than *Francis* had done to him, he said he did not remember to have promised any thing there; for, concerning the Concord of *Madrid*, he said, it was set down in Writing; howsoever that he held himself sufficiently discharged from it, in regard he was not at liberty when he Signed it, nor afterwards set free upon his word: (which, in that case only, hee thought himself bound to observe,) for the rest, professing, he could call to mind nothing that might oblige him, but only that he said he would in person assist *Charles* against the Turk, which hee was ready to do likewise with all his Forces; assuring further, that *Charles* should not so soon have his foot in the stirrop for this purpose, but he would be before him in the Saddle. To all which the said Ambassadour replied, hee had no commission to heare, or Treat of these businesses, and therefore desired leave to depart, and safe-conduct, the Emperour his Master

fter having repeal'd him. Whereunto *Francis* answered, that the Emperour his Master had forc'd him to these courtes, and that he did esteeme him so gentile a Prince, that, when he should understand this answer I make him, hee would answer thereunto like a Gentleman, and not like a Lawyer: because, if he did otherwise, he would send a Reply to his Chancellor, by an Advocate, a person of his quality, and an honest Man than he. For your particular, I have thought fit to let you know, that I shall caue you to be accompanied to the Frontiers of my Dominions, to the intent that I may receive my Ambassadors at the time that I dismisle you. This was Signed by *Robert* Secretary to *Francis*.

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Hereupon *Charles* resolves, by *Burgundy* his King of Armes, to send his Reply unto *Francis* bearing date *June 24. 1528.*

June. 24.

The Cartell and reply of Charles the Emperour, to Francis the French King.

C*Charles* by the divine Clemency, Emperour of the *Romans*, King of *Germany* and of *Spaine*, &c. I doe let know to you *Francis*, by the grace of God, King of *France*, that, upon the VIII. of this Moneth of *June*, I received by *Guyenne*, your King of Armes, your Cartell, dated *Mart. 28.* which from a remoter place than *Paris* might have come hither in a shorter time; and conformable to that, which on my part was said to your King of Armes, I answer to that which you say, That in certain answers given by me to the Ambassadors and Kings of Armes, whom for negotiating a Peace you sent unto me, in which you allege, that, for excusing my selfe, without cause, I have accused you; I reply, that I have not seen any King of Armes on your part, but him that came to *Burgos*, to denounce War against me. And as for my selfe, having err'd in nothing, there is no need to excuse my selfe. But for you, it is your owne Faults that accuse you. And whereas you mention the plighting of your Faith to me, you say true, when you understand thereby the Capitulation of *Madrid*; where it appeares, by certaine writings subscribed with your owne hand, that you would returne to be my true prisoner, in case you did not accomplish all, which by the said Capitulation was promised. But, that I should say as you mention in your Cartell, that you, having plighted your Faith unto me, did, contrary to your promise, goe away, and escape my hands, and power, they are words which I never said, because I never pretended to hold your Faith, so, as not to go away, but to return in the form that was agreed. And if you made this good, you should neither be wanting to your Children, nor that which you owe unto your honour. And to that you say, that, for defence of your honor (which in this case shou'd, much against truth, be impeach'd,) you have thought fit to send your Cartell, by which you say, that although no Man under ward or restraint can plight

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his Faith, and that this excuse is very sufficient; Notwithstanding, as you desire to give satisfaction to every one, and as well unto your own honour, which you say, you have kept, and will keep (God-willing) unto the death, and thereupon doe let me know, that, if either I have already, or shall hereafter lay to your charge any thing which may touch your Faith or liberty, or that you have done any thing which a Cavallier that loves his honour ought not to doe, you say that I have Lyed in my throat, and, as many times as I shall say it, that I Lye. And that you are resolv'd to defend your honour to the last period of your life:

To this I Answer, that, considering the forme of the Capitulation, your excuse for being under restraint can have no place, but, since you make so small account of your honour, I doe not wonder that you deny your self to be obliged to accomplish your promise; for your words cannot vindicate your honour. Therefore I have said, and will say (without Lying,) That you have done *Laschement* and *Meschament*, in not keeping the Faith you gave me, according to the Capitulation of *Madrid*. And, in saying this, I doe not charge you with things secret, or impossible to prove, since they appeare by Writings, signed by your hand, which you can neither excuse, nor deny: And if you will affirme the contrary, (since I have released and enabled you only for this Combat) I say, that for the good of Christendome, and for avoiding the effusion of blood, and for putting an end to this Warre, and to defend my just demand, I shall, in my person maintaine against yours, that, that, which I say, is true. But I will not returne to you the Language you give me; since both your Actions (without that I or any else spake of them) make you a Lyar, and that it is more easy a far off to talk in this manner, than neer at hand. And, as for that which you say, that, since, against Truth, I have lay'd this imputation on you, that from henceforth I should write no more, but that I should assure you the Field, and that you will bring the Armes, I say, you must have patience a while, till I have layd your Actions open to you, and untill I have writ you this Answer, by which I say, that I accept the appointing of the Field, and that I am content to assure it on my part, by all the reasonable wayes that can be devised; And, for this effect, and for the better expedition thereof, I doe now name the place for the said Combat, to be upon the River, which passeth between *Fuentarabie* and *Andaja*, in that part, and after that manner, which by agreement on both sides, shall be thought most secure and convenient: And, it seems that in reason you ought not to refuse this, or say it is not secure enough, since there you were set Free, upon giving your Sonnes for Hostages, with your Faith and promise to returne. And considering as well that in the same River you did entrust your person, and your Children; You may be confident now to hazard your owne only, Since I will as well hazard mine. And means shall be found out that, Notwithstanding the Situation of the

the place, neither of us shall have advantage of the other. And for this purpose, aswell as for the election of Armes, (which I pretend of right to belong to me and not to you) And because in the Conclusion of this busines no trifling or delay may bee admitted, we may send Gentlemen; on both parts to view the said place: with sufficient power to Treat and agree, aswell concerning the security of the Field, as the choice of Armes, the day of Combat, and the rest that belongs hereunto. And, if within the space of XL. dayes after the delivery hereof, you neither answer nor advertise me of your intention herein, it will sufficiently appeare, that the delay is on your part, which therefore shall be imputed, and layd to your charge, together with the default of not having accomplish'd that which you promised in *Madrid*. And whereas you protest, that if, after this Declaration, I say or write words Contrary to your honour, that the shame of delay of Combat shall be mine, since when matters are brought to these termes, all Cause of writing ceaseth: your Protestations might have bin well spared; since you cannot forbid me to say Truth, though it grieve you. And that aswell I am asur'd that the shame of delaying the Combat will not rest on me, since all the World may Witnesse the desire I have to see an end thereof.

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At Monçon in Aragon June 28. 1528.

This also was certified under the hand and Seale of *Burgundy* King of Armes, who, together carryed, in a paper, the fourth Article of the Concord of *Madrid*. And, moreover, in a publique writing, declar'd that his Imperiall Majestie commanded him, with all speed, to require an Answer thereof. And that he should offer his service for bringing of it, if *Francis* so thought fit. Yet the said if King would not send it but by another, then that he should assure *Francis*, on the part of his Imperiall Majestie, that the said Messenger might come securely; And that a safe-Conduct should be made him if he desired it; Although his Imperiall Majestie did not thinke it necessary for a King of Armes, as being a privileg'd person. And, besides this, that he the said *Burgundy* should give to *Robertet* Secretary to the King of *France*, or any other, whom the said King should appoint, an Answer, in writing, to that which *Guyenne* gave in presence of his Imperiall Majestie, and, by his consent, to the Secretary *Aleman*. The Tenor of which writing being long, and conteyning little in it, but what is formerly set downe, I shall passe over. And the rather, that it took no more effect. Neverthelesse, I must not omit to say, that the excuse of *Francis* was not generally approved, nor his Carrell thought just. For if a Prisoner of Warre may avoid his promise, because he is under constraint, it would follow, that few or none would be taken, but rather kild upon the place; which would make the Warre not only more bloody and barbarous, but even destroy a principall part of that *Jus Gentium*, which in these cases hath been inviolably observ'd in all times. So that if

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Francis had excus'd his not returning by being a publique person, and had said that his Obligation by Oath, when he was crown'd, unto his people and Kingdome was a greater tye than that of his particular honour; And, together, had alledged, that he could not obteine their consent, either to performe his promise for restitution of *Burgundy*, or otherwise to goe single out of his Kingdome; It was thought, by some, he might have Vindicated himself in great part, and, indeed, layd some imputation on *Charles*, for demanding things impossible to performe. But I come to that which ensued; according to an Act which *Burgundy* gave under his hand and Seale, as Authentique, for the justifying of the Emperour his Masters reputation.

Sandoz.

July 1.

This *Burgundy*, comming to *Fuentarabie*, sends a Trumpet 1. July 1528. to Monsieur de St. Bonnet Governour of *Bayonne*, for the safe-Conduct which *Guyenne* had promised. The Governour excused himself, as not having Commission; yet as *Burgundy* persisted in his demand, the said Governour, about VIII. dayes afterwards, sent him word, that his safe-conduct was ready, if he brought security of the Field to *Francis*; requiring further to know if his Commission extended to any thing else. To which *Burgundy* answer'd, about VII. dayes after, that the Emperour his Master had commanded him not to declare his Message to any, but *Francis*: and that, therefore, he had dispatch'd a *Courrier* to his Imperiall Majestie to know what Answer I should make, who hath commanded me, hereupon, to let you know, that I doe bring the security of the Field, and other things that concerne the Combat, and Answer to the Cartell of the King your Master. To which, the next day following, the Governour answered againe, that, if he brought the security of the Field, and nothing else, he should advertize him, and he would presently send a Gentleman to Conduct him to the King his Master. To which about IX. dayes after, *Burgundy* answer'd, that he did bring the security of the Field, and the rest did concerne only the Combat, and the hastning thereof; which being so, he said he ought not to be denyed, or prohibited to do his office, since it was a thing never known, that any should speake to one, and yet not heare his Answer; as if it were enough, for defending of ones honour, to send a Cartell, without doing, or suffering any thing else. For which reason, and because the Emperour is desirous to shew that he is in earnest, he did require him this time for all, that, without more delay, he might receive his safe-conduct, as *Guyenne* had in the like Case, and that, if he were delay'd, he protested that he had done all that was convenient for the discharge of the dignity of the Emperour his Master, which you know of what importance it is, and so expected his speedy Answer. No answer being return'd hereunto in the space of IX. dayes more, (notwithstanding that the Governour had promised to send a Trumpet with an Answer) *Burgundy* thought fit to remember him of that promise, and therefore sends a Trumpet againe; to

to which (as the Spanish History hath it) St. Bonet made no other Answer, but bid him returne no more, and that *Fuesse con el diablo*; Yet, as *Burgundy* would not depart so, at last the Governour of *Bayonne* sent him a Letter Dated *August XVII. 1528.* which declar'd, that the King his Master was offended with him, for having deferr'd the giving him safe-conduct so long, which therefore hee promised to send him when he desir'd it; which *Burgundy* requiring out of hand, the Governour sent him. Whereupon *Burgundy* (who put on his Coat of Armes as soone as he was in the French Territories) came to *Bayonne*, where he protested to the Governour, that the demanding safe-conduct should be no derogation to his privilege belonging to him as King of Armes; and so, continuing his Journey, he came to *Estampes*, 2. September, where *Guyenne* attended him; staying yet there VII. dayes, before he was permitted to goe to *Paris*, (the King passing all that time in Hunting.) Being at length conducted to *Paris*, hee would have worne his Coate of Armes, but was not suffered, it being told him, it was *Cosa de un San Nicholas de Aldea*, which I interpret, A thing not to be shew'd but upon Holy-dayes or in a Countrey Church.

But *Burgundy* protesting against this usage, (as being contrary to the privileges of his place) those who Conducted him went to the King, who, after some space, return'd, bringing with them two Notaries, to Record what pass'd; before whom they said, that, if he desir'd to enter into *Paris* in his Coat of Armes, he would be in great danger of the people; and therefore, if any inconvenience follow'd, he must not lay it to their charge. Notwithstanding which, some persons being sent to secure him, he put on his Coat of Armes, and, the next day, obtained Audience of the King; Who in a great Sale (or Hall) sat on his Throne, being attended by many Princes, Prelates, and Gentlemen; Our Ambassadors also being present, to whom (as I find in our Records) He then shew'd the Order of the Garter upon his leg, saying to them, that, seeing he went about an Act, wherein consisted the Honour of Knighthood, he thought he could not use a better Remembrance, than the said Garter. *Burgundy* now beginning to make his obeysance, the King, without giving him time to speake, said, King of Armes, hast thou perform'd thy office as thou ought'st hetherunto? thou knowest what thou hast written in thy Letters; dost thou bring me the security of the Field, according to that which in my Cartell I writ to the Emperour thy Master? he relpied, *Señor sí*, or yeas, will you be pleased that I performe my office, and say what the Emperour commandeth me? The King answered hereunto, No, unlesse you give me first a Patent sign'd with your hand, that may containe the security of the Field, and nothing else. For thou knowest well the Contents of thy safe-conduct. The Herauld there beginning to speake, and saying, *Sire*, The Sacred Majestie of the Emperour — The King interrupted him, and said, I tell thee, that thou must not speake to me of any thing, because

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August 17.

September 2.

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because I have nothing to do with thee, but with thy Master; yet when thou shalt have given his Patent, and that the Field may be well assur'd me, then will I give thee licence to say what thou wilt, and not otherwise. Then he said, *Sire*, It was Commanded me, that I should read it, and afterwards give it you, if you be pleas'd to give me leave so to doe; or that having given it you first, I should afterwards doe what I am Commanded. Then the King rose suddenly from his Throne, speaking angerly; What? do's thy Master thinke to establish new Customes in my Land? I will none of these Hypocrisies. He answer'd then, *Sire*, I am assur'd that the Emperour will doe all that a brave and vertuous Prince ought to doe. The King replied hereunto, that he thought so well of him, he did believe he would do so. Wherewith *Monsieur de Montmorency*, who was the *Grand Maître*, began to say some what to the King, which the said King of Armes understood not; but the King passionatly replied, No, No, I will not give him leave, unlesse I have the surety of the Field; without which (he said) he should returne as he came; and so bids the King of Armes speake no more unto him. Yet he replied, *Sire*, if you will not suffer me, I cannot doe my office, nor give you the Cartell of the Emperour, without your leave, which once again I aske; and if you will not give it me, because I may not erre in my Relation, I pray you give me by writing, that you deny it, reserving me yet your safe-Conduct to returne. Then *Francis* said, I will that it be given you, where with all the Herauld departed. He then sollicit *Montmorency*, the *Grand Maître*, to obtaine leave for him once more to deliver the Emperours Cartell. Notwithstanding which, he receiv'd no other Answer, but that the King would grant him no audience, since his Commission was expir'd. Therefore that he might depart when it pleas'd him. Then *Burgundy* protested that the fault was not in him, and much lesse in the Emperour his Master, and that the Emperour his Master would publish this in all places where he thought fit. Then the Secretary offer'd him a Relation of the businesse, which yet he would not receive, in regard some passages were omitted, and particularly the harsh words, wich the King gave him. Wherewith *Burgundy* return'd, and, at his comming to Court, delivered this Relation to the Emperour under his hand and Seale: Which also I have follow'd, not that I would shew any partiality to either side, but that it is the most particular, that I could meet with, among the severall Relations that are extant, and, for the most part, agreeing with them.

Charles now considering what remain'd to be done for discharge of his honour, brought the businesse to his Counsaile of State and Warre; who all agreed, that the Refusall of *Francis* to heare the Reply to his Cartell had given end to this businesse; and, for the rest, that it was sufficient to certifie certain principall persons, both at home, and abroad, of all these passages.

And this was the end of the Cartells and Pundonnors betwixt these

these two great Princes; not for want of Courage, (in which both undoubtedly abounded) but for not being able to agree sufficiently between themselves concerning the Lawes of Duell, of which therefore men spake, in that age, diversly, according to their severall affections; yet so, as few disinterested persons denyed, but that (notwithstanding the punctualities of *Francis*) *Charles* had behav'd himselfe like a Gentile Cavallier.

Whilst our King and the French, were in that good intelligence which is above mentioned, it might seeme probable that *Scotland* should be quiet; Their best support ever comming from that Country. Yet such was the power of the *Dowglasses* at that time, that they seem'd to sway all things. For as they held a strict guard about the King, they made use of his authority for their owne ends. And particularly the Earle of *Angus* their chiefe. Neverthelesse, as Queen *Margaret* had lately obtained at *Rome* a Divorce from the said Earle, and, thereupon, marryed *Henry Stuart*, (shortly after created Lord *Messen*,) she drew many of the prime Nobility against him. Who yet attempting the Kings delivery by force, were defeated neer *Lithquo*, and the Earle of *Lenox* slaine. Howbeit the King by night slipping away from *Angus*, to the Castle of *Sterling*, resolves to summon a Parliament, and exaustrate the *Dowglasses*; Sending a Letter also to our King, to this purpose, (as our Records tell us.) That the Earle of *Angus*, being made one of the chiefe about his Person, had wrought the exclusion of the rest, and got the whole guiding of his Person for two yeares; in which time many evill adventures happened. Moreover, that he conspired his Slaughter. This being done, he appoints the Parliament to be held *September 4*. Where the *Dowglasses* being now deprived of their public offices and places, not only refused to come, but indeavoured by all meanes to dissolve this meeting. Therefore, hearing the King was departed out of *Edenbrough*, they sent some Troupes of Horse to seize on it; which likewise they had perform'd, but that *Robert Maxwell*, by the Kings Command, prevented them. Hereupon *Angus* retired to his own Castle, being about XIII. Miles distant. The King understanding hereof, comes to *Edenbrough*; where, by Vote of the Parliament, the Earl of *Angus*, *George* his Brother, *Archibald* his Uncle, and *Alexander Dromond*, their dear friend, were Condemned, and their goods confiscate, and Proclamation sent forth, that whosoever reciv'd them in house, or otherwise reliev'd them, should bee subject to the same punishment. Shortly after which *William* (an other Brother of the Earl, and Abbot of *Holyrood*) languish'd and at last dyed of grieve. Into whose place succeeded a Man, who, to avoid the Cryme of being a *Simoniack*, used this Notable trick, as *Buchanan* hath it, For, hearing that the said *William* was at the point of death, he layes a great summe of Money, as a wager, with the King, that hee should not have the Donation of the next Abby that fell. The King (though young) understood his meaning; and, as he wanted Money

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Buch.

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Buch.

at that time, was content to win the wager, and lose the Abby. The *Douglasses* despairing now of mercy, spoile and forrage the Country even to the gates of *Edenbrough*; nor was all their prey by Land; for a ship, laden with pretious Merchandize, being driven by a tempest on that Coast, was rifled by them, and the chiefe Merchandize taken away; Among which, some quantitie of Cinnamon which was left in the bottome of the Ship, being taken, the vulgar sort, not knowing the use thereof, burnt it for fewell in their houses, as *Buchanan* hath it. The more discontented sort of the Kingdome hearing that the *Douglasses* were thus in armes, joyn with them. The King understanding this, and together finding that their Numbers and power did daily increase, advis'd to raise Forces for taking a Castle of the *Douglasses* (For which purpose he got Ordnance and Munition from *Dunbar*,) in which *John* Duke of *Albany* late Viceroy held Garrison. Hee could not yet take the Castle.

Octob.

Our King hearing of these stirs, sends some Ambassadors in *October* 1528, to treat of an accommodacion; Neither was *Francis* averse, as desiring to dispose our King to a war against *Charles*. The difficulties yet, were such, that all that could be obtain'd, was, a Truce for five years more, upon Condition, that the *Douglasses* should deliver their Castles up, the King giving them some other Conditions; Which yet being not in all points observed, they were forced to forsake their Country, and fly into *England*, where our King entertain'd them with a Pension, and, at all occasions, mediated their Restitution; which at last (but not till the death of *James* the fifth) he effected (as will appear :) Howbeit *Alexander Dromond* was received into favour; though, whether for his own merit, or to divide him from the *Douglasses* is uncertain, for *James Coluit*, one of their friends, and the late Abbot of *Holy-rood*, notwithstanding (his bought Title) were banisht from Court.

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E. Camp. Hist.
1cel.

The busineses of *Ireland* passed thus. The Earle of *Kildare* formerly-mention'd, being restored to his place of Deputy, was yet still persecuted by the Earle of *Ossory*, upon pretext of favouring the Earle of *Desmond*; who, upon the Treaty hee made first with the French King, and afterwards with the Emper our to attempt *Ireland*, was declared Traytor. This prevail'd so farre, that *Kildare* was sent for to the Councell-Table 1527. where the Cardinall, his old Enemy, de-claymed against him. But he wittily and boldly defended himselfe, as our History, and especially *Campion* hath it at large. Howbeit hee was committed, and more Accusations produced against him; and particularly, that the Invasion his Brethren had made upon the Earle of *Ossory*, now the Kings Deputy, proceeded from him; whereof also being convict, he was condemned, and reprimed in the Tower. At which, the Cardinall offended, sends the Lieutenant a Warrant for his Execution. But the Lieutenant, favouring *Kildare*, acquainted our King therewith; who, thereupon, not only respited his death, but some while after pardoned and sent him home to his Country:

Checking

Checking the Cardinall in the mean time not a little, for his presumption.

1528.

I shall now return to speak of the affaires of Religion in *Germany*, which *Luther* more than any of the other Reformers did govern, which credit also that he might dilate and conserue, he had, a good while since, written to our King, a kind of Apologie for the disrespectful Answer made to his Book; offering, for satisfaction, in some publike writing to acknowledge (together with his own presumption) the Kings singular worth. In this Letter, among other things, he saies he Understood that the King was not the Author of the booke, which, under his name, came forth against him, but certain Sophisters, who, to insinuate themselves into his favour, had put forth the Work under his name; and then calls the Cardinall, *Angliae pestem*. He added also, that he was informed, to his great contentment, *ipsum & fastidire genus illud perditorum hominum, & ad Veri cognitionem animum adjicere*; After which, he inserts a brieft Remonstrance of his Doctrines, and begs a favourable Answer. Our King, having receiv'd this Letter, Answers it sharply, laying Inconstancy and levitie to the charge of *Luther*, and defending his own Book, and the Cardinall, whom, he saith, he should love the better henceforth; and then objects to him his late incestuous Matrimonium with a Nunne. This Answer being also sent the Pope, and printed, *Luther*, who took nothing so ill at this time, as that he should be thought to change any of his Tenents and opinions, layes the fault on *Christierne* King of *Denmarke*, who had given him hope, that our King, being treated gently and respectfully, would embrace the Reformed doctrine: But now that he repented himself of this easie Language, though it were not new to him to lose his labour in this kind; for having written submissively and humbly heretofore to the Cardinall *Cajetan*, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Erasmus*, he had found no successe thereof, but that they were so much the fiercer against him. Howsoever, as his Doctrines had made no little progresse in *Germany*, and that divers who did not manifestly declare themselves his Followers, did yet concur secretly in many of his opinions, *Charles*, for repressing those Tumults, (which alteration of Religion doth commonly produce) thought fit to call an Assembly of the Princes of the Empire, to be held at *Spire*. For though the Decree made at *wormbs* (where *Luther* was condemned) did yet stand in force, the Determinations did not yet appear so conclusive and satisfactory, that either side seem'd quieted therewith.

1529.
Sleud.

1525.

1521.

The Princes meeting at *Spire* in *June* 1526. the Emperours Letters (dated from *Sevil* 23th of *March*) were read to them. Wherein he declared, that he would shortly goe to *Rome*, to be Crowned, and talk with the Pope concerning a Council: In the mean time forbidding them to Innovate ought in Religion, but conform themselves to the Decree of *wormbs*. But the Reformed Cities answered, that the Execution of the Decree of *wormbs* would hazard a sedition among the

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Jun.

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Sleidan.

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March 15.
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people, and that, the Pope now gathering forces against the Emperour, there was little hope of obteyning from him a Generall Council. Therefore, they desir'd the Emperour to permit a Nationall Council of *Germany*, for the settling of Religion; or, if not, at least to suspend the Decree of *Wormbs*, till a generall Council be call'd. Things thus tending to an open dissention, the Turk invading *Hungary* on the one part, and the French and Italians Confederating against *Charles* on the other, *Ferdinand*, (the Emperours Deputy in this Diet) thought fit to condescend to a Decree to this effect; That there was great need of a Council, either Generall, or of the German Nation; and that it should begin within a yeare, which the Emperour was to be intreated to grant. As concerning Religion, and the Decree of *Wormbs*, that, till one of those Councils bee call'd, every Prince and State so behave themselves, as they may give a probable account of their Actions, to God and the Emperour. After this, a violent war betwixt the Emperour and French, the sacking of *Rome*, and Captivity of the Pope, (as is before related) discomposing all things, the Lutherans (or as they stiled themselves the Evangeliques) increased in *Germany*, without that *Charles* thought it convenient to indeavour their suppression. Till at length, returning to good termes with the Pope, and an overture being made for an Accord with the French, he returns to the care of Religion, and, by Letters dated at *Valledolid* August 1. 1528. appoints a Diet at *Spire*, to Commence in February 1529. where though (he said) he could not, for his great occasions, be present, yet he had intreated his brother *Ferdinand*, *Frederick* the *Palatine*, and some others to appeare for him. This Diet yet, did not begin till *March* following: to which the discreet and peaceable *Melancthon* was, with much honour, brought by the Elector of *Saxony*. Many other Princes and great persons also came thither; among which not a few were unresolv'd enough in either beliefe, till controversies in Religion were better disputed, whereof yet they could find no end. For as long as in any Angle of the world there was either a new Opinion, to examine, or Antient error, to reforme, they wanted not a just exercise for their Curiosity. At last the former Decree of *Spire* 1526. was examined; In which, because it was then agreed, that, as concerning the Decree of *Wormbs*, and matter of Religion (in the mean time) till one of these Councils were held, every Prince and State should so behave themselves, as they may give a probable reason of their Actions, to God and the Emperour; The Emperour now, alleging it was misunderstood by divers, and desiring that this might be interpreted, propos'd the settling thereof, in this manner.

That all, who have obeyed the Emperours Edi& at *Wormbs* hitherto, should continue to obey it, untill a Council were called, which was promis'd with all speed possible. That they who had so farre entertain'd any new Doctrine, that they could not without danger leave it, should yet stay there, without multiplying Opinions, or printing

New

New and Offensive Bookes; (according to the Decree at *Noremburg* 1524.) That the Antient Tenent about the Eucharist, and the Masse, should be held. That they who would goe to the Masse should not be hindered. That Preachers follow that interpretation of the Scriptures which the Church hath received and approved; abstaining from Controverted points, which should be determined by the Councill. In the mean while, that difference of Opinion in matters of Religion should not be a breach of Peace, or occasion of wrong on either side. That no Prince should receive the subjects of the other into his protection. That they who did otherwise, should be under the *Bann*, (or proscrib'd.) But the Anabaptists were more shrewdly dealt withall, it being agreed, that they, who with pertinacie did maintain that Doctrine, should be put to death.

Many things yet were dislik'd herein by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the Dukes of *Lunenburg*, the Landgrave of *Hessen*, and divers others. Therefore they protested against it; and first they said, That the formet Diet of *Spire* was more favourable, as permitting every one the exercise of his Religion, till a Councill in *Germany*, or, otherwise, a Generall Councill were call'd; and that there was no reason to vary from it, unlesse another more Convenient were Accorded. That, in the Assembly of *Noremburg*, they had deliver'd many Grievances to the Popes Legat, for which yet no remedy was given, nor, indeed, could be expected, untill the said Councill were call'd. As for the Masse, that it was sufficiently convicted by the Ministers of their Churches, and the Eucharist after the true manner restored. Wherefore, that they could by no means admit, that either they or their Subjects should be present at the Masse; since, when the use thereof might be received in their Churches, yet if two divine services, so discrepant, should be Celebrated in the same place, much ill example and scandall must follow. And for the point of the Eucharist, that though there were difference among the Reformed, yet that none ought to be condemned, unheard. As for the Article, which prescribeth the Gospell to be interpreted according to the ordinary and received Doctrine of the Church, that it was well-stated, when the true Church were first defin'd, untill which, they would labour to interpret one place of Scripture by the other. That the last Decree at *Spire* was made for the sake of Peace and Concord, but not this; and, therefore, that they altogether protested against it. In the mean while (untill this Generall or Provinciall Councill for *Germany* were call'd) they promis'd to doe nothing, that might justly be reprov'd. As for keeping of Peace, the taking of that which belongs to others, Anabaptists, and printing of Books, they said, they knew very well what was to be done.

This Protestation of the Princes being communicated to the chief Townes of *Germany*, (among which *Strasburg*, *Noremburg*, *Vlm*, *Constance*, *Roteling*, *Winseim*, *Memingen*, *Lindaw*, *Kempton*, *Hailbrun*, *Norlingen*, *Sangall*, and divers others are numbred) they all

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joynd so together, that, the name of Protestants tooke thence its originall; which name therefore (properly taken) seems to imply no more, than one resolv'd to embrace the above-mention'd Tenents, till some Lawfull Councill, either Generall or Provinciaall, determined the contrary. *Ferdinand*, finding matters thus not to fort to that effect he desir'd, departs, out of the Assembly betimes, though much entreated by the Elector of *Saxony*, and the rest, to stay, which he refusing, they appeal'd to the Emperour, and future Councill.

1528.
Jan.

Let us now see what was done in *Italie* this while; The Pope, though escaped, was not yet suddenly provided with Counsell or Money. For as the Obligation he had to comply with the League, form'd in his defence, aswell as desire of Revenge, made him Correspond with *Lautrech*, so feare of returning againe to imprisoment, caus'd him to proceed so warily, that one might doubt his intentions. Therefore he kept *Lautrech* still in much suspence; saying one while he desired an Universall peace, then excused himselfe for want of Men, Money, and Authority. Neverthelesse, if the seat of Warre might be transferred out of the Patrimony of the Church, he said he would advise what was to be done. But here also, he knew not how to resolve. For as the Warre of *Milan* was, in a manner, ended, so himself had an eye upon the Kingdome of *Naples*, and for *Florence*, it was his Native Countrey. Besides, he was sufficiently informed, that *Francis*, when he might have hope to recover his Children by faire meanes, would not assist him. All which reasons made him so temporise, even to the giving suspition of deserting the League, whereof himself was Author. Hereupon *Lautrech* staid at *Bononia*, attending both Men to reinforce his Army, and further instructions. But as *Charles* and *Francis* came to no agreement, so he was commanded to proceed with his Army; In which Sir *Robert Jerningham*, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber both to King *Henry*, and *Francis*, had the command of 200. Horse, paid by our King. Whereupon the Imperiallists, knowing how much it concern'd them to defend the Kingdome of *Naples*, retir'd thither, with a small remnant of their Army. Where they had enough to doe, both as they were to resist the French, and as the people, desirous of Novelty (after their giddy manner, when either they thinke themselves oppressed, or that, otherwise, they hope for a milder Government) were ready to revolt, which also appear'd so much, that, long before *Lautrech* came to divers Townes, they yielded themselves, sending their keyes a dayes Journey before them. The first that made head against them, was the Prince of *Aurange*. But as his forces were much inferiour to the French, he, at last, retir'd to *Naples*; where yet he was so hated by *Hugo de Moncada*, and the Spanyards, that he was in danger of having the Gates shut against him. *Lautrech* now, pursuing his good fortune, besieges *Melfi*. But as a number of Labourers and Husbandmen, unapt for war, were shut in it, so their fears and noyses, while the Souldiers defended the Walls, madethem retire to the

Bell.

Bell.
Febr.

the Castle, as thinking they had other enemies within. Whereof the French taking advantage, entred, and sack'd the Town, making the Prince of *Melfi*, his Lady, and children Prisoners. After which, divers other places yeelded to the French, till they came to *Naples*, which was *April 17.* or as others say *May 1. 1528.* And now their Army seem'd terrible; both as it was reinforc'd by some Regiments of *Suisse*, and as the Inhabitants of *Naples* favour'd them. While that of the Spaniards was no greater, than what the walls of *Naples*, and some little places in the Confines thereof did hold. Howbeit, as *Lautrech* considered that divers brave Commanders for the Imperialists were of this number, he did not think fit to invest the Town by Land, till he had block'd it up by Sea. Therefore *Philippino Doria*, Lieutenant to *Andrea Doria*, was commanded, with eight Gallies, to ride before the Haven. This troubled much the besieged, for all the hope they had either of Victuals or Reliefe was on that part. *Hugo de Moncada*, considering this, puts forth with a few Gallies in that Port against *Doria*, and begins a furious Fight; the successe whereof was, that he lost, at once, both victory and life, and about 700 more with him; *Alonso de Avalos Marquis del Vasto*, *Ascanio de Colonna*, and some others of Note, being taken prisoners. This as it added great Courage to the French, so it occasioned some benefits to the Imperialists, both as it tooke away the Competition betwixt *Moncada* and the Prince of *Aurange*, (who now commanded in chief,) and as it opened a way (as shall appeare afterwards) for gaining *Andrea Doria* unto the Emperours service.

The siege continued yet foure Moneths; *Lautrech*, as being Master of the Field, desiring rather to take the City by famine, than by the sword. And now the victuals were almost all consum'd; When the Prince of *Aurange* thought fit to send *Hernando de Gonzaga* with about 5000 Foot, and 700 Horse, with divers Carts, to forrage and get provision, but they also were defeated, and the Carriages taken from them. Howbeit *Naples* held out still.

This while *Antonio de Leyva* recovers *Pavia*, *Novarra*, and *Biagras*, and divers other places, taken by *Lautrech*; and so joyn'd with the Duke of *Brunswick*, who came with 15000 Germans, and 500 Horse, to serve the Emperour. These two agreeing together to besiege *Lodi*, found such gallant resistance, that they were at last constrained to desist, and the rather, that they heard, the Count de *St. Paul*, with a strong Army of *Suisse* and French, was on his way to relieve it. Besides, the Germans, who came with *Brunswick*, having not their pay at the time appointed, did for the most part return, so that the French, by joyning with the Duke of *Urbino*, made themselves quickly masters of the Field, recovering again all the places *Antonio de Leyva* had taken, and together with them the Fatall *Pavia*. But see upon what Engines Fortune now turn'd! *Philippino Doria*, Victorious and Triumphant, being come to *Sorrento*, to cure his hurt Souldiers, and repaire his Gallies, *Lautrech* sends *Giovanni Joakim* to require

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require the Prisoners, as being taken in the name, and for the service of the King his Master: *Philippino*; though receiving this Message with great indignation, yet dissembled it for the present, saying only, he could determine nothing, without acquainting his Uncle *Andrea Doria*, whose Lieutenant he was. But this was only to get time. For he expected a Reward, before he would leave his Prisoners. Which also, or at least the hope of it, *Lautrech* should have given, before hee demanded them. This error therefore cost deare. For *Philippino*, who took pay chiefly to give prooffe of his Vertue, and therefore would serve but for a time (now almost expired) was not to bee treated in this fashion. As the French found soon after. For, employing his thoughts at this present more how to gain his own liberty, than to leave his Prisoners, He found means to retire himself to a place of more surety; Where, upon private Conference with his Prisoners, he found, that he could make more profit of them from the Spanish, than the French side. In conclusion, *Andrea Doria* also being solicited by the Prince of *Aurange* to change Master (as soon as his terme was out) he begins to listen; and the rather that so good conditions were offer'd him from *Charles*; and, particularly, an Estate in the Kingdome of *Naples*. Hee would not yet leave the French abruptly, nor before hee had gotten some pretext for it. Therefore he sent to the French Court, to demand satisfaction for the Ransome of the Prince of *Aurange*, taken before *Marseilles*, and others during the siege of *Pavia*. Hee also requir'd that *Genoua* might be restor'd to its superiority over *Savona*. Which demands being brought to the Chancellor *du Prat* and disliked, it was thought fit to send *Antoine de la Roche-Fouchault*, with Commission to seize on the Person and Gallies of *Doria*. Notice whereof being secretly given him, *Doria*, leaving the French Gallies to their new Commander, withdrew himself with his own, to the Emperour's service; who, for obliging him the more, promised to restore *Genoua* his native Country to its former liberty, and to make him Generall of the Imperiall Navy. Thus did the French lose *Doria*, only because they knew not how to use him according to his Condition, it behoving them, as he was generous, to have dealt more gently with him; and as Mercenary, more cautiously; especially, when he might make so much benefit by revolting to the other side.

Jul. 10.

Sandov.

* April 25.

Aug. 15.

While this Treaty was on foot, *Pietro Lando*, with thirty Venetian Gallies, blocks up *Naples* by Sea: so that now it seem'd impossible for it to hold out; yet the hand of God is above all. For a kind of Pestilence, (which *Sandoval* calls *Negra* or black) so universally seized on the French, that they diminished daily in great numbers, and among them * *Sir Robert Feringham*: whose company, therefore, was given to Master *John Carew*, his Lieutenant, who yet dyed there of the same disease. At last also *Lautrech* himself, (A brave Commander, but withall noted to be so opinionate, that he would, alone, have the glory, or shame of all his actions) dyed of the disease, and huge numbers of others; which so disheartned the French, that the weak remain-

remainders, wanting (besides their health) Money, victuall, &c. raised the Siege, and retir'd homewards. And thus, successively, were two great Armies consum'd with the Plague, without other force; as it usually happens, when people, not acquainted with the Temper, Wines, and Fruits of a Country, live licentiously. They could not yet retire so quietly, but that the Imperialists follow'd them, and took divers Prisoners, and, among others, the old and weak *Pietro Navarra*. The Marquis of *Saluces*, who undertook (after *Lautrech*) the government, yet held *Aversa* for some while; though, at last, hee was constrained to yeeld it together with himselfe. In sequence whereof all other places the French held in those parts were surrender'd, save a few the Venetians fortified. *Genoua* also was constrained to yeeld it self, and shake off the French yoke, by the means of *Andrea Doria*, who hearing that the plague had chased almost all the Inhabitants thence, enters it by Sea, and forceth *Theodoro de Trevulci* to a Composition, by which he was to forsake the Town. The *Genouesi*, hereupon, were restor'd to their former liberty, and *Savona*, not long after, taken by them. The Count *St. Paul*, finding affaires thus to goe ill on the French side, thought to repaire them by surprising *Milan*, upon intelligence with certain Citizens there. But bringing provision of Victuals only for twenty four hours, and no Artillery, he gave off his enterprize, and retir'd to *Alexandria*, with intention to passe there the rest of the Winter, 1528.

As the Plague destroyed the French in *Italie*, the sweating sickness consum'd very many in *England*; it seeming to be but the same Contagion of the aire, varied according to the Clime. It was first known in *England*, 1486. then 1507. then 1517. and now 1528. when it so raged, as it kil'd ordinarily in five or six houres space, invading even the Kings Court, where not only *Sir Francis Pointz*, *Sir William Compton*, and *Mr. William Cary* (two of the Kings Bed-Chamber,) dyed of it; but the King himself was not without danger.

In *Germany* also it did much harme, killing many, and, particularly, interrupting a Conference at *Marpurg*, betwixt *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, concerning the Eucharist.

I shall now come to the businesse of the Divorce; so much vexed by our Writers, that, for satisfaction of the Reader, I have extracted a Relation thereof out of those Originalls, and Authentique Records, that I shall presume to recommend it, for more than an ordinary piece of History.

Our King had now, for many years, enjoyed the Vertuous Queen *Katherine*, without that either scruple of the Validity of their Match, or outward note of unkindnesse had past betwixt them. Nevertheless, as, presently after the Birth of the Princeesse (who alone of all their Children survived) *Luther* and others, controverted the Authority, and extent of the Papall Jurisdiction, so in this Kingdome, the Dispensation of *Julius* the second for the aforesaid Marriage, heing, privately, question'd, many of our learned Men concluded it void,

1528.

Sleid. l. 6.

1516.
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Hall.

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as being granted in a Case prohibited *Jure Divino*, and therefore indispensable. This again, whispered in the Eares of many, begot such a muttering, as, being brought to the King, made Him think what Hee was to doe. For though Hee knew that a keeping of the Succession doubtfull was one of the ill Arts by which Princes Conserve themselves; yet, as a desire to have Posterity, which might succeed Him in the Crown, prevail'd over all other Considerations, Hee resolv'd to clear this point by all fitting degrees, and the rather, that hee knew the same objections had been made (though wrongfully) to *Edward* the Fourth, and his Children. And certainly (as it appears to me by many Circumstances,) it was, in the beginning, as much as He could, in favour of the Princeesse his Daughter. So that, although the Bishop of *Tarbe* (being sent by *Francis* 1527. to Conclude the Alternative formerly set down,) did object openly against her Legitimation, as being got by the King upon his Brothers Wife, it did not much move Him. But, seeing it now grown a publique doubt, he thought it more notorious, than could be suppress. Neither did Hee believe that *Charles* would be greatly scandalized at it; since, to avoyd the Treaty of *Windsore*, Himselfe had alleg'd some things to this purpose. All which again (as *Polydore* relates) was secretly fomented by *Longland* Bishop of *Lincolne* (his Majesties Confessor,) at the instigation of the Cardinall; who both hated the Emperour, and was averse from the Queen, by reason of her reproving his loose, and inordinate life. Though (what ever *Polydore* saith,) it will appear hereafter, that *Wolsey* indeavour'd not, finally, the Divorce. Howsoever, on some, or all of these causes, the King was much perplext, as knowing how deeply this affaire concern'd himself, his Posterity, and Kingdome. And because, it was easie to collect of what Consequence any Rumour this kind might be, He not only sent to our Ambassadors in *Spaine*, as is said before, to silence the noise thereof, but used all means possible both to appease those violent Jealousies the Queen had conceiv'd, and to satisfie his people, at least untill himself had looked further into the Businesse. In which certainly his Intentions privately were to proceed; For besides his dispatching his Secretary *William Knight*, Doctor of Law, to *Rome*, (whom yet he commanded to advise with our Cardinall by the way, being then in *France*,) Hee took information sometimes about his present Condition, and sometimes (it is probable also) about such Ladyes as might furnish him a choise for a Geniall, and second bed. In which number the Dutchesse of *Alancou*, Sister to *Francis*, is the first I find mentioned, whose Picture (as *Hall* saith) was sent over, about this time. Neither did the Cardinall, being certified of these passages, omit to comply at least in apparance with him, and therefore write to the King, that the best way to obtain his desire, was, to tell the Emperour plainly, that unlesse he set the Pope free (at this time in prison, as is formerly mentioned) hee would proceed in the Divorce upon his own, and his Clergies Authority. After which, he sent for *John Clark*, Bishop of *Bath*, (then

(then resident Ambassadour in *France*) and commended him to the King, as a Person to whom hee might discover himself; and, together, deliver'd his opinion: First, That, because the Party would appeale, the businesse could not be determin'd in *England*, unlesse the Pope would give him absolute Authority, *in omnibus Casibus*, (a Minute whereof, to be sent to *Rome*, I have seen.) Secondly, That shee should be perswaded, *ad ingressum Religionis*. And, lastly, if neither of those could be effected, it should be thought of, *Quid posset clam fieri quoad forum Conscientiae*? Concerning which points, the Bishop of *Bath* at his return speaking, (as I find in an Originall from the said Bishop to *wolfsey*) the King replyed, My Lord of *Bath*, the Bull is good, or it is naught; If it be naught, let it be so declar'd, and if it be good, it shall never be broken by no by-ways for me. Whereupon, the Bishop represented, that the Popes Captivity hindered all suits in that Court, and, howsoever, that the Proesse would be so slow, as it could not be determin'd in six or seven years. Besides, that there must be Three distinct Sentences given in it, by three divers Judges, the two last to be chosen for the adverse party. Lastly, that after all this, the Sentence may be recall'd; *Quia sententia contra Matrimonium, nunquam transit in rem Judicatam*; Adding, in Conclusion, as the knot of the businesse, that the party would Appeale. To which the King answer'd, he thought She would not appeale from the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops of *Rocheester*, *Ely*, and *London*; as for the tediousnesse of the suit, since he had patience eighteen years, that He would stay yet foure or five more; since the opinion of all the Clerkes of his Kingdome, besides Two, were lately declared for him; adding, that he had studied the Matter himself, and Written of it, and that he found it was unlawfull, *de Jure divino*, and undispensable. Businesse standing thus, and no probability of the Queens fruitfulnessse, since the Princeesse *Mary's* Birth, appearing; and the rather, that Spanish women are observed to be seldome Mothers of many children; He resolves to have recourse to the Pope; Comforting himself, for the rest, that no other difficulty appeared in removing all these inconveniences, than the obtaining a Dispensation to dissolve that Marriage, which a Dispensation only had at first made. He knew the same key that lockt, could unlock. Therefore he thought fit to send to *Rome*, both to represent the dangerous Condition of himself, his issue and Kingdome, and to sollicite the Pope for a Licence to marry another. And the rather, that so many Circumstances had made the Bull and Breve, upon which the first Marriage was grounded, to be suspected. The prosecuting whereof therefore (in a Dispatch Dated 25th of *December* 1527) was recommended, by the Cardinall, to Sir *Gregory Casalis*, an Italian; Which also he was requir'd to urge so farre, as to say, that our King could impute the punishment God had layd on him in taking away his Issue Male, upon nothing so much, as the unlawfulnessse of this Marriage; which learned Men did also generally so detest, as they held it to be more than

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Records.

Records.

Decem. 25.
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Jan. 9.

the Pope could dispence with (as I find they declar'd afterwards, in a Book, was sent thither.) Wherefore, that he should procure a Commission for hearing and determining this Cause, to be directed to the Cardinall ; or, if that were refused, to Bishop *Staphylæus*, Deane of the *Ruota*, who had been lately in *England*. And that he should furthermore say, that he doubted not, but the Pope would easily grant it, though against the will of *Charles* ; since hee had granted *Charles* a Dispensation and absolution from the Oath which hee had taken to Marry the Princeesse *Mary*, without so much as demanding the consent of our King. For facilitating of which businesse, Letters of Exchange to the value of ten thousand Duckars were sent him ; As also certain Instruments for the Popes signing, which were, First, a Commission, in ample forme, to heare, and determine the cause in *England*. Secondly, a Decretall, wherein the Pope, upon probation of Carnall knowledge between *Arthur* and *Katherine*, should pronounce the Marriage voyd. Thirdly, a Dispensation for the King to Marry another. Fourthly, a Pollicitation, that the Pope will not recall any of these Acts. But it was an ill time for Sir *Gregory* to Negotiate with the Pope ; he being (as I find by an Originall dispatch of Doctor *Knight*, Dated from *Rome* September the 13. 1527.) so aw'd by *Hernando de Alarcon*, that hee durst neither give the said *Knight* a publike Audience, nor so much as admit a private Message from him, but by the Intervention of the Cardinall *Pisani*. So that, what wisdom or piety soever our King might pretend herein, the *Conjuntura* certainly was no way auspicious. And the rather, that the Pope, during his Imprisonment in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, had been requir'd in the Emperour's name (as I find by a dispatch of Doctor *Knight* from *Orvieto*) not to grant any Act concerning the Divorce, nor so much as suffer the cause to be heard before any Judge in our Kings Dominions. I find also in the same Letter that *Lorenzo Pucci*, Cardinall *Sanctorum Quatuor*, being chosen by the Pope for dispatching our Kings businesse, had told Doctor *Knight*, that the Commission penned here in *England*, for the Popes signing, might not passe, but that he had minuted another, which the Pope (though with some reluctance) had granted ; earnestly intreating our King neverthelesse, not to put it in Execution, till the Spaniards, and *Almaines* were gone out of *Italie*, and himself left in his full libertie. To confirme which grant also, the same Doctor *Knight*, by a Letter (dated Jan. 9th, 1528.) did certifie, that the King's Dispensation was obtained under lead, as amply as the Minute sent from *England* did containe ; and the Commission for the Lord Legate likewise was granted, sufficiently, though not according to the forme propos'd ; and that it was drawne by the Cardinall *Sanctorum Quatuor*. Moreover, he tells (as in the Popes name) that if *Monsieur de Lautrech* were come, the Pope thinketh he might, by good Colour, say to the Emperour, that he was required by the English Ambassadours, and *Monsieur de Lautrech* to proceed in the businesse. All which particularities

larities I have the rather set down, that it might appeare, how the difficulties, that the Popemade in this businesse, seemed to proceed chiefly from humane considerations. Which also is much confirmed by a dispatch from *Gregory Casalis* 13 Jan. 1528: where (on the Popes part, and in his name) he saith, that if the Kings Conscience be satisfied (which he alone can best tell) his Course were *ut statim Committat causam, aliam uxorem ducat, litem sequatur, mittatur pro Legato, &c.* and, that this was the onely way for the King to attain his desires: though yet he intreated, this advise might be taken, as proceeding from the Cardinall *Sanctorum quatuor*, and *Simonetta*, and not from himself. And this, certainly, as it may be thought a politique advise, so would it have prov'd safer and easier for both, than a Commission for two Legates; which as it took up more time on the Kings part, so it caused a like danger and inconvenience to the Pope. Howsoever, it appear'd afterwards, that the King, either out of tendernesse of Conscience, or consideration of the hazard he should run, if the Pope would not confirme this Act, thought not fit to allow thereof; but chose rather to demand a larger Commission than that which Doctor *Knight* obtained, the procuring whereof also hee committed to *Stephen Gardiner*, Doctor of Law, and Secretary to *Wolsey*, and *Edward Fox*, Provost of Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*; Not neglecting, in the mean time, both to instruct the Pope in his cause, and do him all the good offices he could with Christian Princes, and States, and particularly the Venetians, concerning the restitution of *Ravenna* and *Cervia*; though yet it tooke not such effect as was hoped. Neither did our King forget, by a Letter of Cardinall *Wolsey's* to the Prototary *John Casalis*, to desire him to acquaint the Pope with some domestique and private passages; which (though out of the respect I bear to that verruous Queens memory) I cannot but mention somewhat unwillingly, yet must not omit, both for the sake of that truth that ought to be in History, and as it seems to contain some Motive of the Kings intentions. I shall set down the words in Latin as they are extant in our Record. *Sunt nonnulla secreto Sancto Domino Nostro exponenda, & non credenda literis, quas ob Causas, morbosq; nonnullos, quibus, absque remedio, Regina laborat, & ob animi etiam conceptum scrupulum, Regia Majestas nec potest, nec vult, ullo unquam post-hac tempore, eauti, Velut uxorem admittere, quodcunq; evenerit.*

Gardiner and *Fox*, receiving their instructions in Febr. 1528. repair'd first to *Francis*; from whom they readily obtain'd a promise to cooperate puissantly with the Pope, for effectuating the Kings desire, as also a perswasory and menacing Letter in case of refusall to the Pope; For complying wherewith also the Bishop *Staphyleus* was sent by him to *Rome* not long after. Our Ambassadors having given the King account hereof, proceeded in their Journey to *Italie*, and coming at last to *Orvieto*, where the Pope then was, they found him lodged in an old and ruinous Monastery, his outward chamber altogether unfurnish'd, and his Bedchamber-hangings, together with his

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Jan. 13.

Jan.

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Feb. 18.

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Bed, valued by them (as the Originall Letter hath it) at no more then twenty Nobles. The Pope yet receiv'd them lovingly ; though not without the anxiety of one who could neither safely grant, nor deny the request of a King, to whom he so much owed whatsoever liberty he enjoyed. Their instructions for the present, were only yet, to thank him for the Commission and Dispensation granted in this bu-
 sineffe to Doctor *Knight*, and after intrusted to *Gambara* his Agent here (successor unto *Melerior Langus*, who was first Authorized by the Pope, to give Queen *Katherine* notice of this affaire, together with the Popes secret intention therein.) They added further, that by *Gambara*, as also by Sir *Gregory Casalis*, our King had gladly under-
 stood, how all defects, upon due remonstrance, should be supplied and amended. They were charged also, from the Cardinall, privately, to protest in his name, that he was no Author of this Counsell. After which they were desired, by him, to proceed to the merit of the Cause, and Qualities of the Gentlewoman (being, as I take it, Mi-
 stris *Bolen*.) The perplexed Pope, who knew well how much the Spaniard was interessed herein, heard them at this time with more feare, then at another time hee would have granted their request. Therefore, together with an ambiguous Answer, which he gave them by word of mouth, he sent, in Cifer, a Letter to our King, of so much irresolution, that it needed no other cover. Howsoever, as the Commission of our Ambassadors was to stay till further order was given, they seemed to take all in good part. At last our able Ne-
 gotiators, urging the aforesaid and many other Motives to the Pope, and he again finding the French and Confederate Army puissant, and victorious in the Kingdome of *Naples* at that time, made no difficulty to grant a full Commission to two Legats, to Heare and Determine the Cause in *England*, being (according to the Kings desire) *wolfsey* and *Campegius* (not long since made Bishop of *Salisbury*) Besides, it seems he granted this following Pollicitation, or promise, Dated at *Viterbo*, July 23. 1528. which yet, being no Originall-peece, but an
 antient Copy, extant among Sir *Robert Cottons* Records, I shall men-
 tion but according to the credit it may deserve from the equall Rea-
 der, only I must not omit to say, that, as divers Originall dispatches, both before and after, give some touches of it, and that the Date for the rest is added, so it may challenge better credit then to be thought a Minute, and much lesse a Counterfeit and supposed peece, which also is the more probable, that the Pope granted ampler Testimonies than this, in favour of the Divorce ; However they were either con-
 troll'd again, or detain'd in the hands of his Ministers, after that sort, that our King might well take notice, but neither Copy nor advan-
 tage of them.

July 23.

The Pollicitation.

1528.

Promessio Pontificis in Negotio
Regis.

Cum nos Clemens, divina providentia illius nominis Papa septimus modernus, iustitiam ejus causæ perpendentes, quam charissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex illustris. Fidei Defensor, & Dominus Hiberniæ de ejus Matrimonii nullitate, tanquam notorium, publicum, & famosum, apud nos exposuit, quod cum charissima in Christo filia nostra Catharina, claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispanearum Regis Catholici filia, nulliter & de facto contraxisset, & consummasse affirmat, leges tam divinas quam humanas in ea parte notorie transgrediendo, pro-ut revera sic transgrediebatur, ad dilectos nobis in Christo filios, Thomam, & Laurentiam miseratione divina Sanctæ Cecilie, & Sanctæ Mariæ in transtiberim respectivè titulorum, nostri & Apostolicæ sedis in Regno Angliæ prædicto Legatos de Latere, Commissionem sub certa tunc expressa forma, (quam pro hic inserta, & expressa haberi volumus, & habemus) emiscerimus, ac eosdem nostros in ea parte vicegerentes ac competentes Judices deputaverimus, pro ut sic etiam tenore præsentium effectualiter & plenissime conjunctim & divisim committimus & deputamus, quo animi nostri, eidem Henrico Regi in justitia illa quam-celerrime administranda propensionem certius & clarius attestimur securioremque reddamus de judiciorum Labyrintho longo varioq; ambitu in causis (ut nunc sunt mores) justissimis, non una fere ætate explicabili; deniq; ut processus per eosdem deputatos nostros juxta & secundum tenorem dictæ commissionis habitus & factus fiendus ut aut habendus, validus & firmus ac inconcussus maneat; Promittimus, & in verbo Romani pontificis, pollicemur, quod ad nullius preces, requisitionem, seu instantiam, merove motu, aut aliter ulla unquam literas, brevibus Bullas aut rescripta aliave quæcunq; per modum vel justitiæ, vel gratiæ, aut aliter quæ materiam emissarum ante hac in causa prædicta commissionum commissionisve prædictæ processusve per hujusmodi deputatos nostros juxta & secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionisve prædictæ habitus & facti habendive aut fiendi inhibitorium, revocatorium, aut quovismodo præjudicialem quæcunq; ratione contineant, quæve dictarum commissionum commissionisve seu processus hujusmodi plenam perfectam finalem & effectualem executionem remorentur, impediant, aut in aliquo contrariantur, illave aut eorum aliqua revocent, aut eisdem vel eorum aliquibus in toto vel in aliqua parte eorundem præjudicent, concedemus; Sed datas a nobis eisdem deputatis nostris commissiones & commissionem hujusmodi, processumq; per hujusmodi deputatos nostros iuxta & secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionisve prædictæ habitum & factum, habendumq; & fiendum sua plenissimævi auctoritate, robore & efficacia realiter & cum effectu conservabimus, rati habebimus, tuibimur, & defendemus. Deniq; omnes tales literas, brevibus, bullas, aut rescripta, quæ dictarum commissionum commissionisve

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tionisve processusve antedicti executionem, aut ejusdem virtute decreta, definita, & pronunciata per eosdem deputatos nostros confirmare possint aut valeant, absq; mora, recusatione, aut difficultate quacunq; de tempore in tempus realiter & cum effectu valida & efficacia dabimus & concedemus. Et, insuper, promittimus, & in verbo Romani Pontificis pollicemur, quod premissa vel eorum aliqua nullatenus infringemus, nec aliquid contra ea vel eorum aliqua directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, principaliter vel incidenter, quovis quæsito colore vel ingenio, Nisi Vi vel Meru coacti, vel Dolo aut Fraude ad hoc induci, attemptabimus aut faciemus; Sed ea omnia & singula firma, valida, inconcussa & inviolabilia patiemur, & permittemus. Ac insuper, si (quod absit) aliquid contra premissa vel eorum aliqua quovismodo faciamus aut attemptemus, illud pro casso, irritum, inani & vacuo omnino haberi volumus & habemus, ac ex nunc prout ex tunc, & ex tunc prout nunc, cassamus, annullamus, & reprobamus, nulliusq; roboris aut efficacie fore vel esse debere pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus. Datum Viterbio, die xxiii Julii Millesimo Quingentesimo Vigesimo Octavo: Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

*Ita est Clemens' Papa septimus
antedictus.*

July 5.
1527.

This while, the Queen who understood well what was intended against her, laboured with all those passions which Jealousie of the Kings affection, sence of her own honour, and the legitimization of her Daughter could produce; laying, in Conclusion, the whole fault on the Cardinall; who yet was lesse guilty than the Queen thought, or *Polydore* would make him. I will not deny yet, but, out of due regard to his Masters Interests (so neerly concern'd in this great affaire) he might comply with the Kings desires, but to be the single Author of a Counsell, which might turn so much to his prejudice, when the King should dye, is more than may easily be believ'd, of so cautious a person as *Wolsey*. And this Innocence, perchance, was the reason that he neither suspected himself to be so much abhorr'd of the Queen, nor to stand in that danger of her practises; which yet procur'd at last his ruine. The first who gave the Cardinall notice of the Queens displeasure (as I find by a Letter of his dated at *Feverham* 5 July 1527. then in his Journey towards *France*) was the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; the consequence whereof he so much apprehended, that hee thought fit to use all means for satisfying her. Therefore he presently labour'd with the Arch-Bishop to perswade the Queen, that, whatsoever she heard in this kind, was intended only for clearing the surmises of the Bishop of *Tarbe*, formerly mentioned. Hee writ also to our Ambassadors in *Spain*, to quench all rumours there, upon the same pretext. But the Queen had sent those Agents abroad, (and, amonst them, one *Abel*, her Chaplain) who both inform'd her of all that passed, and ingaged the Emperour to assist her to the uttermost of his power. Therefore the Pope stood more and more suspended;

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ded. The pace of *Campegius* (the promised Legat) also appear'd staggering and slow, and all that might frustrate the King's intentions, was secretly practis'd. This while the Cardinall, (who out of the King's design's would ever produce and subrogate some particular end of his own, whereof, either in point of glory or profit, he might make advantage) had so disposed this of the Divorce, as thereby to mediate the Popes entire delivery, not only from the Guards, but even feare of the Emperour. Again, as, during the Popes restraint, he had (under pretence that it was the best expedient for the Kings purpos'd Divorce) projected a meeting of Cardinalls at *Avignon*, for settling the government of the Church, where hee himself intended to be present; So, now, since the King liked not that course, and that the Pope was free, he perswaded him to erect some Cathedrall Churches in *England*, at the price of throwing down more Monasteries. Whereby it appears, both how busie this Cardinall was, and how much he studied his own ends. For as hee knew this would please the King (who began to thinke that Religious persons might serve God aswell in defending the Kingdome, as praying for it,) so he assured himself the Authority thereof would be derived on him chiefly, and the Pope, in the mean time, obnoxious; while hee could not but feare how far those Innovations might extend. When this project therefore was mov'd to the Pope, I find by a Letter of the Protonotary *John Casalis*, Oct. 30. 1528. that he answered, gravely, he liked the designe well; but that hee would proceed deliberately; because it was *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. Therefore he desired the two Legats (for *Campegius* was by this time come) might be joyn'd in determining this businesse, and that All the Revenues of the Monasteries, might be conferred on the new Bishops; and that the two Legats, having advised with the Pope hereof, should afterwards nominate them. So that it seem'd the Pope held it fitting to comply with the King a little at this time, since *Gardiner* told him plainly, that he had in his Instructions these words to tell him, *Ne cesse est supprimi pro serenissimi Regis Collegio Monasteria cujuscunq; ordinis*; In conclusion, a Bull was granted for applying the Revenues of some small Monasteries for maintenance of the Kings Colledges in *Cambridge* and *Windsor Castle*; the Copy whereof is extant in *Sir Robert Cottons Library*. It may be doubted yet, whether these Apprehensions, that were now, in more then in one kind, given the Pope of our King's declining the absolute Authority of the Church of *Rome*, did dispose the Pope more to oblige or disoblige him. For, though the Pope had reason to feare, lest hee should lose his antient Jurisdiction in this Kingdome, if he denyed; yet he might doubt as well, that in adhering too much to that side, hee might offend the Emperour so farre, as to hazard the losse of his own. He therefore, at once, treats with the Emperour of a perfect peace and amity, and together of recovering *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, and of effecting certain other designs which he had in *Florence*; and grants (as is above said) in apparence

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Novemb. 2.

1528.

1494.
Ant. Brit.

Novemb.

Sander. Schism.
Angl.

a large Cómmission to *wolfey* and *Campegius*; Yet, in effect, so restrain'd, as the Emperour might see it was not out of his power to check, or revoke it. And this was all that *Sir Gregory Casalis*, and *Stephen Gardiner*, after much importunity, could obtain. They moved the Pope also to Canonize *Henry VI.* (which I find was formerly propos'd to *Alexander VI.* by *Henry VII.*) to which the Pope answer'd, that if the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Bishop of *Winchester* (who had examined the matter in *partibus*) did send the Proceffe thither, as their Commission required, the Canonization should follow shortly after. Businesse standing thus, our King thought fit to send *Sir Francis Bryan*, Knight, and *Peter Vannes* (an Italian, and his Secretary for the Latin Tongue) to *Rome*. Their Instructions in generall (being signed with the Kings own hand) were to dissuade the Pope from entering into any League with the Emperour, whose designe was (hee said) to deuest the Pope of his Means, and Authority, by the forcible bringing in of one *Angelo a Cordelier* to be Pope, who should not intermeddle with Secular Jurisdiction, and the Patrimony of the Church; which therefore the Emperour would take to himself and usurpe. For preventing whereof, the King wished him to keep a Guard, offering in his own and *Francis* name, to contribute thereunto. They were commanded also, to search privately for a certain pretended Breve, in *Rome* (said to be a Supplement or Confirmation of the Bull of *Julius* the second, and authorizing the Marriage with Queen *Katherine*) since it was not to be found in the Kings Records. Furthermore, they were requir'd to discover (in the name of a third person) whether, if the Queen enter'd a Religious life, the King might have the Popes Dispensation to marry again, and the Children be legitimate, and what Precedents were for it? Secondly, whether if the King (for the better inducing of the Queen thereunto) would promise to enter himselfe into a Religious life, the Pope might not dispense with his Vow, and leave her there? Thirdly, if this may not be done, whether he can dispense with the King to have Two Wives, and the Children of both legitimate? Since great Reasons, and Precedents, especially in the old Testament, appear for it. All which they were to doe with that secrecie, and circumspection, that the cause might not bee published, proponing the King's case alwaies therefore as another mans. Lastly (as in all other Instructions) some kind of Menaces were to be added. But perswasions and terrors wanted not on the other side; which did so much more prevaile with the Pope, as the danger was more immediate and pressing on the Emperours part, than on our Kings. Therefore our Ambassadors were so farre from obtaining any thing, but what was formerly granted in the Commission to Cardinall *wolfey*, and *Campegius*, that they found the Pope now more than ever dispos'd to favour the Emperour. Inso-much that they observed daily new delayes, and restrictions in him. Some whereof (besides the evidence in our Records) *Sanders* doth confesse, while he saith, that the Pope, by foure severall Messengers to

to *Campegius* (now on his way) gave him in charge; First, that hee should make easie Journeys. Secondly, that, when he came to *England*, he should labour all he could to reconcile the King and Queen. Thirdly, that, if this could not be effected, he should perswade her to enter a Monastery, and take on her a Religious life. Lastly, that, when this could be obtain'd, he should give no Definitive sentence for the Divorce, without expresse commandement from him, & *hoc* (saith he) *summum & maximum sit tibi Mandatum*. *Campegius* thus instructed, protracts all things, whereat though our King seem'd scandaliz'd, as suspecting it came from unwillingness; yet, being an active Prince, he made use of that time, to negotiate in *Spain* for recovering the *Breve*, (of which above) commanding the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Doctor *Edward Lee*, by all means to procure it. At length (and not before the beginning of *October* 1528, *Campegius* coming through *France*, and being conducted thence into *England*, by *John Clark*, Bishop of *Bath*, our Kings Ambassadour there, came to *London*. Where, being, by our Cardinall presented to the King, hee publickly acknowledged in the name of the Pope, Cardinall, Clergy, and people of *Rome*, that our King was *Liberator Urbis*. Shortly after, obtaining audience of the Queen, he took occasion both to acquaint her with her danger, and to perswade her thereupon to renounce the world, and enter into some Religious life. For which many pretexts wanted not (as I find in our Records) she having been observed, since the Commission obtained, to allow Dancing and pastimes more then before. And that her countenance not only in Court, but to the people, was more cheerfull then ordinary; whereas (it was alleaged) she might be more sad and pensive, considering the Kings Conscience was unsatisfied, and that he had refrained her bed, and was not willing the Lady Princes, her Daughter, should come in her company. But the offended Queen, replying peremptorily, that she was resolved both to stand to that Marriage the Roman Church had once allowed; and, howsoever, not to admit such partial Judges as they were, to give sentence in her cause. *Campegius* writes to *Rome*, both to informe the Pope hereof, and to desire farther Instructions. The answer whereunto, the Pope yet so long deferr'd, that very neere six Moneths pass'd before the two Cardinalls fate in their Commission.

This while, the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Doctor *Lee*, having given the Emperour an Overture of the Divorce, did, (by a Letter Dated at *Saragosa*, April 5. 1529.) return our King this Answer, on the Emperours part. That hee was sorry to understand of the intended Divorce, adjuring our King (for the rest) by the Sacrament of Marriage, not to dissolve it. Or, if he would needs proceed therein, that the hearing and determining of the businesse, yet, might be referr'd to *Rome*, or a Generall Councill, and nor be decided in *England*. Adding further, that he would defend the Queens just cause. Where-with, the pretended-Originall *Breve* was produc'd, and a transsumpt,

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or Copy thereof (signed by three Bishops) offer'd them, to send to *England*; but the Breve it self was denyed, for feare (as he said) of miscarrying. To which our Ambassadors answered, That our King was a Prince of that piety, that he ought not to be Adjur'd; and for the Breve, that it was a Jewell belonging to the King and his Queen only, and not to be detained by any other from them. And, for Appealing to *Rome*, it needed not; since Authority of determining that businesse, was already given from thence to Cardinall *wolsey* and *Campegius*. Besides, that, in causes Matrimoniall, the presence of the parties to be examined, being required for the most part, the Emperour might easily imagine how unfit it was for the King and Queen personally to goe to *Rome*, especially at that time. After this, the Emperour commanding the Breve to be read, the Ambassadors required a Notary to be allowed them, for setting down the whole passage of this businesse, together with their Protestations. But no Notary but the Emperour's being permitted, the Ambassadors were forc'd to accept him, desiring notwithstanding their allegations might be set down apart. Hereupon the Emperour told the Ambassadors, that he would send an expresse Messenger to our King, to intreat him to continue his Match, and, in case of refusall, to protest against the Divorce. Our Ambassadors yet persisted still in urging the Emperour, for his own sake, to send the Breve for *England*; lest the Judges, wanting sight thereof, should proceed against the Queen, or otherwise, that he would send the said Breve to the Pope. The Emperour replied, that therefore he would not send it. For if it miscarried, the Judges might then proceed as they would, but for sending it to the Pope he would advise. And that, if matters were now as they were heretofore, he would not fear to send it to *England*. By a Letter also, the twentieth of *April* 1529, they certifie the King, that the Emperour intended to send both to *England* and *Rome*, to make his Protestations again^t this Divorce; and that hee would not send the Originall Breve. Furthermore, that he requir'd our King, according to an Article of a former Treaty, to fall upon *Francis*, as a perturber of the Publike Peace. Lastly, because the said Ambassadors had heard, and consider'd, at large, the Breve, they sent their objections against it. Which, being one of the grounds of the Kings proceeding in this great Affaire, I have thought fit punctually to set down, as they are extant in the Originall Letter, written in Cipher, and thus to be read, as I find it decipher'd in our Records.

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That, where it is pretended, the Bull and the Breve to be impetrate in one day, either they were impetrate in one sute, and by one man; and then it is not to be thought, but that this sute, being of so great importance, was committed to such a one, as could perceive, that the Bull, not containing so large Dispensation as the Breve, is superfluous, (supposing the Breve to be necessary.) If the one were impetrate after the other, and the sutes made by one man, it is hard to think that one man, being instruct in the sute for both, would put the Dispen-

Dispensation of lesse moment in a Bull, and of greater moment in a Breve, seeing the one might be as facilly impetrate as the other, and that the Dispensation in Lead is more durable to remain, and, That the two Kings were bound to impetrate Bulls, and not Breves, whereof he or they that had such Commission, (as it seemeth) could not be ignorant. And if these sutes were made by divers persons, and by severall Commissions, there is no reason can be alleged (the impetration being in one day,) why to two severall persons severall Commissions should be given herein, the thing requiring no haste, the Marriage following five or six years after, but more likely is, if the Breve were then obtained indeed, that it was procured by secret practises, not known to all parties *quorum intererat scire & consentire*; for, both the parties consenting, I think there can be no sufficient cause alleged, why, the thing being done by common consent, the Breve rather then the Bull should have larger dispensation; for what needed two divers sutes, with divers Commissions, if both the parties were agreed upon the sutes? especially the impetration of both being in one day.

Secondly, supposing to be true, that Master Abel saith, the Queen to have sworn, *quod nunquam fuit cognita à Principe Arthuro*; the cause of the impetration for so much, is vain, (*viz.*) *quod Regina cum Arthuro principe matrimonium carnali copula consummaverit*. If this be true, it appeareth that he that sued the Breve had no Commission of the parties, for they would not give him Commission to impetrate dispensation for cause not true.

Thirdly, supposing to be true, that Master Abel saith to me, that the Queen never heard of such Breve, before the Emperours Orators there presented it to her; how can it stand, that is reported in the Breve, *quod impetratum est Breve ad Regine instantiam*?

Fourthly, if your Highnesse had made instance and supplication for the same Breve, it is not to be thought that it should be so far out of your Remembrance, the causes of impetration being such, as your Highnesse might and could, anon, reduce it to the same.

Fiftly, if it were impetrate at the instance of your Highnesse, and of the Queens Grace, no cause is, why it should be sent into Spaine to King *Fernando*, (as the Emperour's folkes first said, but now swarve) and not to your Highnesse, and the Queens grace. If any will suppose, that it was done by your consent, no reason agreeth, why you should consent thereto, and not rather keep it in your own hands, than send it to the custody of another. And yet, if you did consent, it cannot be thought, but that it should remain in your remembrance, as the firmity of your Marriage, and discharge of your Conscience, with other things, touching highly your succession, standing therein; And it may be supposed moreover, that some writing of the Deposite thereof should remain there, which is not found.

Sixthly, considering that, the King of most noble memory, your Father, then alive, your Highnesse not being at the date of the Breve

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past xv. or xvii. years of age, [for so the Cifre is ; though as King Henry was then but xii. and something more, I conceive those figures were Ciphers only, signifying his true age : unlesse perchance the Cipherer or Descipher did otherwise mistake it ;] It may be well supposed that your Highnesse was not then much to sollicite the impetration of such things. And that, if any such Breve should have been impetrated, that time, that rather it should have been done at the instance of the King, your Father, than of your Highnesse. And although then it might have been impetrated in your Highnesse name, yet it could not have been done there without knowledge and consent of the King your Father, and also at his setting forth. And, if any his intervention and consent had been in this matter, he would not have bound King Fernando, and likewise have been bound himself, to get Bulls of Dispensation. And surely it may be thought that, if the King your Father consented, Don Fernando of Spain did the same, so that it cannot be doubted, but that as they say here they have two Bulls reserved in their Archives, so should also this Breve have been, which indeed was not there found, as hereafter shall be shewed, nor any such is found in your Highnesse Archives. Wherefore it may be well reckoned, that there was no such obtained by the consent of the King your Father.

And so, Seventhly, maketh the Breve suspect, that the Emperours folks first said, that it was found in *Archivis Regum Hispaniarum*, as appeareth in my Lord Cardinalls Graces Letters, and now, forgetting themselves, the Emperours Chancellor, and Perezot have confessed to us, that it was found among the Writings of Doctor de Puebla, which was Orator of Spain, in England, in the Kings dayes of most noble memory your Father. Which contrariety maketh to appeare that they do not upright. Of a Nephew of Doctor Puebla's being there, I have written in our Common Letters the fifth of April, and now do again : by whom peradventure some light might be had.

Eighthly, who so considereth the high renowned wisdom of the King your said Father, and his great sage Counsell, men of singular wisdom and learning for all purposes, may well conceive, that, or ever any Dispensation for Marriage to be had between your Highnesse and the Queen were sent for, that her Grace was examined *an esset cognita a Principe Arturo an non ?* And that *si fassa est*, that the two Kings would have provided therefore *Dispensationem in Bulla*, as they were bound. And on the other side, *si negavit se fuisse cognitam, nihil erat apud Breve quoddam, &c.* And for the second part of the Breve, I cannot suppose that your Highnesse, in that time, which the date of the Breve pretendeth (your Highnesse being then not much more then xii. or xv. years of age, and the King your Father living) needed no dispensation in that parry. And if none needed then, why should your Highnesse then make instance for any, which is supposed in the Breve.

Ninthly, if this Breve were impetrated in the dayes of Doctor de Puebla,

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Puebla; the being thereof so long in his hands, and the manner of keeping of the same, giveth new conjecture that is a thing cassat; for the thing being of so much importance, touching so nigh your Highnesse and the Queen, why should hee keep it? specially so long? for he lived in *England* after the date of the Breve, five or six years, and dyed there, not long after the King your Father. Who can think that such a King, and such a Councell, would have suffered the Breve to be out of their hands, in his hands, all that time, if the Breve had been known to them necessary for this Matrimony, and of any value? And, as I said, the manner of keeping thereof seemeth to confirme the same; which manner of keeping I conjecture of two things; One, that it was not kept in a case of Tinn, after the manner of Breves; for only in a paper they did exhibit it to us twice. Another, that, in the Superscription it appear'd flubbered, by reason of often handling, peradventure lying among so many his Writings and old Letters; wherefore, although it were then impetrate, yet it seemeth that hee tooke it as cassat, and voyd, peradventure as surreptitiously obtained of his own head, without any Commission or consent of the parties.

Tenthly, another suspicion is, that, although the Emperours Chancellour and *Perenot* say, they have divers Letters and Writings of the said *Puebla's*, concerning both the First marriage, and second of the Queenes; yet, because they uttered not that they have any thing specially concerning this Breve; (which they would not have forgotten to say, for so much as it maketh for their purpose, if there had been any such) moved upon that suspicion, I demanded of them, and divers times to the same, whether they had any speciall Letters concerning this Breve? they could not, ne did not say that they had; but the Emperour's Chancellor answered, that the Breve was enough. Whereupon may be gathered, that his answer implied, that they have none other.

Eleventhly, if any such Breve were impetrate at that time, by the knowledge and consent of both the Kings; likely is, that either of them should have one. Let them then here bring forth the Breve *ex Archivis suis*. If they will say, this is it; what likelihood is it, that it should be sent into *England*, to come into *Spain*? for this Breve, if it were in Doctor *de Puebla's* custody, came out of *England* after his death, with other his Writings; which I think his Nephew there, (if he confesse that it was found amongst other his Uncles Writings) will also confesse. I say, why it was sent into *England*? it is not to be doubted, but *Don Fernando* had an Ambassadour in the Court of *Rome*, which might easilier and neerer way have sent it into *Spaine*. Wherefore, if they cannot, out of their Archives, bring forth any such Breve; their diligence in custody of such things supposed, and well apprehended in the Custody of two Bulls, (for some of the Secretaries said to me that they have two) they may, of this, gather (themselves) that there is no such; ne any other-where, of any effect and value.

The

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June 12.

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May.

The twelfth suspicion against the Breve is in it selfe; that, whensoever it was impetrate, it was not duly impetrate, may be gathered of divers things in the same, and about the same; the hand of some learner, and not of one exercis'd in writing of such things; and some defaults in the writing; such, as my Lord of *Worcester* saith, hee hath not seen committed in any Breve. And, as he trusteth to prove, the Date shall utterly condemne the Breve. And these exceptions were, as I find in another Letter, dated from the same Ambassadors to the Cardinall: First, that there were Rasures in it. Secondly, divers hands. Thirdly, Names false-written, as *Artherus pro Arthurus*. Fourthly, the Date false; as being *Decem. 26. 1503*, which, according to the date of Breves, beginning *25. Dec.* was almost a year before *Julius II.* was Pope. It was observed, likewise, that the Seale swell'd in the middle, and appear'd like some old Seal newly clap'd on. And thus much out of these dispatches of those able negotiators the Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Edward Lee* the Kings Almoner; who, sending the transumpt of the Breve to the King *April 23*, by a Letter *12 of June* following, also certified our King of the sending of *Gonçales Fernando* the Emperours Chaplain to the Earle of *Desmond* in *Ireland* (which hath relation to that I have formerly said of him) together with the return of a Chaplain of the said Earls in his company; the Emperour seeming to take this intended Divorce so much to heart, that he thought fit to give our King this Jealousie. Shortly after which I find also the Bishop of *Worcester* repealed.

This while, the common people, who with much anxiety attended the successe of this great affaire, seem'd, betwixt pittie to *Queen Katherine*, and envy to *Anne Bolen*, (now appearing to be in the Kings favour) to cast out some murmuring and seditious words; which being brought to the King's eares, he thought fit to protest publikely in an Assembly of Lords, Judges, &c. call'd to his Palace of Bridewell, That nothing but desire of giving satisfaction to his Conscience, and care of establishing the Succession to the Crown in a right and undoubted line, had first procur'd him to controvert this Marriage: being (for the rest) as happy in the affection and vertues of his Queen, as any Prince living. To confirme which also, he caused *Anne Bolen* to depart the Court, in such an abrupt and discontented fashon, that she determined to absent her selfe altogether. Neither could she bee induced (as *Sanders* hath it) to come to the King any more, till her Father was commanded (not without threats) to bring her thither. Who by representing the common danger to them both, obtained at length (though not without much difficulty) the consent of his unwilling Daughter to return; Where yet she kept that distance, that the King might easily perceive how sensible she was of her late dismission.

It was now mid-*May 1529*, when our King, understanding how the Pope intended a strict League with the Emperour, and judging wisely also, that *Francis*, upon the restoring of his Children, might easily be

be drawn from him, did resolve, without relying any longer on either of their promises, to take the best course he could, for giving a Conclusion to this businesse. And the rather, that matters seem'd daily more and more indispos'd for that conclusion he desir'd. For though *Campegius*, according to the order he had from the Pope (as I find by a dispatch of *John Casalis*, Dat. Dec. 17. 1528.) did both perswade the Queen to a Divorce, and dissuade the King from it, as having either way the end he propos'd: yet he fail'd in both. Nor would hee (as I find in the same dispatch) let goe out of his hand the Decretall Bull mentioned before, being the Absolute decision of the Cause; (the Dispensation being relative to the Queens entring into Religion, or other dissolution of the Marriage) in regard (as the Pope pretended) it was gotten by the importunity of *Cardinall wolsey*, with intention, that it should be shewed to the King, and *Cardinall* only, as an *arrha* or token of his good will, and afterwards burnt; protesting neverthelesse to the said *Casalis*, that hee desired the *Cardinalls* should proceed according to their Commission, but that the *Bulla Decretalis* should by no means be shewed to any of the Kings Counsellors, or other person whatsoever, though upon Oath of Secresie; it being sufficient that the King and *Cardinall* had seen it already, in *Campegius* hand. How our King yet was satisfied with this evasion of the Popes, appears not to me by any Record, more, than that he still solicited the Pope, that it might be exhibited publikely. Howbeit the Pope, who had farre other thoughts, told our Agents, that he kept the *Bulla Decretalis* secretly, as well from all his *Cardinalls*; as fearing lest the Emperour should call him to a Councell for it. For the more caution, taking order that the Memory of it should be razed out of all his Archives. And, not staying here, (as I find by our Records) He commanded one *Francesco Campana* (his servant) into *England*, on pretence to conferre with the King and *Cardinall*, but indeed to charge *Campegius* to burn the Decretall. For colouring of all which, Hee finally objected to our King, that he had not kept promise with him, about the Restitution of *Cervia* and *Ravenna*. Our King conceiving hereupon, that all these difficulties the Pope made, proceeded from the feare which he had of the Emperour, sends to Sir *Francis Bryan*, and *Peter Vannes* again, to renew his offer of a Guard of a Thousand or two Thousand Men, to be kept at the cost of the French King and his, whereof the *Conte de Turenne*, and Sir *Gregory Casalis* should be Captaines; and, in the mean while, that a Generall Peace should be treated of. But whether the Pope, as being late enough offended with the Guard which the Emperour put on him, would not now accept them from any other Prince; or that he thought them too slender to defend him; or that it would argue partiality to doe any thing on these terms; or that otherwise he had made his private Peace with the Emperour; (which certainly was the truth) I do not find the Pope accepted this offer. Howsoever, hee seemed still to feare the Emperour; Insomuch that, by a Dispatch from *Gregory Casalis*,
Dated

1529.

Decem. 17.
1528.

Decem. 15.
1528.
Concil. Trid.

1529.

Jan. 3.

Febr. 7.

Records,
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Harpsfield.July 21.
1528.

May 5.

April 21.

April 21.

May 4.

June 13.

Dated *January* the third, One Thousand, five Hundred Twenty nine, I find the Pope for the better making both his own, and a Generall Peace, especially betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, (which also followed at *Cambray* this year) declar'd to *Cardinall wolsey*, he thought it necessary to goe himsele in person into *Spain*, and that *Cardinall wolsey* should go along with him; not yet as Pope and *Cardinall*, but as two Legats, or Ambassadors, for concluding a Peace. But this Journey (if at least it were really intended) was interrupted by the sicknesse of the Pope, which was thought so desperate, that our *Cardinall Febr. 7.* wrote to *Stephen Gardiner* (then at *Rome*) that, by all means, hee should procure the Papacie for him, being (as affaires then stood) the most indifferent and equall that could bee found in *Christendome*. To which purpose also, besides our Kings Recommendations, the *Cardinall* had obtained the French Kings Letters, written with so much earnestnesse for him, that, though the Convalescence of the Pope did frustrate this designe; *Stephen Gardiner* yet was wished to keep the Letter *in omnem eventum*. I find also, Order was given, that if *wolsey* could not be chosen, the Cardinals which were for him (being a third part of the whole number) should put in a Protestation, and departing the Conclave, should in some secure place proceed to an Election, notwithstanding any to bee made at *Rome*. But, whether the Pope having notice of this untimely ambition of our *Cardinall*, were now offended with him, or that otherwise his ingagement to the Spaniard (whereof, in a Dispatch from the Pope to the Emperour *July 21th*, 1528, that came to our Kings hands, there is mention) did hold himself; I find after this time the Pope more averse than ever. Therefore, notwithstanding a designe of his, that *Cardinall wolsey* and *Campegius*, having finished the businessse of the Divorce, should afterwards goe to conclude an Universal Peace, yet all that past in this affaire afterwards (on his part) was little more then illusion. Which Sir *Francis Bryan* discovering, in a Dispatch to our King, plainly told him, no good was to bee done; which our King also beleev'ing, had commanded *Gardiner* to threaten the Pope with his sollicitation of the Princes of *Almaine*. Among whom I find particularly *George Duke of Saxony* (the Lutherans in vain opposing it) to have perswaded the Divorce. *Gardiner*, hereupon, useth more then one menace; though so much in vain, that, for a Conclusion, he advised our King to proceed upon the Commission given to the Legats, the Pope being (as he alledged *April 21*, 1529.) so aw'd by the Cæsareans, as he had rather suffer much in anothers name; than do any thing in his own. To incourage him the more also, *Gardiner* calls the Breve false and counterfeit, as being not to be found in the Registers at *Rome*. Moreover, for seconding this advise, *Gardiner*, by another Letter, *May 4.* which, sayes there was danger of recalling the Commission given to *wolsey* and *Campegius*; Which was confirmed by divers other Letters from our Agents. Whereof *Gregory Casalis*, in a Dispatch of 13 *June* following, gives

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a reason, in these words of the Pope; who, being at that time more slackly relieved from the Confederates than he thought; and divers of his Subjects (for the rest) in Armes against him, said, *Malle sese in preceptis dari, & Casari a Stabulo, nedum a Sacris inservire, quam inferiorum hominum, subditorum, Vassalorumq; rebellium injurias sustinere.* The Remedy whereof he expected only from the Emperour. So that not only feare, but even hope making him obnoxious, he did, for more than one reason, encline to the Emperour. Our King also, being well inform'd hereof by certain excusatory Letters from Rome, and that a Treaty betwixt the Pope and Emperour (whereof there shall be mention) was already upon Terme of Conclusion, and an Interview appointed; gave order first to recall Gardiner and Bryan; yet so as he neglected not, at the same time, to send William Bennet, Doctor of Law, to Rome, to hinder the Advocation of the cause; whereof he was so Jealous, that he intercepted not only those Dispatches which were sent to Rome from Campegius, or any else, but even those intelligences which Queen Katherine should give to her Aunt the Lady Margaret, Governesse of the Low-Countries. So that now our King, finding his Conscience unsatisfied, his Nobilitie in suspence, and the people murmuring at these procrastinations in an affaire that so much concern'd the Succession, Charged the two Cardinalls to proceed; as being satisfied by a particular Discussion of this businesse before Arch-Bishop Warham, and divers the learnedst men of both Universities, at Lambeth, that his cause was faire.

May 20.

And now, publike notice of a solemne hearing being given, the Court was appointed to sit; the Queen choosing Arch-Bishop Warham, and Nicholas West Bishop of Ely, Doctors of the Law, and John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standish Bishop of St. Asaph, Doctors of Divinitie, her Counsell, &c. according to the permission the King gave her in that behalf. The passages whereof, out of an Antient and Authentique Record in Parchment, subscribed by the three Notaries (used in this businesse) and remaining in the Custody of that great Antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman, Knight, I shall set down, with as much particularity, as the context of my History will suffer.

Jan.
Febr.
March.

The place appointed for hearing and determining the Cause, was a great Hall in Black-Fryers in London, (commonly call'd the Parliament-Chamber.) The time, the thirty first of May, 1529. The Judges, the two Cardinalls above mention'd, whose Commissions I have thought fit to set down at large.

May 31.

Clemens Episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Thomae Sanctae Ceciliae Eboracen. & Laurentio sanctae Mariae in transtiberim de Campegio nuncupatis presbyteris Cardinalibus in Regno Angliae nostris & Apostolicae sedis Legatis de latere Salutem, & Apostolicam benedictionem. Sane ad aures nostras ex plurimorum fide-dignorum relatione frequenter perlatum est, de validitate illius matrimonii quod charissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus Anglia Rex illustris. fidei defensor &

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Dominus Hibernia cum charissima in Christo filia nostra Catharina Regina sedis Apostolicæ dispensatione prehensa contraxisse & consummasse dinoscitur, subortam nuper in partibus illis quæstionem, quæ licet in publicum Ecclesiæ iudicium deducta hactenus non fuerit, causæ tamen tam magni gravisque momenti exitus, vizt. quem iustitia & æquitas dederit, animos istic omnium sic habet suspensos, ut celerem ac maturam definitionem requirat, non sine maximo discrimine proteland. Cum itaque nos, quos ad iustitiam in iudicio & veritate, omnibus ex æquo subministrandum Servum Servorum Deus constituit, facti veritatem per nos ipsos inquirere ac Causam hanc examinare non valemus, Considerantes præterea quod factum, ex quo ius oritur, illic certius quam hic, tum etiam citius expeditiusq; cognosci poterit, Cupientesq; præsertim in Regno illo sedi Apostolicæ semper devotissimo, omnem dissensionum materiam extinguere, & dulcissimum illum pacis amorisq; intestinum concentum felicissimamq; charitatis Harmoniam multos jam annos constantem retineri, ac in posterum conservari, dictamq; proinde super præfato matrimonio causam in iudicio iustitia & veritate decidi, certumq; firmum validum & maturum, quod maxime expedit, finem sortiri; Circumspectioni vestræ ad audiendum ea omnia & singula quæ dicti matrimonii vires, dispensationisve Apostolicæ cujuscunq; coram vobis producenda aut exhibenda validitatem aut invaliditatem contingant, deq; & super omnibus illis ac aliis quibuscunq; materiis, allegationibus & causis dictum matrimonium aut dispensationem concernent, seu tangentibus cognoscend. necnon in causa dicti matrimonii & validitatis dispensationis, vocatis partibus, summarie & de plano, sine strepitu & figura iudicii procedendum, dispensationes quascunq; Apostolicas, prout illas validas efficaces & sufficientes, invalidasve inefficaces minus sufficientes surreptitias aut arreptitias, aut alio quocunq; modo inervat. inveneritis, tales illas esse, & haberi debere pronunciandum & declarandum, dictumq; matrimonium similiter, si ab alterutra parte petatur, pro ut animo conscientieque vestræ juris ratio persuaferit, validum iustum & legitimum, ac firmum esse, aut e contra invalidum iniustum & illegitimum, nullumque fuisse & esse, pro valido iusto legitimo & firmo, aut e contra, invalido iniusto & illegitimo, nulloq; haberi debere, definiendum, sententiand. & decernandum; ac in eventum improbatæ dispensationis & declarationis nullitatis matrimonii, summarie & de plano sine strepitu & figura iudicii, ut præfertur, sententiam divortii judicialiter proferend. denique tam Henrico Regi, quam Catherinæ Reginæ præfatis, ad alia vota commigrand. Licentiam in domino & facultatem tribuendum. Vobis conjunctim, & altero vestrum nolente aut impedito, divisim, citra omnem personæ aut Jurisdictionis gradum, omni recusatione & appellatione remotis, Vices & omnem auctoritatem nostram committimus & demandamus. Vos etiam conjunctim, & altero vestrum nolente, aut impedito, divisim, ut præfertur, ad ea omnia quæ in hac commissione continentur dumtaxat exequenda expedienda, ac plenæ finaliq; executioni demandanda, Vices-gerentes nostros etiam ex certa nostra scientia creamus, & deputamus, ita, ut in præmissis, quod nos auctoritate et potestate nostra

nostra facere possemus, id etiam vos facere possitis. Vobis quoque tam prolem ex primo matrimonio susceptam, si id ita expedire Visum fuerit, quam ex secundo matrimonio suscipiendam, legitimam decernend. pronuntiandi. & promulgand. legitimitatem etiam utriusq; prolis, censuris & pœnis Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque, per modum decreti aut sanctionis perpetuæ, muniendi & vallandi omnibus validioribus & efficacioribus modis & formis quæ de jure concipi & excogitari poterint, ex certa nostra scientia, autoritate Apostolica, tenore præsentium, potestatem pariter & auctoritatem concedimus, Non-obstantibus Conciliis generalibus, Apostolicis constitutionibus, & ordinationibus editis, ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Dat. Viterbii, Anno Incarnationis Dominice Millesimo Quingentesimo Vicesimo Octavo. Sexto Id. Junii, Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

After the Commission was read, our Chronicles with one consent say, the King was Call'd, and appear'd personally in Court, at whose Feet the Queen prostrated her self, demanding Justice, right, and pity, &c. But now to come to the Record. I find the King and Queen were by Longland, the Kings Confessor cited to appear upon 18th June next ensuing. The King (for observing his time,) gave Richard Sampson, Dean of his Chappell, and John Bell, Doctor of the Decrees, a Commission sealed in green Wax, and dated at Greenwich, xv. June; by which he constituted them his Proctors, with Authority to refuse or accept the Court and Judgement of the two Cardinalls, and, if need were, to Appeale; allowing them also to substitute other Protectors; binding himself finally sub Hypotheca & obligatione Bonorum, to ratifie what they should doe. But the Queen, using a shorter way, appear'd in person, protesting yet against the Cardinalls, as incomperent Judges; requiring further, that this her Protestation might be Recorded, and so departed presently out of the Court. This while the Cardinalls, who took into their Commission John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln; John Clerke, Bishop of Bath and wells; John Islip, Abbot of Westminster; and Doctor John Taylor, Master of the Rolls; sent unto the Queen Letters Monitory; declaring, if she appear'd not, they would notwithstanding proceed to execute their Commission; for which purpose the above-mentioned Bishop of Bath and wells, was employed, but she, refusing, is pronounced Contumacious.

Certain Articles were then put in by the Legats, against our King, and Queen Katherine, the principall substance wherof was, that Prince Arthur did Marry, and Carnally know Queen Katherine, confirming also this Marriage by Cohabitation with her till his death. After which, King Henry being his brother, did Marry the said Lady Katherine, Anno Domini 1509. in facie Ecclesiæ, and had Children by her; which Marriage yet, being as well Divino as Ecclesiastico jure prohibited, and (unlesse it may be otherwayes made good) to be reputed in it selfe nullum omnino et invalidum, had caused huge scandall, both in the Clergie and people of England, and of many other places,

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May 31.
Hall.
Hollins.
Godwin.
Stow.

June 15.

June 18.

June 25.

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insomuch that it hath come to the Popes eares, who taking notice hereof, gave Commission to those Cardinalls to heare and proceed in this businesse, according to the importance of it.

June 28.

This being done, the Queen is cited a second time to appeare, which she refusing, is pronounc'd again Contumacious. This hindered not the Court yet to proceed, and appoint Doctor *Taylor*, Arch-Deacon of *Buckingham*, to examine the Witnesses, while themselves, calling for the Dispensations that were alleg'd in favour of this Marriage, a certain Bull and Breve were exhibited, which I have thought fit to set down at length as they are extant in the same Record.

July 5.

The Bull being *sub plumbo, more Romana Curia*, was an originall, but the Breve was only a Copy subscrib'd and sign'd with the hand of *Juan Vergara*, a Canon of *Toledo*, and publike Notary, *authoritate Apostolica*; and with the Seales of *Balthazar de Castiglione*, the Popes Nuntio, and the reverend Father in God *Alfonso de Fonseca*, Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*.

The Bull.

Iulius Episcopus servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Henrico carissimi in Christo filii Henrici Angliæ Regis illustris. nato, & dilectæ in Christo filiæ Catharinæ carissimi in Christo filii nostri Ferdinandi Regis ac carissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Elizabeth Reginæ Hispaniarum & Sicilia Catholicorum natæ illustribus, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem Romani. Pontificis præcellens autoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout personarum negotiorum & temporum qualitate pensata id in domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, Quod cum alias tu filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus carissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimi primogenitus pro conservandis pacis & amicitin nexibus & sæderibus inter carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ferdinandum, & carissimam in Christo filiam nostram Elizabeth Hispaniarum & Sicilia Catholicos ac præfatum Angliæ Reges & Reginam, matrimonium per verba legitime de præsentī contraxissetis illudq; carnali copula forsan consummavissetis, Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi matrimonio non suscepta decessit, Cum autem sicut eadem

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dem petitio subungebat, ad hoc ut hujusmodi vinculum pacis & amicitie inter præfatos Reges & Reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præfenti contrahere, supplicari nobis fecistis, ut vobis in præmissis de opportune Dispensationis gratia providere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur; Nos igitur, qui inter singulos Christi fidelis, præsertim Catholicos Reges & principes, pacis et concordie amœnitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, vosq; et quemlibet vestrum a quibuscunq; excommunicationis suspensionis & interdicti, alijsq; Ecclesiasticis sententiis censuris & pœnis a jure vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel causa, latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodati existitis, ad effectum præsentium duntaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes, & absolutos fore censes, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente ac constitutionibus & ordinationibus Apostolicis cæterisq; contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præfenti inter vos contrahere, & in eo, postquam contractum fuerit, etiam si jam forsan hætenus de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac illud carnali copula consummaveritis, licite remanere valeatis, autoritate Apostolica tenore præsentium de specialis dono gratie dispensamus, ac vos & quemlibet vestrum, si contraxeritis (ut præfertur) ab excessu hujusmodi ac excommunicationis sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem autoritate absolvimus, Prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio sive contracto sive contrahendo susceptam forsan vel suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Proviso quod tu (filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris; volumus autem quod si hujusmodi matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos & quemlibet vestrum eligendus, poenitentiam Salutarem propterea vobis Injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ absolutionis dispensationis & voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire; si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumpserit,

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rit, Indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursum. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo Quingentesimo tertio. Septim. Cal. Januarii, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

The Breve, together with the asseverations of those who subscribed it.

NOs Balthazar de Castiglione Mantuan. Apostolicæ sedis notarius, in Hispaniarum Regnis, terrisq; & locis temporali dominio; Serenissimorum Principum Caroli in Imperatorem electi & Johannæ Regis & Regina Catholicorum Subjectis ejusdem Sedis Nuncius, & Alfonsus de Fonseca miseratione dominica Archiepiscopus Toletan. Hispaniarum Primas, ac Regnorum Castell. Archicancellarius, Universis & singulis ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint, & quos nosse fuerit oportuno, Salutem in domino. Noveritis, quod literas quondam Sanctissimi in Christo patris se. re. Julii Papæ secundi in forma Brevis sub annulo Piscatoris, sanas & integras, non viciatas, non cancellatas, nec aliqua parte sui suspectas, sed omni prorsus vicio & suspitione carentes, pro parte Sa. Cæs. & Catholicæ Majestatis Caroli divina favente Clementia E. Ro. Imperatoris, & in ejus præsentia nobis præsentatis cum ea qua decuit reverentia recepimus. Quarum quidem literarum tenor erat in exteriori superscriptione talis. Dilecto filio Henrico, charissimi in christo filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illust. nat. Illustris. & dilectæ in christo filia Catharinæ charissimi etiam in Christo filii nostri Ferdinandi & charissimæ in Christo filia nostræ Elizabeth Regina Hispaniarum et Sicilia Catholicorum natæ Illust. Interius vero talis.

Julius Papa secundus. Dilecte fili et dilecta in Christo filia, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Romani Ponteficis præcellens autoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate prout (personarum negotiorum et temporum qualitate pensata) id in Domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper

nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, quod cum alias tu filia Catharina, et tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus Carissimi in Christo filii nostri Hentici Angliæ Regis Illustris. primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis et amicitiae nexibus et fœderibus inter præfatum Angliæ et Carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ferdinandum Regem et Carissimam in Christo filiam nostram Elizabeth Reginam Catholicos Hispaniarum et Siciliæ, matrimonium per verba legitime de præsentì contraxeritis, illudq; carnali copula consummaveritis, quia tamen dominus Arthurus, prole ex hujusmodi matrimonio non suscepta, decessit, et hujusmodi vinculum pacis et connexitatis inter præfatos Reges et Reginam ita firmiter verisimiliter non perduraret, nisi etiam illud alio affinitatis vinculo confoveretur et confirmaretur: ex hiis, et certis aliis causis, desideratis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præsentì contrahere: Sed quia desiderium vestrum in præmissis adimplere non potestis, dispensatione Apostolica desuper non obtenta, Nobis propterea humiliter supplicari fecistis, ut vobis providere in præmissis de dispensationis gratia & benignitate, Apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim catholicos Reges & Principes, pacis & concordie amantatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, hiis & aliis causis animum nostrum moventibus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut aliquo impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente non obstant. matrimonium inter vos contrahere, & in eo, postquam contractum fuerit, remanere libere & licite valeatis, autoritate Apostolica per præsentès dispensamus: &, quatenus forsan jam matrimonium inter vos de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac carnali copula consummaveritis vos et quemlibet vestrum ab excessu hujusmodi ac excommunicationis sententia quam propterea Incurristis, eadem autoritate absolvimus, ac etiam vobiscum ut in hujusmodi matrimonio sic de facto contracto remanere, seu illud de novo contrahere inter vos libere & licite valeatis, simili-

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similiter dispensamus, Prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio sive contracto sive contrahendo suscipiendam legitimam decernend. volumus autem, si hujusmodi matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos & quemlibet vestrum eligendus, poenitentiam, quam adimplere teneamini, propterea vobis injungat. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxvi. Decemb. Millesimo Quingentesimo tertio. Pont. nostri Anno primo. Sigismundus.

Quibus quidem literis diligenter per nos Balthazarem de Castiglione tanquam nuncium Apostolicum, & Alfonsum de Fonseca tanquam loci ordinarium, inspectis, & perlectis, Quia eas sanas & integras, ac omni prorsus vicio & suspitione (ut præmittitur) carentes Invenimus, Ideo, ad requisitionem expressam præfat. Cæsar. & Catholicæ Majestatis, tam suo quam conjuntorio nomine Serenissimæ Dominæ Catherinæ Reginæ Angliæ suæ carissimæ materteræ & consanguineæ, asserent. ipsius requirent. & prædict. Reginæ interesse, ob eternitatis memoriam, & ne vetustatæ prædictum originale depereat, utq; de illius tenore ubi opus fuerit edoceri possit, & in locis in quibus, ob bellorum viarumq; discrimina, non liceat tuto ipsum originale dispensationis transmittere aut committere, ejusdem Maiestatis requisitioni, tanquam justæ & rationabili, annuentes, easdem literas exemplari & transumi ac in publicam formam redigi mandavimus; decernentes & volentes ut huic præsentis transumpto publico plena fides deinceps adhibeatur, in locis omnibus ubi fuerit oportunum, perinde ac si originales ipsæ literæ exhiberentur. Quibus omnibus uterq; nostrum auctoritatem nostram interposuimus, & decretum. Et, ad ampliorem evidentiam præmissorum, præsens instrumentum manu nostra uterq; signavimus. Idemq; Sigillorum nostrorum Jussimus appensione communiri. Dat. Toleti die duodecima Decemb. Anno a Nativitate domini Millesimo Quingentesimo xxviii. Præsentibus ibidem illustribus & generosis viris, Dominis Henrico comite a Nassau, Marchione de Zenete camerario supremo, Don. Johanne Manuele

Manuele, Don Laurentio de Gorreuodo comite Pontisvalli-
um Militibus velleris aurei, Carolo de Popeto Domino Dela
chaulx, Lodovico a Flandria Domino de Prato, & Nicho-
lao Perrenot Domino de Grande villa, omnibus consiliariis
prædictæ sacræ Cæs. & Catholicæ Majestatis testibus ad præ-
missa vocatis specialiter atq; rogatis. Baldezar de Castilione
nuncius & Collector Apostolicus. A. Toletan. Et ego
Johannes Vergara Canonicus Toletan. in sacra Theolo-
gia magister, publicus Apostolica autoritate notarius, Qui
præmissis omnibus, una cum prænominatis testibus interfui,
hoc publicum instrumentum signavi, & subscripsi, in testi-
monium veritatis, per eandem Cæs. Catholicam Majestatem
rogatus & requisitus..

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*Against these Dispensations the following
Objections were used.*

July 9.

I. **T**hat the Peace and Unity betwixt *England* and *Spain* was
firme before the granting of the Dispensation, which yet
was alledged as a Cause.

II. That the said Dispensation, as being grounded on this pretext,
must be held surreptitious, *Henry VIII.* being then not above thirteen,
and consequently unable for Marriage, which also if the Pope had
known before-hand, or that otherwise it had been represented to him,
he would not have easily granted any such Dispensation.

III. Because it was pretended that *Henry VIII.* had desired the
Match only for maintaining Peace betwixt the two Kingdomes;
whereas (being then not above thirteen) he must be thought unca-
pable of such thoughts.

IV. That though this Dispensation might once bee thought to
have his force and vertue, yet seeing the motive of granting it was
grounded upon the above-mentioned Peace, and that one of the said
Princes died before the solemnising of the said Marriage, the cause of
the Dispensation must be held voyd.

V. That, supposing the objection of Affinity were taken away by
vertue of the said Dispensation, yet the objection *de publica honestate*
was not cleered.

VI. That the Breve above-mentioned appears by the Tenor of it
to contain many falshoods and suspitions, and particularly that the
style, inditing, as also many clauses and circumstances differ from the
Bull, so that it may be thought forged since the time of the questi-
ons moved concerning this Matrimony; as by comparing them toge-
ther may be manifestly gathered.

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This also was urged by these reasons;

1. That, in the Register Book of the Breves at *Rome*, no such Breve is found, or any Argument that such a Breve was made.
2. That, likewise, neither in the Chartophylacio or Paper-Chamber of the King, no such Breve is extant, nor otherwayes, in the private treaties of the Marriage, any mention is made thereof.
3. That, in the date of the said Breve, as it is exemplified, the yeare of our Lord is discrepant from the vulgar account; for whereas the style of the Court of *Rome* begins alwayes from the Nativity of our Lord, this seems to be a year before *Julius* was made Pope.

Jul. 12.

All which objections were deliver'd to the Kings Proctor, that hee might answer to them.

Whereupon Witneses being summon'd to appear *July 12.*

<i>Thomas Duke of Norfolk,</i>	<i>Robert Viscount Fitz-water,</i>
<i>Charles Duke of Suffolke,</i>	<i>John Bishop of Carlile,</i>
<i>Thomas Marquis Dorset,</i>	<i>Sir David Owen,</i>
<i>George Earle of Shrewsbury,</i>	<i>Sir John Hussey,</i>
<i>Thomas Viscount Rochfort,</i>	<i>Sir Richard Weston, Knights,</i>

With divers others, presented themselves to be examined by the Arch-Deacon of *Buckingham*, above-mentioned.

July 14.

In the mean-while, these two Articles were added to the former, as serving to strengthen the Objections above-mentioned.

1. That the year for Popes Breves begins *December 26.* and the year for Bulls 25th of *March.*

2. That, in all Marriages contracted within the Kingdome of *England*, the forme hath been in words, *De presenti, ego accipio te, &c.*

Businesses being thus ripe for examination of Witneses, the Depositions of two ancient Ladies, who excus'd themselves by their infirmity from appearing in person, were publikely read.

July 19.

1. The first, being *Mary Countesse of Essex*, said little, but in generall terms.

2. But *Agnes* the old Dutchesse of *Norfolke*, who was present at the Marriage at *St. Pauls* in *London*, declared the age of Prince *Arthur* at the time of his said Marriage, to be about fifteen; and moreover, did positively affirme, that she saw Prince *Arthur*, and the Lady *Katherine*, alone, in bed together, the next night after their Marriage. Which therefore, as also a following Deposition of the Viscountesse *Fitz-water*, may serve to answer *Sanders* his tale, where hee sayth, a grave Matron was put into the same bed with him, to hinder the Prince from knowing her Carnally.

*Sand. de
Schism. Ang.*

3. *George Earle of Shrewsbury* depos'd, the Marriage was celebrated at *St. Pauls*, *Decimo septimo Henrici Septimi*, 1501. adding further, that Prince *Arthur* was born at *Winchester*, *secundo Henrici septimi*: and that he beleev'd the Prince knew his Lady carnally, both as being able so to do, as also because himselfe knew his Wife being not sixteen.

4. *William*

4. *William Warham*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, being examined, protests, not to reveale any Secrets of the Queen, as being her sworn Counsellor. For the rest, as he answered warily to the questions propounded him concerning the validity of the Match; insomuch that he refer'd himselfe therein to the Judges, who were to determine it; so yet he made no difficulty to confesse that he approv'd it not at first; which also he declar'd, not only in a Contestation which he had with *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who perswaded it, but in certain words to King *Henry* the Seventh himself, whom hee told plainly, that the Marriage seem'd to him neither honourable, nor well pleasing to God. Adding further, that because the said King *Henry VII.* appear'd not much inclin'd to the Marriage, that he the said Deponent intreated him to perswade his Son Prince *Henry*, to protest that he would not take the Lady *Katherine* to Wife, and that he should renew this Protestation when he came to the Crown; which also he the said Deponent believeth was made. Notwithstanding, that when the Bull of Dispensation was granted, that he the said Deponent contradicted it no more; and that the murmuring of the people on that occasion was quieted, till the Kings Conscience being troubled, revived it again.

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5. *Sir William Thomas*, Knight, deposed, Prince *Arthur*, and the Lady *Katherine* lived five moneths, partly about *London*, and partly at *Ludlow*, in household together as man and wife; and that hee heard *Sir William Wodall*, who was at the Princes Christning say, that hee was above fifteen, at the time of his Marriage, and the Lady *Katherine* elder.

6. *Sir Anthony Poynes*, Knight, deposed, that Prince *Arthur* was above fifteen at the time of his Marriage.

7. *Thomas Marquis Dorset* deposed, he saw a Register of the Nativity of the Kings Children; by which he found Prince *Arthur* was born the 20 September 1486. and, that at the time of his Marriage (which was upon a Sunday, in November, *Decimo Septimo Henrici septimi*.) He was of a good and Sanguine complexion, and able, as he suppos'd, for that purpose.

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8. *Robert Viscount Fitz-water* depos'd, the Prince was then about fifteen, and Queen *Katherine* elder, and that, the next day after being in bed together, (which he remembred after they entered to have been solemnly blest) he waited at breakfast on Prince *Arthur*, where *Maurice St. Johns* did carve, and he the Lord *Fitz water* gave drinke; at which time the said *Maurice* demanding of the Prince how hee had done that night? the Prince answered, I have been in *Spain* this night.

9. 10. 11. *Thomas Lord Darcy*, *William Lord Montejoy*, and *Henry Galdesford*, Knight of the Garter, said little, but by way of publike report.

12. *Charles Duke of Suffolk* deposed, that he was in the Bishop of *London's* Pallace, the morrow next following the day of Marriage, and that he waited there upon the Prince at Breakfast, confirming

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moreover in effect, the words of *Maurice St. John*, before set down. Furthermore, he added that the Shrovetide following the Marriage, (which was in *November* preceding) the said Prince began to decay, and grow feeble in body; which grew, as the said *St. John* related, by reason the said Prince lay with the Lady *Katherine*.

13. *David Owen* deposed, that Prince *Arthur* was born at *Winchester*, *secundo Henrici Septimi*; which he knew, because he was at the Christning.

14. *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, deposed, that he being the day of the Marriage in the Bishop of *London's* Palace, and the morrow after, at the Prince's Breakfast, heard the Prince's words to *Maurice St. John*, when he said hee had been that night in the midst of *Spain*; by which words, as also because Prince *Arthur* was a Gentleman of a good Complexion, and nature, and above fifteen, he beleeves that he carnally knew his Lady; because himself also at the same age did carnally know and use; and he believes this the rather, that he heard from Credible persons, that the said Prince *Arthur* did lie with the said Ladie *Katherine* five or six nights afterwards.

15. *Anthony Willoughby*, Knight, deposed, that being, the morrow after the Marriage, in the Princes Privy Chamber, the said Prince spake afore divers Witnesses these words, *Willoughby*, give me a cup of Ale; for I have been this night in the midst of *Spain*; After which he said, Masters, it is a good pastime to have a Wife, which words he repeated also divers other times. Moreover, he heard say they lay at *Ludlow* together the Shrovetide next following.

16. *Nicholas Bishop of Ely* said, he could depose nothing concerning the carnalis copula, but that he doubted of it, because the Queen often *sub testimonio conscientiae suae*, said to this Deponent, that shee was never carnally known of Prince *Arthur*, though otherwise hee must confesse them both to be *legitima etatis* at the time of their Marriage. Hee doubted further, whether the Cardinalls were competent Judges, an appeale being made from them.

17. *Richard Sacheverell*, Knight, deposed, the people said commonly, that it was unfit one brother should marry the other brothers Wife.

18. *Thomas Viscount Rochefort*, deposed, that hee heard divers of Prince *Arthur's* followers confirme the words he used, of his having been in *Spain* the night of his Marriage. Moreover, he heard say, that King *Henry viii.* was perswaded by his Confessor, about two yeares since, to abstain from the bed of the Lady *Katherine*, lest hee should offend his Conscience.

19. 20. 21. 22. 23. *Sir Richard Wesson*, and *Sir John Hussy*, Knights, depos'd the age of King *Henry* the eighth was thirty eight upon the Eve of the Feast of *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul* last; which Viscount *Rochefort* also confirm'd, saying the place of his Birth was *Greenwich*, and the year was 1491. and day the twenty eighth of *June*; which

Robert

Robert Viscount Fitz-water confirmed also, adding, that King Henry the Seventh died two dayes before the Feast of St. George, twenty yeares since; With whom David Owen, Servant and Counsellour to King Henry the Seventh agreed, save only, that he said it was three dayes before the Feast.

24. Thomas Duke of Norfolk deposed, that Pedro de Ayala or Alca, and Doctor de Puebla, Ambassadors from Spain, were much in favour heretofore with Henry the Seventh, and that Henry the Seventh died before the Marriage betwixt his Son Prince Henry, and the Princess Katherine, and Queen Isabel or Elizabeth her Mother dyed also before that time.

25. William Warham, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Counsellour to Henry the Seventh, and Henry the Eighth, for 36 years last past, deposed, that he conceived Henry the Eighth to be under thirteen at the time of the Dispensation granted; because King Henry his Father told him that he was *impubes*, after that time. Whereupon this Deponent replied to the King, that any Protestation hee should then make would be of no force, and therefore he should make it again one or two dayes after his comming to *annos pubertatis*.

26. 27. Charles Duke of Suffolk, and Thomas Marquis Dorset, examined again, said little but what was formerly set down.

28. Pedro Mates, *utriusq; Juris doctor*, Native of Barcelona in Spain, who had lived in the Court of Rome thirty years, in *exercitio causarum*, deposed, that the date of years there is computed after three divers manners; So that Judgements, Contracts, and last Wills bear date from the Nativity 25 December; *Litteræ Apostolicæ sub plumbo xxv. of March; Litteræ Apostolicæ per Breve sub annulo piscatoris eere rubræ impresso scribuntur simpliciter & absolute absq; expressione ipsius domini aut Nativitatis, aut incarnationis, sed solum Anno M.D. &c.* Yet so that he conceiv'd it began alwaies a Nativitate scilicet xxv. Decembris, neither doth he know any thing to the contrary, except the Popes Secretary alter the stile.

29. Nicolaus Rusticus of Lucca in Italia, sayth, that *Annus Domini in Brevibus Apostolicis* is computed from the Nativity of our Lord.

30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. Thomas Viscount Rochefort, Henry Guilford Knight, Thomas Marquis Dorset, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, William Falke Notarius publicus, John Taverner, and John Clamport, being examined, deposed, the formes of Marriages are alwaies *in verbis de presenti*, in England.

37. The Lady Elizabeth, Wife to Viscount Fitz-water, depos'd, that she saw the Lady Katherine and Prince Arthur in bed together, which was blest, and that she left them alone together.

Hereupon the Depositions were published, and the Kings Proctor summon'd to receive those Acts and Writings he deliver'd into the Court; but he not appearing, is pronounc'd Contumacious.

The Commissioners yet proceeded to require the sight of the *Archiva* and Record concerning this businesse, for which purpose

Thomas

1529

July 17.

1529.

Thomas VVriothesly, and *Thomas Tong*, Kings of Armes, had been employed; These men certified that Prince *Arthur* died in the Castle of *Ludlow* the second of *April*, 1502. and that his Brother *Henry* was born the 28th of *June* 1491. and that the Marriage betwixt Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katherine* was the 14th of *November*, 1501.

1527.
April 5. & 6.

This being done, a Deposition of *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, taken by Doctor *Woolman*, April 5. and 6. 1527. was read. The most substantiall part whereof was, that he conceiv'd, Doctor *Puebla* did first motion this Match, and that more than one Bull was impetrated for dispensing therewith, whereof two remain'd in *England*, one or two were extant in *Spain*, but all of the same Tenor, and gotten without asking the consent of *Henry* the Eighth. Furthermore, that he did not remember that *Henry* the Eighth, when hee came to age, did expressly consent to, or dissent from the intended Marriage, yet that he believed that a Protestation was made in the name of *Henry* the Eighth to this effect; That notwithstanding any Contract or tokens mutually sent, or cohabitation in the house of King *Henry VII*, he would not hold himself bound to ratifie this Act done in his non-age; And that this Protestation is to be found *inter protocolla Magistri Ryden*, then Clerke of the Councill, before whom it was made. As for the person by whom this Protestation was made, *coram Magistro Ryden Notario publico; credit quod vel ipsemet, vel Magister Thomas Ruthull tunc Secretarius domini Regis, & postea Episcopus Dunelm. vel Mr. Doctor West tunc consiliarius ejusdem domini Regis & nunc Episcopus Eliens. fecit eandem protestationem nomine domini nostri Regis Henrici Octavi moderni; presentibus tunc ibidem Comite de Surrey tunc Thesaurario Anglia & postea Duce Norfolcia ac domino doctore Peohebla, & coram saepe dicta clarissima Domina Catharina, ut recolit, ac infra Aedes Episcopi Dunelm. vulgariter nuncupat. Duresme place.* Adding further, that our King was not present there, that he remembers. Furthermore, that upon conference had betwixt *Henry* the Seventh and himself, he found it was the intention of that King, that his sonne *Henry* should marry the said Lady *Katherine*, although he deferr'd the Solemnization of this intended Matrimony, by reason of some discord which was at that time betwixt him and the King of *Spain*, for the calling back of the Dowry. Hee added moreover, that King *Henry* intended not (that he knew) to marry the Mother of *Charles* the Fifth, but his Aunt *Margaret*, Dutchesse of *Savoy*.

This Examination being compleat, and set down by *Andrew Smith* Notary, the said Doctor *Woolman* required him to subscribe his hand; which was refus'd by the said Bishop, both because he was blind of both eyes, as that he was not admitted to take any Counsell or advise about it. But Doctor *Woolman* pressing him on the Kings part, that he should subscribe his name, hee at last assented, out of the Reverence he bore to the King, and that he never contraven'd him in any thing. Whereupon he subscrib'd his name April 8. the yeare above

above mentioned, being 1527. After which also another Instrument of this Tenor was produced.

1529.

Augustinus Spinola tit' Sancti Cyriaci in thermis presbiter Cardinalis, Sancta Romana Ecclesia Camerarius, Universis & singulis presentes literas Inspecturis, Salutem in domino. Rationi convenit & congruit honestati, ut de hiis quæ a Romanis Pontificibus processerunt, & quæ in eorum archivis & registris scripta, & registrata sunt, cum ab aliquibus petitar, testimonium veritatis perhibeatur; hinc est, quod nos Universitati vestra tenore presentium fidem facimus & attestamus, in libris & Registris camera Apostolica, viz. in libro Registri Brevium Anni primi, secundi, & tertii felicitis recordationis Julii Papa secundi, vidimus & legimus quasdam literas Apostolicas, in forma Brevis ejusdem Julii Papa secundi (ut moris est) Registratas, quarum tenor successive sequitur et est talis. Charissimo in Christo filio nostro, Angliæ Regi illustri. Charissime in Christo fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Accepimus literas tua serenitatis, in quibus nobis gratias agis, quod oratoribus tuis honorifice obviam proditum sit, quod nos eos benigne audierimus, ac liberali responso oportunisq; gratiis et favoribus prosecuti fuerimus: facis (fili Charissime) pro solita pietate, ut ea etiam tibi sint grata, quæ a nobis prateriri non solent. Declaravimus nostris bonis in te mentis affectum verbis & rebus quibus potuimus, Declarabimus & quotidie magis, ita exigente tua serenitatis in nos & sanctam Apostolicam sedem devotione et observantia singulari. De dispensatione matrimoniali nunquam negavimus, nec ullam suspicionem præbimus, quominus eam facere vellemus, ut aliqui minus vere dixerunt. Sed respondimus, nos expectare in illa concedenda tempus magis accommodatum, ut consultius et maturius fieret, cum hujus sanctæ sedis et utriusque partis honore. Eam itaq; cum expedi verimus, ut deliberavimus, ad tuam serenitatem (magni enim momenti est) per dilectum filium Robertum Shirbonnen. Decanum sancti Pauli Londoniens. unum ex oratoribus tuis, qui maxima doctrina modestiam, fidem, diligentiamq; præ se tulit, mittere cogitamus; duplici ratione; Cum quod per eum secreta & tutissime perferretur, tum ut talem virum tantaq; virtute & probitate præditum Serenitati tuæ diutius præservemus, ut ejus fide & opera diutius frui possit. Romæ enim sine vitæ periculo diutius esse non potest, propter aeris intemperiem & æstus Intolerabiles. &c. Dat. Romæ apud sanctum Petrum, VI. Julii Millesimo Quingentesimo Quarto, Pontif. nostri primo.

July 6.
1504.

The rest, having little materiall, save that mention is made how the Cardinall *Sancti Petri ad vincula*, the Popes Nephew, was made Protector of the English, I have purposely omitted, that I may insert another Letter of the Popes of 22 of February, 1505. the Tenor whereof is this;

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi illustri. Charissime in Christo fili noster, Salutem & Apostolicam benedict. Intelleximus a dilecto filio G. Cardinali Sancti Petri ad vincula tui Regniq; tui protectore, nostro secundum carnem nepote, & a venerabili fratre nostro Silvestro

1529.

Silvestro Episcopo Wigorn. tuæ serenitatis apud nos oratore, literas dispensationis matrimonialis tantopere ab eis, nomine tuæ serenitatis, petitis, ex Hispaniis ad te missas fuisse. Fili Carissime, nos dispensationem illam Instantibus Cardinali & Episcopo prædictis, tua potissimum contemplatione, concessimus, ac super ea, sub Bulla plumbea literas expediri fecimus, ut ad tuam serenitatem per Cardinalem & Episcopum antedictos statuto tempore mitterentur. Sed cum claræ memoriæ Elizabeth Hispaniarum Regina Catholica finem hujus mortalis vitæ sibi instare cerneret, impensa & maxima cum instantia per oratorem suum nobis humiliter supplicasset, ut pro consolatione sua duplum dictarum literarum ei concedere dignaremur, quod hanc consolationem sibi Dare vellemus ut de hujusmodi dispensatione certior facta æquiori animo ab ipsa vita migraret: Nosque pietatis Christianæ & nostræ in illam charitatis paternæ esse putavimus non defraudare ipsam Reginam jam-jam morituram desiderio hujus rei, in qua etiam subditis et Regnicolis illis bonam spem conjunctionis tuæ serenitatis posset asferre præsertim quod idem orator rem hanc secretam futuram pollicebatur, (quod ab eo non servatum molestissime ferimus) Bullam igitur Originalem apud nos servatam serenitati tuæ, una cum Ense, quo te pro tua singulari virtute, & in sanctam sedem Apostolicam pietate donand. merito duximus, per eundem Episcopum Wigorn. nobis probatum & charam decrevimus mittere, a quo serenitas ipsa tua uberius intelliget causas ejusdem Bullæ hætenus apud nos retenta, & nonnulla alia sibi per nos commissa negotia. Nec miretur majestas tua, si de hac re nihil cum Iphis Cardinali & oratore communicavimus, nunquam enim putavimus fore, ut ab oratore dictæ Regine deciperemur, & litera dispensationis prædictæ ad te ex Hispaniis mitterentur, quas ut solum Regine tam periculose egrotanti pro solamine suo ostenderentur duplicari concesseramus. Nam, præterquam tuæ serenitati de nobis & sancta Romana Ecclesia benemerita gratificari cupimus, ipsis e Cardinali & Episcopo oratori tuo meritam fidei & diligentie laudem in tuis negotiis promovendis dare debemus. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum die Vigesima secunda Februarii, Anno Millesimo Quingentesimo quinto, Pont. nostri Anno secundo.

1505.
Febr. 22.

And that these are true Copies, *Augustinus Spinola*, at the instance of King *Henry* the Eighth, and by the commandment of the Pope, did certifie under the hand and Seale of his office the twenty seventh of *January*, 1529.

Jul. 21.

In sequence whereof, the Commissioners took Oath of the Kings of Armes, that the Copies they delivered were true, appointing further the next wednesday, *ad concludendum*. Upon which day (being 21. July) the Commissioners being sate, *John Hughes*, Promoter, appear'd before them, and signified that there is found a certain Protestation made by our King, when he came to ripe years, in the presence of Notaries and Witnesses, and subscrib'd with the hand of the said King (at that time Prince of *Wales*); and some Counsellors of King *Henry* the Seventh, which he said were much to the purpose of the

1529.

the businesse then in question. Whereupon the Commissioners received the said Protestation in presentia dicti Magistri Ricardi Sampson Procuratoris Regis, & in contumaciam Regina; Commanding further, that it should remain penes acta sua.

In Dei nomine Amen. Coram vobis Reverendo in Christo Patre & domino domino Ricardo dei & Apostolicæ sedis gratia Episcopo Wintoniensi, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps, Dux Cornubiæ, & Comes Cestriæ, dico allego & in his scriptis propono, Quod licet ego minorem ætatem agens & intra annos pubertatis notorie existens, cum Serenissima domina Katharina Hispaniarum Regis filia, Matrimonium de facto contraxerim, qui quidem Contractus quamvis obstante ipsa minore ætate mea de se jam Invalidus, Imperfectus, nullius efficaciæ aut vigoris extiterit; Quia tamen annis pubertatis & matura ætate mea jam supervenient, contractus ipse per tacitum consensum, mutuam cohabitationem, munerum aut intersignium dationem seu receptionem, vel alium quemcumque modum Jure declaratum forsan existimari seu videri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; Ea-propter, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps prædictus, jam proximus pubertati existens, & annos pubertatis attingens, Protestor, quod non intendo eundem prætensum contractum per quæcumque; per me dicta seu dicenda, facta aut faciend. in aliquo approbare, validare, seu ratum habere; sed nunc in presenti, non vi, dolo, nec prece inductus, sed sponte & libere, nullo modo coactus, contra hujusmodi contractum reclamo, & eidem dissentio, voloque & omnino intendo ab eodem contractum matrimoniali prætenso melioribus modo & forma quibus de jure melius validius aut efficacius potero vel possim penitus resilire, & eidem expresse dissentire, prout in presenti contra eundem reclamo, & eidem dissentio. Protestorq; quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut gestum per me aut nomine meo per alium quemcumque; quandocumque; aut qualemcumque; impofterum faciendum, agendum, gerendum, aut explicandum, Volo aut intendo in præfatum contractum matrimoniale, aut in dictam dominam Catherinam tanquam sponsam, aut uxorem meam consentire. Super quibus vos omnes testimonium perhibere volo, requiro, rogo, atq; obtestor. Per me Henricum Walliæ Principem.

Acta fuit & facta suprascripta protestatio, per præfatum Serenissimum Principem Dominum Henricum, coram Reverendo in Christo patre & domino domino Ricardo permissione divina Winton. Episcopo, judicialiter pro tribunali sedent. & me Notarium infra scriptum ad tunc presentem in ejus actorum scribam in hac parte assumente, & testium infra scriptorum presentis. Anno Domini 1505. Indictione Octava, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris & Domini nostri Julii divina providentia eo nomine Papæ secundi Anno secundo, Mensis vero Junii die xxvii, quo die Dominus Serenissimus Princeps proximus pubertati, & annos pubertatis attingens erat, ut tunc ibidem assererat, In quadam bassa camera infra palatium Regium Richemondia, in parte occidentali ejusdem palatii situat. Super quibus omnibus & singulis præfatus serenissimus Princeps me Notarium præmemoratum Instrumentum consicere, & testes infra nominatos testimonium perhibere requisivit In-

June 7.
1505.

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stanter, & Rogavit. In quorum omnium & singulorum fidem & testimonium, præfatus serenissimus Princeps supra, & testes, ut præmittitur, rogati & requisiti, sua nomina propriis manibus infra scripserunt. Ita est ut supra, quod ego Johannes Raed manu & signo meo manuali attestor.

Giles Daubney, C. Sommerfet.

Thomas Rowthale, Nicholas West.

Henry Marny.

July 23.

Among whom *Nicholas VVest*, above-named, now Bishop of *Ely*, in pretence of the Commissioners, acknowledged and confessed that this Protestation was subscribed with his own hand. Whereupon the Commissioners, in *contumaciaus Regina*, did, in the presence of the above-mention'd Proctor, continue and Prorogue the Court, till Friday next following, warning the said Proctor also to be there. Upon which day, being the twenty third of *July*, the Court being set, the Promoter above-mentioned signified unto the Commissioners, that all that was requisite for the instruction and information of their understanding and Consciences, had been judicially propos'd and exhibited to them, and remain'd in their custody. And that therefore this day was assign'd, and appointed for concluding the businesse. Notwithstanding because Cardinall *Campegius* alledged and protested in *verbo veri Prælati*, that a certain general Vacation, which he termed *Ferias generales messium & vindemiarum*, was observed in the Court of *Rome* every yeare, before the said Friday; and because hee and his Colleague were bound to follow the stile of the said Court in the Proceſſe of the above-mention'd cause; Therefore the said Judges, in the presence of the Kings Proctor, and in *contumaciam Regina*, did prorogue the conclusion of this businesse, untill the First of *October* next following, warning the Kings Proctor then to appeare, and receive a conclusion of this businesse as should be according to Justice. All which pass'd in the presence of *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and divers other persons.

And thus much out of the Record formerly mentioned; which I have with more particularity set down, that it is so rare and unusuall a case to find a Prince submit himself, in his own Kingdome, to the Judgement of two persons, whereof the one was a suspected stranger, the other in birth, but of the meanest of his Subjects; and after all this, to receive no other Fruit hereof, but delay and insatisfaction; as appears not only by this abrupt Dismission, but by a sudden Advocation of the Cause, to the Pope, inhibiting further proceedings here (as will appear) shortly after; the consequences whereof extended further yet then our King then thought, or the Pope could easily have imagined.

These proceedings were subscribed by the Notaries *William Clayburgh*, Doctor of both Lawes *Protonotarius Apostolicus*, *Florianus Montinus*,

Montinus, and *Richard Watkins*, who acknowledged the rasures, interlineations, and lines in the Margent, together with the number of the leaves in the Parchment book (being 69.) To which also Letters testimoniall from *Nicholas Wootton*, Doctor of the Lawes, and the Bishop of *Londons* Officiall, having the Seale of the office, were annexed. After all which, a Dispensation, written by a later hand, and in loose paper, was found in the said book. Though that alone should not have induc'd mee to publish it, had I not seen it already printed in a Booke call'd *Anti-Sanderus*, and met, in our Archives, some dispatches that make it probable.

1529.

The Tenor of the Bull is this.

Clemens Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi Illustri, Fidei defensori, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Exponi nobis nuper fecisti, quod alias tu & dilecta in Christo filia Catharina, relicta quondam *** fratris tui germani, non ignorantes vos primo affinitatis gradu invicem fore conjunctos, matrimonium per verba alias legitime de præfenti, nulla saltem canonica seu valida dispensatione de super obtenta, quamvis de facto contraxistis, illudq; carnali copula consummastis, ac prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio suscepistis, excommunicationis sententiam incurrendo: Et cum Majestas tua in hujusmodi matrimonio absq; peccato remanere nequeat, & ne diutius in hujusmodi peccato & excommunicationis sententia remaneat, desideret ab hujusmodi excommunicationis sententia a iudice Ecclesiastico competente absolutionis beneficium obtinere, ac matrimonium ipsum nullum & invalidum fuisse, Tibiq; licere cum quacunq; alia muliere, alio non obistente canonico, matrimonium contrahere, declarari, & in eventum declarationis nullitatis matrimonii hujusmodi tecum dispensari ut cum quacunque alia muliere, etiam si illa talis sit, quæ alias cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non consummaverit, etiam si tibi alias secundo vel remotiori consanguinitatis, aut primo affinitatis gradu ex quocunq; licito seu illicito coitu conjuncta, dummodo Relicta dicti fratris tui non fuerit, ac etiam si cognatione

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spirituali vel legali tibi conjuncta extiterit, & impedimentum publicæ honestatis justitiæ subsistat, matrimonium licite contrahere, & in eo libere remanere, & ex eo prolem legitimam suscipere possis. Quare pro parte tui, asserentis ex antiquis Chronicis Regni constare, in ipso Regno quamplura gravissima bella sæpe exorta, & Christianam pacem & concordiam violatam fuisse, propter impios homines sua detestanda regnandi & dominandi libidine excitatos, confingentes ex justis & legitimis quorundam progenitorum & antecessorum tuorum Angliæ Regum nuptiis procreatos illegitimos fore propter aliquod consanguinitatis vel affinitatis confictum impedimentum, & propterea inhabiles esse ad Regni successionem, inde miserandam Principum ac Procerum & populorum subditorum stragem secutam fuisse; Nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut Regni tui tuorumq; Subditorum tranquillitati & paci inprimis consulere & tantis malis obviare, ac alias in præmissis, oportuna remedia adhibere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur. Nos qui omnium Regum præsertim majestatis tuæ ob ejus quamplura immensa in nos & hanc sanctam sedem, in qua permissione divina sedemus, collata beneficia, dum ab iniquissimis pestilentissimorum hominum conatibus, qui eam, partim viribus & scelerata audacia, partim perversa doctrina labefactare moliebantur, strenuissime cum viribus & gladio tum calamo & eruditione tua vindicare indies non cessat, petitiones, præsertim salutem animarum concernentes, quantum cum deo possumus, ad exauditionis gratiam libenter admittimus, eorumq; honestis votis favorabiliter annuimus, ex præmissis & nonnullis aliis causis nobis notis, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, tecum ut si contingat matrimonium cum præfata Catharina alias contractum nullum fuisse & esse declarari, teq; ab illius vinculo legitime absolvi, cum quacunq; muliere, ipsaq; mulier tecum, dummodo a te propter hoc rapta non fuerit, etiam si mulier ipsa talis sit, quæ prius cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non fuerit consummatum, etiam si illa

tibi

tibi alias secundo aut remotiori Consanguinitatis, aut primo affinitatis gradu, etiam ex quocunq; licito vel illicito coitu proveniente, invicem conjuncta, dummodo relicta dicti fratris tui non fuerit, ut præfertur, etiam si cognationis spiritualis aut legalis & publicæ honestatis justitiæ impedimentum subsistat & tibi conjuncta existat, matrimonium licite contrahere, Et postquam contractum fuerit, in eo sic contracto, etiam si illud inter te & ipsam mulierem jam de facto publice vel clandestine contractum & carnali copula consummatum fuerit, licite remanere valeatis, auctoritate Apostolica & ex certa nostra scientia & de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, tenore præsentium dispensamus, prolem inde forsan susceptam & suscipiendam legitimam fore decernent. Non obstant. prohibitionibus Juris divini, ac constitutionibus & ordinationibus aliis quibuscunq; in contrarium editis, quibus, in quantum Apostolica auctoritas se extendit, illis alias in suo robore permanens, quo ad hoc specialiter & expresse derogamus. Districtius inhibentes, &, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ expresse mandantes, sub interminatione divini judicii, ac sub poena anathematis, aliisque Ecclesiasticis sententiis censuris et poenis, quas ex nunc prout ex tunc & e converso ferimus et promulgamus, in his scriptis, ne quisquam impostero ullum impedimentum pro contractus Matrimonialis non consummati, Consanguinitatis in secundo aut ulteriori gradu, affinitatis primo ut præfertur, cognationis spiritualis aut legalis seu justitiæ publicæ honestatis impedimentis prædictis adversum liberos tuos quos ex quocunq; Matrimonio vigore præsentium contrahendo Dei benignitate susceperis palam vel occulte in judicio vel extra illud allegare proponere aut objicere, seu verbo vel facto diffamare præsumat, aut quocunq; modo attemptet. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ dispensationis, decreti, derogationis, inhibitionis, & mandati infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumperit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus

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se noverit incursum. Dat. In Civitate nostra Urbevetan. Anno Incarnationis dominicæ Millesimo Quingentesimo vicesimo septimo. Decimo Sexto Kal. Januarii. Pont. nostri Anno Quinto.

July.

July 3.

July 15.

Sept.

July 19.

While these things pass'd thus in *England*, the Queen found means to inform the Lady *Margaret*, Regent of the Low-Countries, of the whole processe; who thereupon sends word of it, to *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, intreating them to assist their Aunt; Which they accorded, dispatching their Orators to the Pope, whom also the Queen constituted her Proctors in the Court of Rome; giving them Commission to tender to the Pope a Copy of the Bull, Breve, and her Declaration that she was never carnally known by Prince *Arthur*. Shortly after which the said Orators, in the Queens name, made a Protestation against the two Legats now in *England* (every page subscrib'd with Queen *Katherines* own hand) intreating the Pope to Advoke the Cause, to Annul the proceedings in *England*, to Warn the King to desist his sute, or at least to try it at *Rome*, &c. or, otherwise that they would seek their Remedies elsewhere. The Pope being thus pressed at *Rome*, and having now concluded a Treaty with the Emperour at *Barcelona* July the 3. 1529, about three weekes before the Cause was prorogued by *Campegius*, could no longer, either with the Safety of his person, or Dignity, favour our King; so that what excuses soever (in the frequent dispatches hee made about this time) were given to our King, yet were they little more than Complement and evasion, till, finally, declaring himself more openly for the Emperour, he signed an Advocation of the cause to himself, inhibiting further proceedings, under great penalties. And herein (as our Agents did observe) the Popes principall Ministers did not a little concur; that the benefit of deciding thereof might fall upon them. In vain therefore did our Agents (being Sir *Gregory Casalis*, and Doctor *Benet*) both by representing the defection of our King from the Roman See, and the ruine of the Cardinall of *York*, labour to stay these proceedings. For the Inhibition was brought into *England*, about the beginning of *September*, the King then being in his Progresse; and because it was sent to the Queen to make her benefit of it, the King (by *Stephen Gardiner* now his Secretary) sends to *Woolsey*, to perswade the Queen to let this Inhibition (or as he calls it a Citary Letter) sleep, it containing matter prejudiciall to his person, and not to be published to his subjects: And that it will be sufficient for the Cessation of the processe that the Pope by Letter to *Woolsey* (July 19.) hath signified his Advocation of the cause. Nevertheffe, if the Queen will needs have the Inhibition executed, then that it should be privily executed, upon the two Legats: (rather than bee divulged in *Flanders*) which it seemes was done accordingly. Howbeit, shortly after the Advocation was granted, the Pope, conceiving that the censures and penalties

penalties mentioned in the Inhibition would not be well taken by our King, dispatched a Breve to him of *Aug. 29.* which for the better satisfaction of the Reader, I have thought fit to transcribe out of the Originall, and insert here.

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*Aug. 29.**Angliæ Regi.*

Charissime in Christo fili noster salutem, &c. Dumdum vertente causa inter Serenitatem Tuam & Carissimam in Christo filiam nostram Catharinam Angliæ Reginam Illustrissimam, de & super foedere matrimonii; Nos, instantibus apud nos oratoribus tuis, causam ipsam, Dilectis filiis Thomæ Sanctæ Cæcilie, & Laurentio Sanctæ Mariæ in Transiberim tt' presbyteris Cardilibus nostris & Apostolicæ sedis legatis de latere commisimus, in qua ad nonnullos forsan actus processum est; Postmodum, Carissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo Hispaniarum Rege Catholico in Imperatorem Electo, & Regina ipsa ad nos reclamantibus, & aliis etiam legitimis causis animum nostrum moventibus, causam ipsam ad Nos Advocavimus, & eam audiendam, ac nobis & sacro venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum S. R. F. Cardinalium Collegio referendam atq; decidendam commisimus; In qua ad Inhibitionem fortasse processum est. Cum autem nuper acceperimus Inhibitionem ipsam sub Censuris & poenis fuisse factum; Nos, quorum Intentionis nunquam fuit, neq; est, personam tuam de nobis ac de Apostolica sede semper optime meritam aliquibus censuris & poenis quomodolibet innodari; Celsitudini Tuæ significamus, censuras ipsas præter mentem & intentionem nostram a Judice sive commissario emanasse: Et propterea Censuras & poenas prædictas, quoad personam Tuam, nullas nulliusq; roboris vel momenti fuisse & esse decernentes. Causam vero ipsam usq; ad festum Nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. proxime futurum jam suspendimus, prout per præsentem suspensam esse volumus. Fecimusq; in illa, quantum pro nostra in te charitate, cum Deo facere licuit, ut, quum pro stimulo conscientie causam te movisse cognosci-

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cognoscimus, illam, quæ tanti est, eadem quoq; ratione altius cogitando, posthabitis molestiis atq; odiis quæ nascuntur ex litibus, cum animi tui pace componere possis. In quo nos adjutores semper habiturus es, Majestatem T. hortantes in Domino ut interim Reginam ipsam pro ipsius Conscientiæ tuæ Securitate maritali affectione tractare non desinas, Quemadmodum Celsitudinem Tuam pro virtute sua facturam confidimus. Dat. Romæ die 29 Aug. 1529. Anno 6.

July 18.

Sept. 23.

Polyd. Virg.

Cavendish. Life
of Card. Wool-
sey.

Before yet these Breves were sent, the Pope, wisely considering that by the diligence of our Agents, not only the first Minutes of them were sent to *England*, but also that his Treaty with the Emperour was more notorious than that it could be hidden, thought fit to advertise our Cardinall, That the League betwixt him and the Emperour was made, *pro temporum ratione, & rerum Christianarum utilitate*; exhorting him therefore to do good offices with the King, which also he explicated in another dispatch, *September 23.* wishing that Ayl might be sent against the Turke. All which being contrary to the Kings present designs, could not upon what termes soever be represented, without much offence, and ill conceit of Cardinall *Woolsey*. The King believing that underhand hee held intelligence with the Pope, to the prejudice of his affaires. Which *Polydore* also affirmeth; saying, that he writ privatly to the Pope to suspend the Cause, till they could bring the King to some better temper. This also I believe was confirm'd in the Kings mind, by some notice he might have, of a joynt Dispatch (a Minute whereof is extant in our Records) from *Woolsey* and *Campegius*, during their Session, whereby they desired the Pope to avoke the Cause, in case it grew so doubtfull that they could not determine it; both as they would be free from the trouble and danger, and as they conceived he might better helpe the King *ex plenitudine potestatis*; who perchance (as they said) would be content therewith, if the Pope would promise to end the matter, shortly afterwards to his satisfaction. But as this was, in part, done without our Kings knowledge, and that, for the rest, it left the businesse in more perplexitie and irresolution than ever; So the King who (I find by *Cavendish*) had recovered something under the Cardinalls hand, which he urged against him, began to frown; whereof also the Courtiers took that notice, as now his fall was voyced every where. Though yet it was not in that precipice, but that the King admitted him still to no small degrees of his wonted Access and favour. Howbeit, as the Cardinall was now in his Decadence, all these steps did but lead unto his ruine. To which also the secret ill offices of the angry Queen, and despighted *Anne Bolen* did contribute; who, though hating one another, did conspire to his destruction. The Causes on the Queens part are touch't before, which also were not a little

tle set forwards by the industry of the Emperour. And for those of Mistress *Anne Bolen*, besides her unkind Dismission from the Court (which she conceiv'd to have been the Cardinalls advise) another inveterate grudge made her irreconcilable. The Relation whereof, being taken out of a Manuscript of one Master *George Cavendish*, Gentleman-Usher to the Cardinall, I have thought fit to insert. This Gentlewoman, being descended, on the Father's side, from one of the heirs of the Earles of *Ormond*, and on the Mothers from a Daughter of the house of *Norfolke*, was from her childhood, of that singular beauty and to wardnesse, that her Parents took all care possible for her good education. Therefore, besides the ordinary parts of vertuous instructions, wherewith shee was liberally brought up, they gave her teachers, in playing on musicall Instruments, singing, and dancing; In somuch, that when she compos'd her hands to play, and voice to Sing, it was joyned with that sweetnesse of countenance, that three Harmonies concurr'd; likewise, when she danced, her rare proportions varied themselves into all the graces that belong either to Rest or Motion. Briefly, it seems the most attractive perfections were eminent in her. Yet did not our King love her at first, nor before she had liv'd some time in *France*, whither, in the Train of the French Queen, and company of a Sister of the Marquis *Dorset*, shee went *Anno Domini* 1514. After the death of *Lewis* the Twelfth, shee did not yet return with the *Dowager*, but was received into a place of much Honour with the other Queen, and then with the Dutchesse of *Alancor*, Sister to *Francis*, where she stayed, till some difference grew betwixt our King and *Francis*; therefore, as saith *Du Tillet*, and our Records, about the time when our Students at *Paris* were remanded, she likewise left *France* as is formerly related; her Parents thinking not fit to suffer her to stay there any longer. All this while therefore no argument of extraordinary affection towards her was discovered in our King. So that though it be probable, that she were at the Inter-view betwixt the Kings and Queens (neere *Guisnes*) above-mentioned, yet she left not the French Court. But, at last, being come hither, and, about the twentieth year of her age, received into our Queens service, however the King might take notice of her, the Lord *Henry Percy* yet, (the Earle of *Northumberland's* eldest Sonne) appear'd first enamour'd of her; In somuch, that at all times when he repair'd to Court, in the train of our Cardinall, (whom he attended in ordinary) his addresses were continually to her; whereof hee made that use, as at length, hee obtained her good will to Marriage. So that in what kind soever the Kings affection might manifest it selfe, neither was she so satisfied of it, as to think fit to relinquish this advantageous offer, nor the Lord *Percy* aware that he was oppos'd by so puissant a Rivall. But this Treaty, (which proceeded to little lesse than a Contract,) comming at last to our Kings ears, the danger he found himself in of losing a beauty hee had contemplated so long, that it was become his dearest object, made him resolve to acquaint the

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*Cavend. Life of
Card. Woolsey.*

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Cardinall with his love to her; wishing him also to dissuade the Lord *Percy* from it. The forward Cardinall, hereupon, both violently deborts the Lord *Percy* from the Gentlewomen, and useth all Arts to insinuate himself into her good opinion and favour. But Mistris *Bolen*, whether she were ignorant, as yet, how much the King loved her, or, howsoever, had rather be that Lords Wife, than a Kings Mistris, took very ill of the Cardinall this his unseasonable interruption of her Marriage. The Cardinall also fearing the Revenges of that sex, and, for the rest, being unwilling to come to sharper termes with the Lord *Percy* than he had already us'd, desires the King to write to the Earle of *Northumberland*, to come up; Alleging there was no such way to preserve the Gentlewoman for himself, and together to conceal his love, as to use a cunning dissuasion of the Marriage to the Earl; whereby also he might be induc'd to interpose his fatherly Authority for dissolving of the Match. Hereupon the Earle repairing to Court, the Cardinall first, and afterwards the King discover'd the cause of his sending for, in every kind, but withall in such covert and ambiguous termes, that betwixt unwillingnesse to disparage the Gentlewoman, and the inforcing divers reasons why the Lord *Percy* should not Marry her, the Earle was not without some hazard of misapplying the Kings affection to himselfe. Howsoever, he so checkt his sonne, that feare of displeasing his Father, became at length the Predominant passion. So that it neither serv'd him to declare the merits of the Gentlewoman, nor to tell his Father, that his promise, before Witnesses, had engag'd him further, than that he knew well how to come off: The apprehension of the Kings displeasure having wrought that impression in the Earle, that hee would take no denyall or excuse on his sons part, till he had made him renounce all his pretences to her; which also he urged so farre, as at length his son consented to marry the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* Daughter. But the hatred which Mistris *Anne Bolen* conceiv'd against the Cardinall concluded not so; nor indeed could ever end till she had procur'd his finall Ruine. And this is the truest relation of Mistris *Anne Bolen*, that I have been able to gather out of those Records and Manuscripts that have come to my hands. So that now I should have proceeded with my History, were I not constrained (in a sort) to vindicate both her Honour, and her Progenitors from those foule Calumnies which in a book of *Nicholas Sanders*, an Englishman, *De schismate Anglicano* are cast upon them.

*Sand. de
Schism. Angl.*

This Author, though learned, yet more credulous than becomes a man of exact judgement, reports, out of one *William Rastall*, a Judge (in his life of Sir *Thomas Moore*) that Mistris *Anne Bolen* was the Kings Daughter, by the Wife of Sir *Thomas Bolen*, while, *sub specie honoris*, hee was employed by the King, Ambassadour in *France*; and that this Gentlewoman comming to the age of fifteen, was deflowered by some domestiques of her Fathers, and then sent to *France*; where also she behav'd her self so licentiously, that she was vulgarly call'd

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call'd the Hackney of *England*, till being adopted to that Kings familiarity, she was termed his Mule. Many other passages of this kind are also inserted by *Sanders*, which I forbear, as being sorry to have occasion for publishing thus much. But how impossible these things are, the ingenious Reader may easily find out, when hee compares the times. For, if Mistris *Anne Bolen* went to *France* with *Mary* the French Queen 1514. (as is proved by divers principall Authors, both English and French, besides the Manuscripts I have seen) and was here vitiated at 15 years of age, it must follow that she was born about, or before, 1498. at which time our King was neither above seven or eight years old at most, and therefore unable to get a Child (especially nine moneths before,) nor had that Regall power in his hands for employment of Ambassadors till ten or eleven years afterwards. So that Master *Sanders* or *Rastal's* affirmation herein is but fiction, as the rest certainly is, she having alwayes liv'd in good reputation. As for the beauty and handsomnesse of Mistris *Anne Bolen*, which the same Author doth traduce, besides, that it contradicts common sence, (she having been, by their allegation, a Minion to two Kings) even that Picture of hers, extant still with the Dutchesse of *Richmond*, doth sufficiently convince. And for her Religion, there is no probability that it should (at first) be other than what was commonly profess'd. Since it appears by originall Letters of hers, that she was a speciall favourer of the Clergie of that time, and a preferer of the worthiest sort of them to Ecclesiasticall livings, during her chief times of favour with the King. Though I will not deny but, upon his defection from some Articles of the Roman Church, she might also complie. But I should be glad that Master *Sanders* had not divers other things which might require a serious review; though I must not deny but, as he hath in some things followed Cardinall *Poole*, (a person of great learning, and much reverenc'd in his time,) so he hath his Authority. Howbeit as this Cardinall was so neer in blood to divers, whom the King put to death, he may be thought perchance more partiall than to be believ'd every where: Neither will it satisfie all men, that he pretends (in more than one place) to have known even so much as the Kings thoughts (by Revelation,) so that I shall leave these things to the liberty of the indifferent Reader, and return to my History.

Lib. pro Uni.
Eccles.

Our King, who at the first prorogation of the Sentence, by reason of the *Ferie Vindemiarum*, hoped yet that, at least, *October* 1. (when the Court was appointed to sit again) he might have the cause determined, seeing now all proceeding in *England* inhibited, the Cause Avocated to Rome, *Campegius* recalled, and finally finding, by many Dispatches, that the Pope and Emperour had appointed shortly to meet at *Bononia*, was much troubled, and the rather, that the two Cardinalls proceeding hitherunto had been little more than illusion. Whereupon also he became much incensed against them. Yet containing awhile his anger, he neither alter'd his fashion to *woolfsey*, nor

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declared any dislike of *Campegius*. Infomuch, that he calmly gave him leave to depart. So that no argument of suspition or dislike appear'd hitherunto on either side. *Campegius* thus dismiss'd and rewarded, was conducted honourably to the Sea-side, where he expected only a faire wind. But when he came to take Ship, the Searchers, upon pretence he carried either Money, or Letters from *England* to *Rome*, ransack'd all his Coffers, Bags, and Papers; not without hope, certainly, to recover that Decretall Bull our King so much longed for. I find also (by some relation) that divers Love-Letters betwixt our King and Mistris *Bolen*, being convey'd out of the Kings Cabinet, were sought for, though in vain, they having been formerly sent to *Rome*. Which usage so offended *Campegius*, that he complained immediatly to our King; protesting he would not proceed in his Journey till he had Reparation for the wrongs done to his person and Dignity; And that the people were satisfied concerning certain scandalous Rumours, which he heard were scatter'd abroad to the prejudice of Cardinall *woolfsey* and himself. But our King by his Letter, of *October 22.* answered, that it must not be expected from him, *Præstare, quicquid vel vulgi temeritas effutire, vel quorundam nimium fortasse scrupulosa & anxiosa sedulitas designare soleat.* As for the *3us Legati* pretended to be violated, our King answered that he conceiv'd it was expired, not only as it was revok'd by the Pope's late Inhibition, but, particularly, by the interposition of his own Regall Authority, which alone his Subjects did acknowledge. Adding moreover, that he wondred somewhat, that *Campegius* understood our Law so little, as not to feare how he usurped, after that time, the name of a Legat in this Kingdome; Since he, having been made Bishop here of *Salisbury*, was bound by Oath to the conservation of the Royall Prerogative. As for the Searchers doings, it was a mistake; the Commandement having been given long since, when there was just occasion for it, and not in Relation to his particular, who therefore he was sorry to have been so roughly us'd; desiring the Cardinall, for the rest, to excuse the said Searchers, since they are bound thereto by Oath. So that he ought not to pretend this as cause of his stay. As for the other part, which was the Rumour, Our King said, it was uncertain from whence it came; Notwithstanding that it was (though not altogether fixed in his breast, yet) so generally receiv'd and believ'd in his Kingdome, that it would be hard to remove that opinion. In which regard also it was in vain for him to stay here so much as one houre. Howsoever, that hee might make this use of it, as to know how ill his Subjects tooke this frustration of the Businesse. But as his Royall care should be to prevent the inconveniences might follow hereof, so that it belong'd to *Campegius* his wisdom to continue those good intentions he had made shew of. For wee (saith the King) *tunc demum dubitare poterimus, cum ipse factis palam diversum ostenderit,*

Campegius being, now, more than once licenc'd, thought it time to be gone; So that, comming at last to the Pope, he acquainted him with

with all the proceedings, not forgetting the dangers in which Cardinall *woolfsey* was, for his too much obsequiousnesse to that See. But the Pope, whether now altogether govern'd by the Emperour, or that otherwise he secretly hated the Cardinall, for his late unseasonable Ambition to succeed in the Papacie, seem'd to care for nothing so much as the conserving of his late League. Though yet hee was not so secure, of our King, but that he feared not a little his often threatned Defection. So that he omitted nothing (that might stand with his other interests) for the containing of him in his wonted devotion. Insomuch that he offered new projects daily for his satisfaction; Among which *Gregory Casalis* relates one, which shall be set down in his place.

Cardinall *woolfsey* being now devested of his late power, (wherein he had the glory, in some sort, to have been Superiour to his King) and, for the rest, being left alone, and exposed not only to a generall hatred, but to the private Machinations of the present and future Queen, became sensible of his ill estate; though yet he did not believe himself so neer his overthrow, as it appear'd afterwards. But what could he hope for, when such puissant enemies did procure his destruction? Therefore, though he received some Advises from *Rome*, which might argue a care rather than a power for his conservation, yet in effect what secret Intelligence soever pass'd betwixt the Pope and him, came to the Emperour first, and after to Queen *Katherine*, who cunningly caus'd it to be whisper'd into the Kings ears, by some more indirect wayes, than it could possibly bee imagined to proceed from her. Likewise, *Mistress Anne Bolen*, having learned from some of the Kings wisest and gravest Councillours, divers Malversations of the Cardinall, was so farre from disguising them, that she even misinterpreted his better actions. *Edmund Campion* add's to these reasons, that *Sir Francis Bryan*, being in *Rome*, did, by the means of a Familiar of one who kept the Popes Papers, obtain a Letter of the Cardinalls, which wrought his ruine, in this manner; Having first shewed her the Cardinalls hand-writing, and then corrupted her, this Courtezan so dexterously perform'd the rest, as, upon pretence of visiting her servant in his Studie, she conveyed away this Letter, and gave it *Bryan*, who fail'd not immediatly to send it to our King. Which relation of *Campion*, though I will not contradict, yet I suppose to be the more improbable, that I find by Originall dispatches, *Bryan* was come from *Rome* before any Argument of the Kings disfavour to the Cardinall appeared. Howsoever, the way the King tooke to overthrow him was meerly Legall, though approaching to *Summum Jus*, after most mens opinion. In the carriage whereof yet, that secrecie was used, that the Cardinall did not, or perchance, out of greatnesse of mind, would not take notice of what was intended against him. So that, though the Bill or Inditement was put in (at the beginning of Michaelmas Terme) yet did he ride, that day, to the Chancery, with his accustomed Pompe. Of which our King being

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being advertized, thought fit to forbid him the place ; as thinking it undecent, that a man, who was upon termes of conviction, should administer that high charge. Therefore the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* were sent, the eighteenth of *October*, to require the great Seale of him. But the Cardinall, in stead of rendring it, disputed their Authority, alleadging, the place of Lord Chancellour was, by the King's Letters Pattents, given him during life. The two Dukes hereupon return'd to Court, bringing, the next day, the Kings Letters to the Cardinall, who, having read them, deliver'd immediatly the Great Seale ; In sequence thereof, also submitting himself to the King ; who commanded him to leave *Yorke* Place, and Simply to depart to *Asher*, a Countrey house neer *Hampton* Court, belonging to the Bishop of *Winchester*. Hee charged his Officers also to Inventory and bring forth his goods. Whereupon much brave Furniture made into hangings, besides whole pieces of rich stuffs, was set upon divers Tables in his house ; the variety and number whereof may be imagined, when (as *Cavendish* hath it) of fine *Holland* cloth alone there were a Thousand peeces. Besides, the walls of his Gallery on the one side were hang'd with rich suits of Cloth of Gold, Cloth of Silver, cloth of Tissue, and cloth of Bodekin ; On the other side was placed the most glorious suit of Copes that had been seen in *England*. In a chamber neer to the Gallery was a great Cupboard of Plate, of massie Gold, and in a Chamber adjoyning vast quantity of other Plate. All which the Cardinall commanded Sir *William Gascoigne* (his Treasurer) to deliver the King, when he was requir'd. In the mean while the Bill against the Cardinall proceeded, the most substantiall parts whereof, being extracted out of the Originall Record, I have thought fit to present to the Reader. The ground upon which *Christopher Hales*, the Kings Attorney, prosecuted the Cardinall was a Statute of *xvi. Rich. II.*, in which is enacted, That, whereas the Commons of the Realm ought of right, and were wont of old time to sue in the Kings Court to recover their presentments to Churches, Prebends, and other Benefices of Holy Church, to which they had right to present, and when Judgement shall be given in the said Court upon such a Plea and Presentment, the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other spirituall persons, which have Institutions of such benefices within their Jurisdictions, be bound, and have made Execution of such Judgements by the Kings Commandements, of all the time aforesaid, without interruption, and also be bound of Right to make Execution of many other the Kings commandements ; Of which right the Crown of *England* hath been peaceably seised, as well now as in the time of all his Progenitors. And whereas of late the Bishop of *Rome* (for so he is termed in the Act) had made divers Processes and Censures of Excommunication, upon certain Bishops, in *England*, because they have made Execution of such Commandements, and also because he had ordain'd and purpos'd to translate some Prelates of the Realme, some out of the Realme, and some from one Bishoprick to

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to another within the said Realm, without the Kings assent and knowledge, and without the assent of the Prelates, which so shall be translated; which Prelates be much profitable and necessary to our Lord the King, and to all his Realm: which translations if they should be suffered, the Statutes of the Realme should be defeated and made voyd, and his sayd Liege sages of his Counsell, without his assent, and against his will, carried away and gotten out of his Realme, and the substance and Treasure of the Realm shall be carried away, and so the Realm destitute aswell of Counsell as of substance, to the finall destruction of the same Realm; and so the Crown of *England*, which hath been so free at all times, that it hath bin inno Earthly subjection, but immediatly subject to God, in all things touching the Legalty of the same Crown, and to none other, should be submitted to the Pope; and the Lawes and Statutes of the said Realm, by him defeated and avoyded at his will, in perpetuall destruction of the Sovereignty of the King our Lord, his Crown, his Regality, and of all his Realm, &c. Therefore the King, by the assent of his Lords, and at the request of the Commons, hath ordain'd and establish'd, that, if any purchase or pursue, or cause to be purchased or pursued in the Court of *Rome*, or else-where, any Translations, Proseses, and sentences of Excommunications, Bulls, Instruments, or any other things whatsoever, which touch the King, against him, his Crown, and Regality or Realm, and they which bring within the Realm, or them receive, or make thereof Notification, or any other execution whatsoever within the same Realm or without, that they, their Notaries, Procurators, Maintainers, Abettors, Fautors, and Counsellours, shall bee put out of the Kings protection, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and chattels, forfeit to the King, and that they be attached by their bodies if they may be found, and brought before the King and his Councell, there to answer to the cases aforesaid, or that Processe to be made against them by a Writ of *Præmunire facies*, in manner as it is ordain'd in other Statutes of Provissors, and other, which doe sue in any other Court, in derogation of the Regalty of our Lord the King.

Upon which Statute it was alleged, that *Thomas, Legatus de Latere*, Cardinall, Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*, and Primate of *England*, being not ignorant of the premises, had obtained certain Bulls from *Clement* the Seventh, by which he exercised Jurisdiction and authority Legatine, to the deprivation of the Kings power established in his Courts of Justice; which said Bulls he caused to be publikely read in *Westminster*, Aug. 28. 15, of the King, assuming to himself thereupon the Dignity and Jurisdiction of *Legatus de Latere*, which hee hath exercis'd from the said 28th of Aug. to this day, to the prejudice of the right of both Secular and Ecclesiasticall persons. And that, by colour thereof, he had given away the Church of *Stoke-Guilford* in the Countrey of *Surrey* (being of right in the Donation of the Prior of Saint *Pancrace*) to one *James Gorton*, who also injoyed it accordingly. All which was to the contempt of the King, and his Crown,

and

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and contrar y to the foresaid Statutes of *xvi. Rich. the Third*. Moreover that, by Colour of the said Authority, hee had caused the last Wills and Testaments of many (out of his Dioceffe) to be exhibited and proved in his Court, and their goods and chattells to bee administred by such as he appointed. Also that, under colour of the said Authority, hee had made divers Visitations out of his Dioceffe, and drawn divers Pensions from Abbeyes to the contempt of the King and his Lawes.

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The prooffe of which particulars, though evident and notorious, were not yet urged to his conviction, till, through the Kings speciall permission (by Writ of *October 28.*) *John Scuse* and *Christopher Genney* appear'd in Court as his Attorneys; Where, for all other answers, they protested in the said Cardinalls name, that the said Cardinall did not know the impetration of the said Bulls to have been to the contempt and prejudice of the King, or that it was against any Statute of Provissors heretofore made. As for the particulars where-with he was charged by Master Attorney, he confess'd them all true in the manner and forme alleged. And so submitted himself to the King. Whereupon the Court gave sentence that he was out of the Kings protection, and his lands, goods, and chattels forfeit, and that his person might be seized on.

Not contented herewith yet, another prooffe of the same kind, was by the Kings Attorney produced against the Cardinall, namely, that, contrary to the right of the true Patrone (being the Master and Fellowes of the Hospitall of *St. Lazarus* in *Burton-Lazar*) he had, by the same Authority, given away the Parish-Church of *Galby* in *Leicester-shire* and Dioceffe of *Lincolne*, (then vacant, by the death of one *Woodrofe*,) to one *John Allen*, Doctor of both Lawes, and plac'd him in it.

And thus fell the Cardinall, together with all his vast possessions, into the Kings hands. Concerning which, the Criticks of the time gave sundry opinions, the most part yet supposing him capable of the Kings mercy, had he been either lesse rich, or more humble. They thought him indeed condemn'd by law, but by the rigor of it. All which they considered the more, that the Cardinall had so long exercis'd his Legatine power, without that the King either seem'd to dislike it, or any other had question'd him for it. Therefore, howsoever he was convicted by forme of Justice, they yet clear'd him in great part, and not they only, but the King. Insomuch, that the impression taken of his ancient services, was not defac'd wholly. So that, notwithstanding his best goods were seiz'd on, and that the King might have taken therewith his other possessions, and (with them) his intire liberty, yet he both sent him a Protection, and left him the Bishopricks of *Torke* and *Winchester*, which he had lately given him after the death of *Richard Fox*, only he confin'd him, for the present, to his house at *Ashe*, till his further pleasure were signified. Being upon his way, the King (touched with some compassion) sent him by one Master

Master *Norreys*, not only a gracious Message, but a Ring, which was a token betwixt them, when any speciall businesse was recommended. Upon receiving whereof, the overjoyed Cardinall alighted from his Mule, and, in the dirt, upon his bare knees, acknowledged the comfort he receiv'd. To shew his thankfulness also to Master *Norreys*, he presented him with a chain of Gold, at which a piece of the Crosse did hang. But it troubled him much that he had nothing to send to the King; till at last having espyed in his Traine a facetious Naturall, in whom he took much delight, he desir'd Mr. *Norreys* to present him to the King. Which promotion yet this Fellow (for the approving himself no Counterfeit) did so sleight, as the Cardinall was forced to send six of his tallest Yeoman to bring him to Court. The Cardinall comming at last to *Ashe*, found himselfe so destitute of all necessities, as, till one Mr. *Arundel* first, and after the Bishop of *Carlile* provided him, he wanted even the most ordinary parts of Household-stuffe. And thus the ill accommodated Cardinall passed some weeks in expectation of the Kings further pleasure, not neglecting, in the mean while, to use those friends he had left in Court, for the reintegrating him into his former favour; or, when that could not be done, for the making his fall more easie. For which purpose one Master *Thomas Cromwell*, his servant, (who came afterwards to great preferment) was employed. But Mistris *Bolen* secretly opposed all. So that the Cardinall, being now, in a manner, hopelesse of regaining the Kings good opinion, dismissed (not without tears on both sides) the greatest part of his numerous Family, without other reward than what Master *Cromwell* and some of his Chaplains did freely contribute. The King, hearing the Cardinall to be somewhat humbled, sent Sir *John Russell* with a Turquoise Ring to him as a token of his care and affection. But it was not gifts that the Cardinall expected from the King, but liberty and restitution to his former greatnesse; which yet was so much in vain, as his offences were daily exaggerated. For as the King did not think it enough that hee had particularly advantag'd himself of the Cardinalls punishment, unlesse he made some use thereof to the Generall, so he call'd a Councill of the Nobles, to sit in the Star-chamber, who having sufficiently condemned him, hee afterwards permitted him to the Parliament, which began November 3. 1529. Wherein the King also did wisely, since by interestting the publike in his condemnation, he both declin'd the Censure of those who thought the late proceedings to have been of the severest, and indeer'd his people by putting the power of punishing him into their hands. Therefore they took it as an intire satisfaction for all they had hitherto suffred; and by applauding of the King, made him know how thankfully they took this favour. And thus did the King return to that former good opinion hee had of his Subjects.

Hereupon certain Articles against the Cardinall were preferr'd in Parliament. The Originall whereof found among our Records, I have

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thought fit to transcribe; and the rather, for that our vulgar Chronicles misreport them.

CONstrained by necessity of our fidelity and conscience, complain and shew to your Royall Majesty, We your Graces humble, true, faithfull, and obedient Subjects, That the Lord Cardinall of *Torke*, lately your Graces Chancellour, presuming to take upon him the Authoritie of the Popes Legat *de Latere*, hath by divers and many sundry wayes and fashions committed notable, high, and grievous offences, misusing, altering, and subverting the order of your Graces Lawes, and otherwise contrary to your high Honour, Prerogative, Crown, Estate, and dignity Royall, to the inestimable dammage of your Graces subjects of every degree, and consequently to the great hindrance, diminution, and decay of the universall wealth of this your Graces Realm, as it is touched summarily, and particularly in certain Articles here following; which be but a few in comparison of all his enormities, excesses, and transgressions committed against your Graces Lawes. That is to say;

I. **F**irst, where your Grace, and your Noble Progenitors within this your Realm of *England*, being Kings of *England*, have been so free, that they have had in all the world no other Sovereign, but immediat subject to Almighty God in all things, touching the Regality of your Crown of *England*, and the same Preheminence, Prerogative, Jurisdiction, lawfull, and peaceable possession, your Grace, and your noble Progenitors have had, used, and enjoyed without interruption, or businesse therefore by the space of two Hundred years, and more, whereby your Grace may prescribe against the Popes Holinesse, that he should not, nor ought to send, or make any Legat to execute any authority Legantine, contrary to your Graces Prerogative within this your Realm:

Now the Lord Cardinall of *Torke* being your Subject, and naturall liege born, hath of his high, orgullous, and insatiable mind, for his own singular advancement, and profit, in derogation, and to the great inblemishment, and hurt of your said Royall Jurisdiction, and prerogative, and the large continuance of the possession of the same, obtained Authoritie Legatine, by reason whereof he hath not only hurt your said prescription, but also by the said Authority Legantine, hath spoiled and taken away from many houses of Religion in this your Realm, much substance of their goods. And also hath usurped upon all your Ordinaries within this your Realm much part of their Jurisdiction, in derogation of your Prerogative, and to the great hurt of your said Ordinaries, Prelats, and Religious.

II. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, being your Ambassadour in *France*, made a Treaty with the French King for the Pope, your Majesty not knowing any part thereof, nor named in the same; and binding the said French King to abide his order and award, if any controversie or doubt should arise upon the same betwixt the said Pope and the French King.

III. Upon

III. Also, the said Lord Cardinall being your Ambassadour in France, sent a Commission to Sir Gregory de Casalis, under your great Seale in your Graces name, to conclude a Treaty of Amity with the Duke of Ferrara, without any Cōmand or Warrant of your Highnes, nor your said Highnes advertised, or made privie to the same.

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IIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinall, of his presumptuous mind, in divers and many of his Letters, and Instructions sent out of this Realm to outward parties, had joyn'd himself with your Grace, as in saying, and writing in his said Letters and Instructions, *The King and I*. And, *I would yee should do thus. The King and I give unto you our hearty thanks*. Whereby it is apparent that hee used himself more like a Fellow to your Highnesse, than like a Subject.

V. Also, where it hath ever been accustomed within this your Realm, that when Noblemen do swear their Household-servants, the First part of their Oath hath been, that they should be true Liegemen to the King and his Heirs Kings of England, The same Lord Cardinall caused his servants to be only sworn to him, as if there had been no Sovereigne above him.

VI. And also, whereas your Grace is our Sovereigne Lord and Head, in whom standeth all the surety and wealth of this Realm, the same Lord Cardinall knowing himself to have the foule, and contagious Disease of the Great Pox, broken out upon him in divers places of this body, came daily to your Grace, rowning in your care, and blowing upon your most noble Grace, with his perilous and infective breath, to the marvellous danger of your Highnesse, if God of his infinit goodnesse had not better provided for your Highnesse. And when he was once healed of them, he made your Grace to believe that his disease was an Impostume in his head, and of none other thing.

VII. Also, the said Lord Cardinall, by his Authority Legantine, hath given, by prevention, the Benefices of divers persons, aswell Spirituall as Temporall, contrary to your Crown and Dignity, and your Lawes and Estatutes therefore provided, By reason whereof hee is in danger to your Grace of forfeiture of his lands, and goods, and his body at your pleasure.

VIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinall, taking upon him otherwise then a true Counsellour ought to do, hath used to have all Ambassadors to come first to him alone, and so hearing their charges, and intents, it is to be thought he hath instructed them after his pleasure, and purpose, before that they came to your presence; contrary to your high Commandement by your Graces mouth to him given, and also to other persons, sent to him by your Grace.

IX. Also, the said Lord Cardinall hath practised so, that all manner of Letters sent from beyond the Sea to your Highnesse have come First to his Hands, contrary to your High commandement by your own mouth, and also by others sent to him by your Grace; by reason whereof your Highnesse, nor any of your Councell had knowledge of no matters, but such as it pleased him to shew them; whereby

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your Highnesse, and your Counsell have been compell'd of very force to follow his devices, which oftentimes were set forth by him under such crafty, and covert means, that your Highnesse, and your Counsell hath oftentimes been abused. Insomuch, that when your Counsell have found, and put divers doubts, and things which hath afterwards ensued, Hee to abuse them, used these words; *I will lay my head that no such thing shall happen.*

X. Also, the said Lord Cardinall hath practised that no manner of person, having charge to make espiall of things done beyond the Sea, shou'd at their return come first to your Grace, nor to any other of your Counsell, but only to himself, and in case they did the contrary, He punished them for so doing.

XI. Also, the said Lord Cardinall hath granted Licence under your Great Seal for carrying out of Graine, and other Victuall, after the restraint hath been made thereof, for his own lucre, and singular advantage of him, and his servants, for to send thither as he bare secret favour, without your Graces Warrant or knowledge thereof.

XII. Also, the said Lord Cardinall used, many years together, not only to write unto all your Ambassadors Resident with other Princes in his own name all Advertisements concerning your Graces affaires, being in their Charge, and in the same his Letters wrote many things of his own mind, without your Graces pleasure being known, concealing divers things which had been necessary for them to know, But also caused them to write their Advertisements unto him; And of the same Letters he used to conceale, for the compassing of his purposes, many things both from all your other Counsellours, and from your self also.

XIII. Also, where good Hospitality hath been used to be kept in houses and places of Religion of this Realm, and many poore people thereby relieved, the said Hospitality and Reliefe is now decayed, and not used; and it is commonly reported that the occasion thereof is, because the said Lord Cardinall hath taken such Impositions of the Rulers of the said houses, aswell for his favour in making of Abbots and Priors, as for his Visitation, by his Authority Legantine. And yet, neverthelesse, taketh yearly of such Religious Houses, such yearly and continuall charges, as they be not able to keep Hospitality, as they used to do, which is a great cause that there be so many vagabonds, beggars, and theeves.

XIIII. Also, where the said Lord Cardinall sayd, before the suppression of such Houses as he hath suppressed, that the possessions of them should be set to Farme among your lay-Subjects, after such reasonable yearly rent, as they should well thereupon live, and keepe good Hospitality; And now the demaine possessions of the said Houses, since the suppression of them, hath been surveyed, mete, and measured by the Acre, and be now set above the value of the old Rent; And also such as were Farmers by Covent-Seate, and Copie-Holders be put out, and amoved of their Farmes, or else compell'd to

pay

pay new Fines, contrary to all equitie and Conscience.

XV. Also, the said Lord Cardinall, sitting among the Lords, and other of your most Honourable Counsell, used himself that if any man would shew his mind according to his duty, contrary to the opinion of the said Cardinall, Hee would so take him up with his accustomed words, that they were better to hold their peace than to speak, so that he would hear no man speak but one, or two great Personages, so that he would have all the words himself, and consumed much time with a faire tale.

XVI. Also, the said Lord Cardinall by his Ambition and pride, hath hindred and undone many of your poore subjects for want of dispatchment of matters; for hee would no man should meddle but himself. Infomuch, that it hath been affirm'd by many wise men, that ten of the most wisest, and most expert men in *England* were not sufficient in convenient time to order the matters that he would retain to himself: And many times he deferred the ending of matters, because that Sutors should attend and wait upon him, whereof hee had no small pleasure that his house might be replenish'd with Sutors.

XVII. Also, the Lord Cardinall, by his Authority Legantine, hath used, if any Spirituall man having any riches or substance, deceased, he hath taken their goods, as his own; by reason whereof their Wills be not perform'd; And one mean he had, to put them in feare that were made Executors to refuse to meddle.

XVIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinall constrained all Ordinaries in *England*, yearly to compound with him, or else he will usurp halfe or the whole of their Jurisdiction by prevention, not for good order of the Diocesse, but to extort treasure; for there is never a poore Arch-Deacon in *England*, but that he paid yearly to him a portion of his living.

XIX. Also, the said Lord Cardinall hath not only by his untrue suggestion to the Pope, shamefully slandered many good Religious Houses, and good vertuous Men dwelling in them, but also suppressed by reason thereof above thirty houses of Religion; and where, by Authority of his Bull, he should not suppress any house that had more Men of Religion in number, above the number of six or seven; Hee hath suppressed divers houses that had above the number; And thereupon hath caused divers Offices to be found by verdict, unruly, that the Religious persons, so suppressed, had voluntarily forsaken their said houses, which was untrue, and so hath caus'd open Perjury to be committed, to the high displeasure of Almighty God.

XX. Also, the said Lord Cardinall, hath examined divers and many matters in the Chancery, after Judgement thereof given at the Common Law, in subversion of your Lawes; and made some persons restore again to the other party condemned, that they had in Execution by vertue of the Judgement in the Common-Law.

XXI. Also, the said Lord Cardinall hath graunted many Injunctions

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ctions by Writ, and the parties never call'd thereunto, nor Bill put in against them. And, by reason thereof, divers of your Subjects have been put from their lawfull possession of their lands and tenements. And, by such means, he hath brought the more Party of the Sutors of this your Realm before himself, whereby he and divers of his servants have gotten much riches, and your subjects suffered great wrongs.

XXII. Also, the said Lord Cardinall, to augment his great Riches, hath caused divers Pardons granted by the Pope to be suspended, which could not be revived till that the said Lord Cardinall were rewarded, and also have a yearly Pension of the said Pardon.

XXIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinall, not regarding your Lawes nor Justice, of his extort power, hath put out divers and many Farmers of his Lands, and also Patents of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Torke*, and Bishoprick of *Winchester*, And of the Abbey of Saint *Albans*, which had good, and sufficient grant thereof by your Lawes.

XXIII. Also, the same Lord Cardinall at many times when any Houses of Religion have been voyd, Hee hath sent his officers thither, and with crafty perswasions hath induced them to compromit their Election in him. And that, before ere he named, or confirmed any of them, Hee, and his servants received so much great goods of them, that in manner it hath been to the undoing of the house.

XXV. Also, by his Authoritie Legantine, the same Lord Cardinall hath visited the most part of the Religious Houses and Colleges in this your Realm, hath taken of them the twenty fifth part of their livelihood, to the great extortion of your Subjects, and derogation of your Lawes, and Prerogative, And no law to beare him so to doe.

XXVI. Also, when Matters have been neere at Judgement by Proceffe at your Common-Law, the same Lord Cardinall hath not only given and sent Injunctions to the parties, but also sent for your Judges, and expressly by threats Commanding them to deferre the Judgement, to the evident subversion of your Lawes, if the Judges would so have ceased.

XXVII. Also, whereas neither the Bishoprick of *Torke*, nor *Winchester*, nor the Abbey of *St. Albans*, nor the profit of his Legation, nor the benefit of the Chancery, nor his great Pension out of *France*, nor his Wards, and other inordinate taking could not suffice him, He hath made his sonne *Winter* to spend twenty seven hundred pounds by year, which he taketh to his own use, and giveth him not past two hundred pounds yearly to live upon.

XXVIII. Also, where the said Lord Cardinall did first sue unto your Grace to have your assent to bee *Legat. de Latere*, Hee promised, and solemnly protested before your Majestie, and before the Lords both Spirituall and Temporall, that He would nothing doe or attempt by vertue of his Legacy, that should be contrary to your gracious Prerogative, or Regality, or to the damage or prejudice of the Jurisdi-

Jurisdiction of any Ordinarie, And that by his Legacy, no man should be hurt or offended; And upon that Condition, and no other, He was admitted by your Grace to be Legat within this your Realm, which Condition he hath broken, as is well known to all your Subjects. And when that he made this promise, He was busie in his sute at Rome, to visit all the Clergie of England, both Exempt and not exempt.

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XXIX. Also, upon the sute of the said Lord Cardinall at Rome to have his Authoritie Legantine, Hee made untrue surmise to the Popes holinesse against the Clergie of your Realm, which was, that the Regular persons of the said Clergie had given themselves in *reprobum sensum*; which words Saint Paul writing to the Romans applied to abominable sinne: which slander to your Church of England shall for ever remain in the Register at Rome against the Clergie of this your Realm.

XXX. Also, the said Lord Cardinall had the more part of the goods of Doctor Smith, late Bishop of Lincoln, Bishop Savage of York, Mr. Dalby, Arch-Deacon of Richmond, Mr. Tornyers, Doctor Rothall, late Bishop of Durham, and of Doctor Fox, late Bishop of Winchester, contrary to their Wills, and your Lawes, and Justice.

XXXI. Also, at the Oyer, and Terminer at Yorke, Proclamation was made, that every man should put in their Bills for extortion of Ordinaries, and when divers Bills were put in against the Officers of the said Lord Cardinall, of extortion, for taking twelve pence of the pound for probation of Testaments, whereof divers Bills were found before Justice Fitz-Herbert, and other Commissioners, The same Lord Cardinall removed the same Indictments into the Chancery by *Certiorari*, and rebuked the same Fitz-Herbert for the same Cause.

XXXII. Also, the said Lord Cardinall hath busied, and indeavoured himselfe by crafty and untrue tales to make dissention and debate amongst your Nobles of your Realme, which is ready to be proved.

XXXIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinalls officers have divers times compelled your Subjects to serve him with Carts for carriage. And also his servants have taken both Corn and Cattell, Fish, and all other Victualls at your Graces price, or under, as though it had been for your Grace, which is contrary to the Lawes.

XXXIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinall hath misused himselfe in your most Honourable Court, in keeping of as great estate there in your absence, as your Grace would have done, if you had been there present in your own Person.

XXXV. Also his servants, by vertue of your Commission under your Broad Seale by him to them given, have taken Cattell, and all other Victuall at as low price as your Purveyors have done for your Grace by your prerogative, against the Lawes of your Realm.

XXXVI. Also, where it hath been accustomed that your Purveyors for your Honourable Household have had yearly out of your Town

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Town and liberty of *St. Albons* three hundred or foure hundred Quarters of Wheat, Truth it is, that since the Lord Cardinall had the roome of Abbot there, your said Purveyors could not be suffered by him, and his officers, to take any Wheat within the said Towne or liberties.

XXXVII. Also he hath divers times given Injunction to your Servants, that have been for causes before him in the Starre-Chamber, that they nor other for them should make labour, by any manner way directly or indirectly, to your Grace, to obtain your Gracious favour or pardon, which was a presumptuous intent for any Subject.

XXXVIII. Also the said Lord Cardinall did call before him Sir *John Stanley* Knight, which had taken a Farme by Covent-Seale of the Abbot and Covent of *Chester*, and afterwards by his power and might, contrary to Right, committed the said Sir *John Stanley* to the Prison of Fleet by the space of an yeare, unto such time as hee compelled the said Sir *John* to release his Covent-Seale to one *Leghe* of *Adlington*, which married one *Larke's* daughter, which woman the said Lord Cardinall kept, and had with her two children. Whereupon the said Sir *John Stanley*, upon displeasure taken in his Heart, made himselfe Monke in *westminster*, and there died.

XXXIX. Also, on a time your Grace being at *St. Albons*, according to the antient custome used within your Verge, your Clarke of the Market doing his office, did present unto your officers of your most Honourable Houshold the prises of all manner of Victualls, within the precinct of the Verge, And it was commanded by your said officers to set up the said Prices both on the gates of your Honourable Houshold, and also in the Market-place within the Town of *St. Albons*, as of antient Custome it hath been used; And the Lord Cardinall, hearing the same, presumptuously, and not like a Subject, caused the foresaid Prices which were sealed with your Graces Seale, accustomably used for the same, to be taken off, and pulled down in the sayd Market-place where there were set up, And in the same place set up his own Prices, Sealed with his Seale, and would if it had not been letted, in semblable manner used your Seale standing upon your Graces Gates, And also would of his presumptuous mind have openly set in the Stocks within your said Town your Clarke of your Market. By which presumption and usurpation your Grace may perceive, that in his Heart he hath reputed himself to be equall with your Royall Majesty.

XL. Also the said Lord Cardinall, of his further Pompous and presumptuous mind, hath enterprised to joyn and imprint the Cardinalls Hat under your Armes in your coyne of Groats, made at your City of *Torke*, which like deed hath not been seen to have been done by any Subject within your Realme before this time.

XLI. Also, where one Sir *Edward Jones*, Clark, Parson of *Crowley* in the County of *Buckingham*, in the 18th yeare of your most Noble Raigne, let his said Parsonage with all Tythes, and other profits of the
same

same to one *William Johnson* by Indenture for certain years, within which years the Dean of the said Lord Cardinalls Colledge in *Oxford* pretended title to a certain portion of Tythes within the said Parsonage, supposing the said portion to belong to the Parsonage of *Chichelley*, which was appropriated to the Priory of *Tykeford*, lately suppressed, where, of truth, the Parsons of *Crowley* have been peaceably possessed of the said Portion, time out of mind; Whereupon a *Sub-pœna* was directed to the said *Johnson* to appeare before the said Lord Cardinall at *Hampton Court*; where without any Bill, the said Lord Cardinall committed him to the Fleet, where he remained by the space of twelve weekes, because hee would not depart with the said Portion; And at the last, upon a Recognizance made, that hee should appeare before the said Lord Cardinall wheresoever hee was commanded, he was delivered out of the Fleet. Howbeit, as yet the said Portion is so kept from him, that he dare not deale with it.

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XLII. Also, where one *Martin Docowra* had a Lease of the Mannor of *Ballfall* in the County of *Warwick* for tearm of certain years, an Injunction came to him out of the Chancery, by writ, upon pain of a Thousand pounds, that hee should avoid the possession of the same Mannor, and suffer Sir *George Throgmorton* Knight, to take the profits of the same Mannor, to the time the matter depending in the Chancery between the Lord of *St. Johns*, and the said *Docowra*, were discussed; And yet the said *Docowra* never made answer in the Chancery, ne ever was called into the Chancery for that matter. And now of late he hath received the like Injunction, upon pain of two Thousand pounds, contrary to the course of the Common-Law.

XLIII. Also, whereas in the Parliament-Chamber, and in open Parliament, Communication and devises were had and moved, where-in mention was, by an Incident, made of matters touching Heresies, and Erroneous Sects, It was spoken, and reported by one Bishop there being present, and confirmed by a good number of the same Bishops in presence of all the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, then assembled, that two of the said Bishops were minded and desire to repaire unto the University of *Cambridge*, for examination, reformation, and correction of such Errours as then seemed, and were reported to Raigne amonst the Students, and Schollers of the same, aswell touching the Lutheran Sect, and opinions, as otherwise; The Lord Cardinall informed of the good mindes and intents of the said two Bishops in that behalf, expressly inhibited and commanded them in no wise so to doe. By means whereof the same errours (as they affirmed) crept more abroad, and tooke greater place; Saying furthermore, that it was not in their defaults that the said Heresies were not punished, but in the said Lord Cardinall; and that it was no reason any blame, or lack should be arrested unto them for his offence. Whereby it evidently appeareth, that the said Lord Cardinall, besides all other his hainous offences, hath been the impeacher and disturber of due and direct correction of Heresies; being highly to the danger, and perill

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of the whole body, and good Christian people of this your Realm.

XLIII. Finally, Forasmuch as by the foresaid Articles is evidently declared to your most Royall Majesty, that the Lord Cardinall by his outrageous pride hath greatly shadowed a long season your Graces Honour, which is most highly to be regarded, and by his insatiable avarice and ravenous appetite to have riches and treasure without measure, hath so grievously oppressed your poore Subjects, with so manifold crafts of Bribery and Extortion, that the Common-wealth of this your Graces Realm is thereby greatly decayed, and impoverished: And also by his cruelty, iniquity, affection, and partiality hath subverted the due course, and order of your Graces Lawes, to the undoing of a great number of your loving People.

Please it your Most Royall Majesty therefore of your Excellent goodnesse towards the weale of this your Realm, and Subjects of the same, to set such order, and direction upon the said Lord Cardinall, as may be to the terrible example of others to beware so to offend your Grace, and your Lawes hereafter. And that he bee so provided for, that he never have any Power, Jurisdiction or Authority, hereafter to trouble, vex, and impoverish the Common-wealth of this your Realm, as hee hath done heretofore, to the great hurt, and dammage of every man almost, high and low. Which for your Grace so doing, will daily pray, as their duty is, to Almighty God, for the prosperous Estate of your most Royall Majesty long to indure in Honour, and good Health, to the pleasure of God, and your Hearts most desire.

Subscribed the First day of *December* the twenty first yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lord King *Henry* the Eighth.

<i>T. More.</i>	<i>R. Fitzwater.</i>	<i>Will. Sandys.</i>
<i>T. Norfolke.</i>	<i>Jo. Oxynford.</i>	<i>William Fitz-william.</i>
<i>Char. Suffolke.</i>	<i>H. Northumberland.</i>	<i>Henry Guldeford.</i>
<i>Tho. Dorset.</i>	<i>T. Darcy.</i>	<i>Anthony Fitzherbert.</i>
<i>H. Exeter.</i>	<i>T. Rochford.</i>	<i>John Fitz-James.</i>
<i>G. Shrovesbury.</i>	<i>W. Mountjoy.</i>	

These Articles were presented to the King, by the Lords, and then sent down to the lower House: Where *Thomas Cromwell* (obtaining the place of a Burgesse) so wittily defended the Cardinall his Master, that no Treason could be layd to his charge. And upon this honest beginning *Cromwell* obtained his first reputation. Yet could not the resisting of this brunt, nor even the gracious Messages received frequently from the King cheare up our Cardinall. For as hee found the Pope had now a long while neglected to give the King any satisfaction (which certainly was the only way to procure the Cardinalls Restitution) and that (for the rest) no evident signe of the Kings Relenting appear'd, so being not able to support any longer his many afflictions, He fell dangerously sick. The Newes whereof being brought to the Kings eares, moved so much compassion, as not only Hee, but, by his Intreaty, Mistris *Anne Bolen* (whom the Cardinall had

had in vain importuned to intercede for him) also sent him severall tokens ; whereof one was a Ruby, wherein the Kings Image was curiously engraven, a gift heretofore of the Cardinalls, together with a gracious Message delivered by Doctor *Butts* his Physician; That his Highnesse was not angry with him in his Heart, which hee should know shortly. Whereupon as the Cardinal recovered his health, so the King, for confirming his promises, Sealed his Pardon, *Febr. 12.* and, three dayes after, by Letters Pateats, restored him to the Archbishoprick of *York*. Moreover, Hee sent him Money, Plate, Rich Hangings, and Furniture for his House and Chappell, in that quantity, as the Cardinall was for the present much recovered : Hoping also, that since he had resigned his House called *York-House* (but afterward by the King styled the Mannor of *westminster*, now *White-Hall*) that his punishment ended there, and himself now upon termes of regaining the Kings favour. The confidence whereof also made him be an humble suppliant to the King, that, for his Healths sake, hee might have leave to remove to *Richmond-House*, the use of which hee had received in Exchange from the King, for that his sumptuous Palace which he built, and called by the name of *Hampton-Court*.

It is now time to look awhile on forraigne History. Our last Narration left the *Comte de St. Pol* in *Italy*, where hee had quarter'd that part of the Souldiers which remain'd of that years Warres, in their Winter Garrisons ; But the Spring being come, he took divers places on this side the *Tesino*, and at last joyn'd his Forces with the Duke of *urbino*, Generall of the Venetians, and *Francesco Sforza*. Yet, whether that he durst not attempt the City of *Milan*, which *Antonio de Leyva* strongly defended, or that the *Comte de St. Pol* affected more the Enterprize of *Genoua*, their Army marched to *Landriano*, the 21. of *June* 1529. Of which *Antonio de Leyva* being advertis'd, used that diligence, that he surpris'd the *Comte de St. Pol*, when part of his Army was marched before, and wholly defeated the rest, taking him prisoner.

This while the Emperour equipped a great Fleet for *Italy*, with intention to be Crowned there, having first (for the more ample furnishing of himself with Money) pawn'd the *Moluccas* to the King of *Portugal* for 350000. Duckats.

The Pope hearing of these great preparatives at the same Season that the Defeat of *St. Pol* (succeeding that of *Lautrech* in *Naples*) had wholly disabled the Army of the Confederates, Resolved to comply with the times. So that, before the Newes thereof could easily be convay'd to the Emperour, He indeavour'd his own peace, for this purpose employing one *Antonio Musetolor* a Neopolitan ; who prevailed so farre, as he concluded a League at *Barcellona* the twenty ninth of *June* to this effect.

1. That the Peace betwixt them should be perpetuall.
2. That the Imperiall Army which was in *Naples* should have secure passage through the Popes Territories.

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3. That the Emperour should give *Donna Margarita* (his Naturall daughter) in Marriage to *Alessandro de Medicis* sonne of *Lorenzo*, and that he should invest him in the State of *Florence*, with the title of Duke.

4. That *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, should be restor'd to the Apostolike See by the Emperours power.

5. That the Pope should give unto the Emperour a Bull, with the Title of the Kingdome of Naples, to be held in Fee from the Pope, upon payment every yeare of a Horse or a Hackney white.

6. That the Pope should, in all Ecclesiasticall affairs, enjoy his accustomed right.

7. That the Pope and emperour should see one another in *Italy*.

8. That the Emperour should assist the Pope against the Duke of *Ferrara*.

9. That Justice should be done to *Francesco Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, and that the Emperour commit his Cause to Indifferent Judges.

10. That the Emperour and his Brother *Don Fernando* and the Pope Joyne together to reduce the Lutherans, either by faire or foule means, to the Roman Catholike Faith.

All which Articles (and, perhaps, some private ones concerning the affairs of *England* now in agitation) were sworn to on both sides upon the Great Altar of the Cathedrall Church of *Barcelona*.

July 3.

And thus did the Pope renounce all his former Designes, and be-take himselfe intirely to the Emperour, at the same time when the two Cardinals sate on their Commission in *England*. So easie was it for the Pope to forget both the Injuries receiv'd from the Imperialists, and the good turnes from all his Confederates, when a readier way was open'd him for regaining his Cities, and revenging himselfe on the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Florentines, who, during his late Captivitie, had expulsed the Family of *Medici* out of the City.

Bellay.
Guicciard.

Francis also understanding that, upon this second overthrow of his Forces in *Italy*, his reputation was lost, and his Confederates discouraged, and hearing, besides, the Pope had concluded this League with the Emperour, thought it better to reserve his Money for Ransoming his Children, than to cast it away in the Wars. So that, notwithstanding his reiterated protestations of affection to our King, Hee, underhand, laboured a Peace with the Emperour. The Overtures wher-of also were willingly accepted, both as *Charles* doubted change of Religion in *Germany*, and as the Turk had made no little progresse in *Hungary*. For which causes also he chose rather to hearken to those motions were made for delivering of the Children of *Francis* upon reasonable tearms, than to detain them any longer unusefully. Thus both their mindes secretly concurring to Peace, the Treaty thereof was permitted to two Ladies, Madam *Louise* Mother of *Francis*, and Regent of *France*, and Madam *Anna-Margarita* Aunt to *Charles*, and Regent of the *Low-Countries*. Of which kind though the Precedents be rare, yet, as affaires then stood, they were thought no ill Mediatresses.

treffes. Both as the suppleness of their Sex could better decline that rough Dispute, which (considering the late Cartels) could scarce be eschued betwixt the servants of either Princes, and as it was a kind of Gallantry, to essay, if after so many broken or avoyded Treaties which Men had made, one concluded by women would hold; Howsoever for women to treat of Marriage or Childrens businesse, was no strange thing. But the event shewed they were able Negotiatresses. For though their first meeting (being at *Cambray*) was not without some of that emulation and puntille which is ordinary in their Sex, yet at last they fell to treat in good earnest. The Proposition which before all other Madam *Louise* made, was that a Messenger might be sent to see the Estate of the Children of *Francis*, it being in vain (she said) to treat of their delivery, when (for any thing she knew) they were not extant at all. This being accorded, the Ladies proceeded to the more substantiall Articles of a Treaty.

Madam *Margarita* said, indeed, she had no other Instruction but to demand the execution of the Treaty of *Madrid*. But Madam *Louise*, representing sometimes the unreasonableness, and sometimes the impossibility of performing those Articles, reduced her to more moderate terms. Whereunto also our Kings Ambassadors *Cuthbert Tonstall*, Bishop of *Duresme*, and Sir *Thomas More*, did no little conduce. For as our King knew the weight hee could adde on either side would sway the Ballance, so he interposed offices; Hoping to get either *Francis* to procure his Divorce, or *Charles* to suffer it. But as those Princes affaires requir'd a more quick and serious Dispatch, than to attend the decision of so great and doubtfull a businesse, they cared little to satisfie our King, or to complie with Mistris *Bolen*. Therefore, setting apart those considerations, they attended only their own interests; and Madam *Louise*, very particularly, the News of her Grand-childrens safety. For which purpose having employed one *Vordin*, hee gave this account as it is extant in the Spanish Historie.

That he found the *Dolphin*, and Duke of *Orleans* in the Castle of *Pedraçu*, under the Guard of the Marquis de *Verlanga*, in a darke chamber, ill furnish'd, having forgotten all their French, so that when *Vordin* spake to them, they requir'd an Interpreter. That their best Intertainment was playing with little doggs, and making Pictures in Wax. That, when he presented them new Cloathes, the Marquis would not suffer them to be put on, whereof *Vordin* gives this ridiculous reason, That the Spaniards believ'd there were Witches in *France*, that could transport any one in the ayre when their charmes might but touch the body. But *Vordin* was deceiv'd; The true reason being, That out of a certain curiosity for preservation of those Princes, as well as discharge of his own trust, *Verlanga* would neither suffer those, nor any other clothes to be worne by the Princes, till others had put them on first. But Madam *Louise* was so ill satisfied with this Relation, that she hastned the Peace. To which purpose, as the

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July 5.

Cardinall *de Salviati* (the Popes Legat) did contribute his indeavours, (but with favour certainly to the Emperour) so our Ambassadors likewise did cooperate, but so, as they had principall regard of *Francis*: our King believing that he might be the sooner induc'd openly to assist him, when his Children were Free. Thus these pompous Ladies (who met at *Cambray* July 5.) mediated a Peace, though not without some difficulty, Madam *Louise* once breaking off the Treaty, so that, had not the Emperour, by an expresse *Courrier*, enlarg'd the Instructions given to his Aunt, no Peace had followed. At last they concluded this Treaty, in which also our King was comprehended.

The Treaty of Cambray, Aug. 5th 1529.

I. **T**hat there shall be a good, sure, and perpetuall Peace betwixt the Emperour and King, and that they shall bee for ever friends of the friends, and enemies of the enemies of each other.

II. That the Treaty of *Madrid* shall remain in its full force and vigour, and shall be inviolably kept betwixt them, their Heirs and Successours, without Innovation, except only in the third, fourth, eleventh, and fourteenth Articles, where mention is made of the Counties of *Auxerrois*, *Masconnois*, *Bar-sur-Seine*, the *Viconto* of *Auxone*, and the superiority or government of *St. Laurence*. And whereas it was agreed by the Treaty of *Madrid*, that the aforesaid places should be restored to the Emperour, yet, in consideration of the Peace, he is content to remain only in the Action, and Right, in an amiable course, or by way of Justice to be executed; which hee intends also shall be reserved to him and his heirs, Notwithstanding any prescription of time that can be alleag'd to the contrary, it being permitted also to the said King, and his Successors to defend themselves. Notwithstanding all which, that a certain Rent, which the said King pretends to have for Salt out of certain Salines in those parts, shall be extinct for ever.

III. That the said King for the Ransome of his two Sonnes, shall pay two Millions of Crowns *de Soleil*; the Gold to be of twenty two Carats, and three quarters, whereof one Million and two Hundred thousand Crowns, shall be paid, in *Specie* as much as can bee gotten, and the rest in one intire Masse of Gold, if the Emperour shall so think good, or if otherwise, it shall be coyn'd, and Essay thereof taken. And at the same instant the *Dolphin* and Duke of *Orleans* shall bee delivered to the Deputies of the said King. All which is to bee done at or before the first day of *March* next ensuing, in the manner and forme as shall be agreed betwixt the said Emperour and King. And as for the other Eight Hundred Thousand Crowns, the said King shall discharge the Emperour of a certain debt Hee oweth to the King of *England* for Moneys lent him upon Pawnes, as may
appeare

appeare by certain Schedules and Obligations of his Majestie, which debt is said to amount to two Hundred and Ninety Thousand Crowns *de Soleil* or thereabouts. And concerning the Remainder of the said two Millions, amounting unto Five Hundred and Ten Thousand Crowns *de Soleil*, The said King shall give unto the Emperour, the said summe, in Rent, for a certain time, upon certain lands and Seigneuries in *Brabant, Flanders, Heynault, Artois*, or else where in the *Low-Countries* where the Emperour or his Commissioners shall choose or appoint, of the yearly value of Twenty five thousand and five hundred Crowns, till the said summe of 510000. Crownes be made up. All this to commence as soon as the Children be delivered. At which time also the said King shall procure that King *Henry* deliver unto the Emperour the Writings, Schedules, and Obligations, together with the Acquittances for the payments of the said Debts. As also the said Pawnes, and Obligation of Indemnity promised by the said Emperour to the King of *England*; And that the said two Millions being thus paid, the Emperour shall not demand any thing for cause of his Imprisonment.

III. That *Francis*, in the space of six weekes after the Ratification of this Treaty, shall revoke and call back all the Forces Hee hath in *Italy*, whither French or Mercenaries, so that the Emperour may be assured thereof Fifteen dayes before the Restitution of the said Hostages.

V. That the said King within fifteen dayes after the Receipt of the Ratification of this Treaty, shall restore unto the Emperour the Castle and Bayliage of *Hesdin*, as a Member of his County of *Artois*, together with the Cannon and Munition, according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, except those Moveables that have been restored to the Lady *Reux*.

VI. That, because in the Treaty of *Madrid*, the said King hath agreed to leave and quit unto the Emperour all his Rights of Jurisdiction and Superioritie, that he and his Predecessors Kings of *France* have held, or may claim in the Counties of *Flanders*, and *Artois*, as also in the City of *Arras, Tournay, Tournaysis, St. Amand, and Mortaigne*, and as also in *Lisle, Douay, and Orchies*; And, because upon these generall termes, some difficulties might arise; therefore it is declar'd, by this present Article, that the said King in confirmation of the Treaty of *Madrid*, hath left, given and transported, as also the said Lady his Mother, in his name, and by vertue of the Authority given her, doth leave, give, and transport unto the said Emperour, his Heirs and Successours, being Counts and Countesses of *Flanders*, the Fee, Homage, Oath of fidelity, and all other marks of subjection which either Hee or his Ancestors have had, or pretended to have, over the said Counts and Countesses of *Flanders*, or any others Inhabiting in the said Counties.

VII. That the said King hath renounc'd, and that by the authority given her, the Dutchesse of *Angoulesme*, his Mother, doth renounce all

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all right and claim to *Lisle*, *Douay* and *Orchies*, consenting further they shall be united unto the County of *Flanders*, in manner as they were before they were transported to the King of *France*, by a Treaty at *Paris*, the 2. August 1498.

VIII. That the said King hath renounc'd, and that, by the authority given Her, the Dutchesse of *Angoulesme*, his Mother, doth renounce all right and claime which Hee or his Ancestors Kings of *France* have had, or may pretend to have in the City of *Tournay*, the Bayliage of *Tournaysis*, the townes of *Mortaigne*, and *St. Amand*, with all the Rights. Furthermore, consenting that they may be united and incorporated unto the said County of *Flanders*.

IX. That the said King hath renounced, and, by the authority given Her, the said Dutchesse of *Angoulesme*, his Mother, doth renounce all Right or claime they pretend to have in the City of *Arras*, or upon the Bishoprick and Cathedral Church therof, except so much of the Revenues of the said Bishoprick, and Church, as is in the Kingdome of *France*.

X. That the said King hath consented, granted, and, by the authority given Her, the said Dutchesse of *Angoulesme*, his Mother, doth consent and grant to the Emperour, his Heirs and Successours, Counts and Countesses of *Artois*, that they shall remain for ever henceforth quit and discharged from the Fee and Homage, Oath of Fidelity, or any other marke of subjection which hee or his Ancestors, Counts and Countesses of *Artois* have been bound to do, or acknowledge to the Kings of *France*, excepting only *Therouene*, and the possession belonging to the Churches of *Artois*, being in *France*, and some small Townes in the *Bolognois*.

XI. That the said King hath given and transported, and, by the authority given Her, the said Dutchesse of *Angoulesme*, his Mother, doth give and transport a service or Tenure of *Artois*, commonly called the antient Composition of *Artois*, amounting yearly to Fourteen Thousand *Livres Tournois*, unto the Emperour, his Heirs and Successours, Counts and Countesses of *Artois*.

XII. That the Inhabitants of *Artois* be free from all manner of Imposition, or Tribute, heretofore claimed by the Kings of *France*.

XIII. That the Emperour reciprocally shall renounce and transport, as also, by the authority given Her, the sayd Lady, the Arch-Dutchesse, doth renounce and transport, for ever, unto the said King, his Heirs and Successours, all the Right, and Title, that the said Emperour or his Predecessors hold or claim in any of the States Lands and Seignories of the most Christian King. And especially all hee may pretend to in *Peronne*, *Mondedier*, and *Roye*, and in the Counties of *Bolognois*, *Guisnes*, and *Ponthieu*, and in the Towns and Seigneuries, situated upon the *Somme*, either upon the one part thereof or the other, together with all the Jurisdictions belonging unto them; Notwithstanding any Treaty heretofore made to the contrary.

XIIII. That, Notwithstanding the transportation, the Emperour hath

hath made by the Treaty of *Madrid*, of the County of *Humen Artois* unto the French King, it is declar'd by these presents, that the places thereof which are, at this present, in the Emperours possession, shall remain free and exempt from any pretence of the French, as those above mentioned.

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XV. That all the aforefaid renouncings and transportations made by the King unto the Emperour shal be understood as valid; Notwithstanding any derogation which may rise from any Union or Incorporation of them unto the Crown of *France*, or any bar of the Law Salique. And that the said King and His Successours shall never attempt the contrary hereunto, when yet they might pretend to do it by right.

XVI. That all Sutes and Proceffes undecided in the Parliament of *Paris*, or any other Court of Justice of the said King, which may have Relation to the Inhabitants of *Flanders* or *Artois* by reason of Fees, Lands, or possessions situate in the aforefaid Counties, shall be remitted to the Great Counsell of the said Emperour, or to other his Courts of Justice in the said Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, to be there finally determined.

XVII. That if any definitive sentence have been given, before this last War, against the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, that the power of executing them shall be committed to the Officers of the Emperour.

XVIII. That the Parliament of *Paris* shall remit unto the President, and others of the Emperours Great Counsell in *Malines*, the Proceffe or Sute concerning the right which the *Comte de Neuers* or his Wife, or Children pretend to the Inheritance of *John of Burgundy, &c.*

XIX. That, Notwithstanding the *Droit d'Aubene*, the Subjects of either Prince may enjoy their right in as ample forme as the Naturall Inhabitants of the Country use to do. And as for the *Comte of Charolois*, that the Lady Arch-Dutchesse may enjoy it during her life, and, after her decease, the Emperour, and then that it shall return to the Crown of *France*. And it is further agreed, that shee may enjoy certain Rights in *Noyers*, and other places, in the same manner as shee enjoyed them in the life of King *Philip of Castile* Her brother.

XX. That, if the King or any in his name do hold any Towne, Castle or Fort in the State and Dutchy of *Milan*; it shall be restor'd to the Emperour and his Commissaries, within six weeks after the Ratification of this Treaty.

XXI. That the said King shall deliver unto the Emperour or his Commissaries, within the space of six weeks after the Ratification of this Treaty, the *Contado de Asti*, with all that appertaineth to it, to be enjoyed by the said Emperour, His Heirs and Successours for ever.

XXII. That the said King likewise shall restore unto the Emperour or his Commissaries, *Barleta*, and all other places that he or any for him holdeth in the Kingdome of *Naples*, as soone as is possible,

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and before the restitution of *Francis* his Children. And it is further agreed, that the said King, within fifteen dayes after the publication of this Treaty, shall require the Venetians and all other his Confederates to restore all the Towns, Castles, and Fortresses that they hold in the Kingdome of *Naples*, within the space of six weeks. And that, in case of Contravention, (when the terme is expired) the said King shall declare himselfe expressly their enemy, and from that day forwards, shall give the Emperour thirty thousand Crowns *de Soleil* Monethly, untill the said places be recover'd, and brought to obedience to the Emperour. And, in case they be not so recover'd before the *Dolphin* and Duke of *Orleans* be delivered, the said King shall give good Security to the Emperour for continuing the said pay monethly, untill they be reduced to the Emperours obedience. Upon Condition yet, that, if the Emperour employ not the Money to the purpose aforesaid, it shall be paid back again, and that therefore the King may appoint some person who may informe him of the time, when the said places shall be taken in. And that the said King neither directly nor indirectly shall favour any in the Kingdome of *Naples*, that have rebelled against the Emperour since the Treaty of *Madrid*.

XXIII. That the King shall restore also unto the Emperour or his Commissaries, all that can be recover'd, of that which was taken out of the Galleys in *Portofino*.

XXIII. That, for the particular in the Treaty of *Madrid*, concerning the residence that *Monsieur de Angoulesme* should make with the Emperour, it is remitted to the Kings discretion.

XXV. That, for the particular of the League defensive agreed in the Treaty of *Madrid*, it shall be understood only in Relation to the patrimoniall possessions on either side, and that the charges incident thereunto shall be at the costs of the demander, and, for the rest, that the said King shall not meddle in any practises either in *Italy* or *Germany* to the prejudice of the Emperour.

XXVI. That the Marriage concluded by the Treaty of *Madrid* between the said King, and the Lady *Leonora* Queen Dowager of *Portugall*, and eldest Sister of the Emperour, shall be accomplish'd. And that the said King as soon as can be, after the Ratification of this Treaty, shall send Ambassadors, with sufficient, and especiall power, and Authority, to Ratifie and approve all that shall be needfull concerning the said Marriage. For the accomplishment and Consummation whereof, the said Queen shall be conducted into *France*, at the same instant that the *Dolphin* and Duke of *Orleans* shall be delivered. And that the said Matrimony shall hold in all things according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, saving in that only which concernes the Counties of *Auxerrois*, *Masconnois*, and the Seigniorie of *Bar-sur-seine*; with reservation yet of those Rights which should (as is said before) appertain to the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. And because the terme of payment of the Two hundred thousand Crowns in Lieu of Dowry of the said

saied Queen, and specified in the Treaty of *Madrid*, is expir'd; It is agreed again, that the saied Dowry should be paid, the half within six Moneths next ensuing, and the other half within six weeks following, and that, upon receipt of the whole summe or part thereof, the saied King shall be bound to give assurance in the manner as is specified in the Treaty of *Madrid*.

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XXVII. That, forasmuch as concerns the help and assistance by Land and by Sea promised by the saied King for the passage of the Emperour into *Italy*, the saied Emperour releaseth it, upon Condition only, that, within two Moneths after he be required thereunto (whether it be for his passage into *Italy*, or for his return, or for his service while he is there) Hee give twelve Gallies, foure Ships, and foure Galleons, sufficiently provided with Artillery, and Sea-men, without any Souldiers yet to be put in them, but such as the Emperour shall appoint; And at the cost of the saied King, (except the *Souldatesque*) for the space of five moneths, after the time that they shall come into the Haven, which his Majesty shall nominate. The saied Emperour delivering unto the Captain or Generall (that should bring the saied Armado) Letters Partents signed with his hand, and sealed with his Seale, by which he shall promise and sweare, after the saied five Moneths to restore immediatly to the saied King, or his Deputies, the saied Armada, in the manner that he receiv'd it. And moreover, the saied King shall pay really to the saied Emperour the two Hundred thousand Crowns, that, by the Treaty of *Madrid*, hee promised to pay his Majesty, for the aforesaid Voyage; that is to say, One Hundred thousand Crowns within six Moneths next ensuing, and the other Hundred thousand Crowns within six Moneths after. And, as for the pay of six thousand Foot for six Moneths, which the saied King promis'd to Furnish, giving therefore the Caution and Security of sufficient Merchants, the Emperour by this Treaty acquits him of it, upon condition, that hee pay one Hundred thousand Crowns *de Soleil*, the which summe shall remain and be for the increasing of the Dowry of the Queen Dowager *Leonora*.

XXVIII. That, because in the saied Treaty of *Madrid* there is no mention of the profits and Rents of the Inheritances given by the saied Emperour and King during the warre, whereupon many questions and differences may arise: It is determined and concluded by this Treaty, that all such Profits and Rents Ecclesiasticall or Secular, as also all debts, moveables, which have, or might have been given expressly by Letters Patents of the saied Emperour and King, or their Lieutenants in any manner, with title of confiscation, and which have been delivered, taken, or paid during the warre betwixt the two Princes before the Treaty of *Madrid*, shall remain for ever given and acquitted to the profit of the saied Lords, Vassalls, Lands, Towns, and persons subject to the saied Emperour and King, and of their allies which in the saied warres shall have taken the part of the one or the other.

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XXIX. That all the privileges of the Townes, Neighbours, and Inhabitants of the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and other places of the *Low-Countries*, which appertain to the Emperour, shall, by this present Capitulation, be confirm'd, and that the Privileges also that the French were wont to enjoy in the said Emperours Dominions shall remain in their full force, according as hath been accustomed on both sides.

XXX. That all Prisoners of war taken by Sea or Land, as well before as after the Treaty of *Madrid*, of the one part, or of the other, Subjects of the said Emperour, and most Christian King, (excepting the Neapolitan subjects of the Emperour that have served against Him in the same Kingdom) And any other that have served, followed, and held the contrary part, of what Nation or Condition soever, shall be set free, and put at liberty, without paying Ransome, within two Moneths after the Ratification of the Treaty, reserving only those Prisoners, which before the said Treaty should have been put to Ransome, who shall pay their Ransome notwithstanding this Article.

XXXI. That if *Robert de la March* or his Children shall presume to make any enterprize upon the Castle and Dutchy of *Bouillon*, (conquered by the Emperour, and left by his Majesty to the Church of *Liege* to which it antiently appertain'd) in such case the King may give no hope, favour or assistance, neither directly or indirectly against the said Church.

XXXII. That the Heirs of *Charles Duke of Bourbon*, according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, shall enjoy all those goods and possessions that pertain to the said Duke, so that, notwithstanding all Judgements and Sentences given and pronounced against the said Duke, during his life, or after his death, the Heirs of the said Duke shall enjoy their antient right.

XXXIII. That *Jean Comte of Pontieure* shall be restor'd unto all the goods which his Father enjoyed at that time that Hee went out of *France* to serve the Emperour, and that also the other Friends, allies, and servants of the said Duke of *Bourbon*, as also their Heirs and Successours, shall enjoy the benefit of the Treaty of *Madrid* in all that may concern them; Notwithstanding any Judgements or Sentences given and pronounced to the contrary.

XXXIII. That *Don Lorenzo de Gorreuod Comte de Pondevaux* Mayordomo of the Emperour shall be put in the Reall possession of the Townes, Castles, Lands, and Seignories of *Chalamont*, and *Montmarles* bought heretofore of the Duke of *Bourbon*, upon condition yet that, if the summe of twenty Thousand Crownes (being the price for which they were sold) be paid back again, that they return to the first owners.

XXXV. That the said King, by this present Treaty, hath taken away and remov'd, and doth take away and remove, the Sequestration and all other impediments on his part concerning the Principality of *Aurange*, and the superiority of it, to the intent that *Don Philibert de Chalon*,

Chalon, Prince of *Aurange*, Vice-roy of *Naples*, may enjoy it, together with his prehemineance and superiority, as he enjoy'd it before the said Sequestration.

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XXXVI. That the Dutchesse of *Vendosme*, Widow, shall be restor'd into all the Possessions that she had in the Emperours Dominions, before, or during the wars; and *Louis Seigneur de Hanis* shall enjoy the like for his part.

XXXVII. That the Comte of *Gaure* shall be restor'd to his own in the like manner.

XXXVIII. That, for the businesse of *Philip de Croy*, Marquis of *Areschot*, and the difference betwixt him and the Seigneurs of *Chasteau-Bryon*, and others, Tutors of the Children of *Mons' de Lautrech*, that it should be referr'd to a particular Treaty, and Agreement before the Governours of the City, and Dutchy of *Cambray*, which said agreement shall stand.

XXXIX. That, the Sute depending, in the Parliament of *Paris*, between *Adolphus* of *Burgundy Seigneur de Beures* on the one part, for the Seigneuries of *Creue-cœur* in *Cambresis*, &c. and the Kings Attorney on the other part, shall be referred, in the state it now is, to foure Judges, whereof two be named by the Emperour, and two by the King: And that the said Judges shall be bound to return and determine the cause in the City of *Cambray*, twenty daies after the Ratification of this Treaty. And that, if two of the foure Judges absent themselves, the other two, that is to say, one of either part, may proceed to give sentence.

XL. That, in this Peace and Treaty is comprehended, as a principall Contractor, the Pope and the Apostolike See, which the said Emperour and King shall maintain in his authority and prehemineance. And that they shall procure that the Townes and places, being of the Patrimony of the Church, shall be restored, also there are comprehended herein as principall Contractors, the Kings of *Hungary*, *England*, and *Poland*, *Christiern* King of *Denmark*, the Kings of *Portugall* and *Scotland*, and the Lady Arch-Dutchesse Aunt to the Emperour. Also there are comprehended herein as Confederates, the Electors, the Cardinall of *Liege*, &c. Also it is agreed, that all the said principall Contractors and Confederates shall be advertised hereof by the said King and Emperour.

XLI. That the said King shall procure the community or Republike of *Florence*, within foure Moneths after the Ratification of this Treaty, to agree with the Emperour, which being done, they also shall be comprehended herein, and not otherwise. And because, since the Treaty of *Madrid*, *Charles* Duke of *Gueldres* Comte de *Zutphren* hath taken part with the Emperour, and agreed with him, his Majesty declares him for his Confederate, and all others nominated here: And that those who are not nominated shall be excluded out of the said Treaty, unlesse they be comprehended under the generall termes of vassalls or subjects of the said Kings.

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XLII. That the said Emperour and King (as soon as they well can) for Ratification and Confirmation of this present Treaty (in which *de verbo ad verbum* there must be inserted and joyned together the Treaty of *Madrid*) shall sweare solemnly upon the Evangelists, and the wood of the true Crosse, in the presence of the Holy Sacrament, and these Ambassadors that shall be appointed thereunto, to hold and keep (every one for his part) all the points and Articles of this Treaty, as also all those contain'd in the Treaty of *Madrid*, which are not altered, chang'd, and innovated by these presents; submitting themselves, for performance hereof, to the Jurisdictions and Ecclesiasticall censures even to the invocation of the secular power *inclusive*; Constituting their Proctors *in forma camera Apostolica*, to appeare in their names, or in either of them, in the Court of *Rome* before the Pope, and the *Auditori della Ruota*, and to receive voluntarily the condemnation and fulmination of the said Censures in case of Contravention; and, for this purpose, to submit themselves and Prorogue their Jurisdiction before some Prelate or Ecclesiasticall Judge. And that neither the said Emperour and King, nor any of them may (without mutuall consent) demand a Relaxation of the said Oath, nor an Absolution of the said Censures. And that, if any did demand and obtain it, it shall not avayle him, without the Consent of the other.

XLIII. That the said King shall Ratifie and approve both this Treaty and that of *Madrid* in the forme there mentioned, save where it hath been chang'd, altered, and innovated by these presents, forasmuch as concernes the Seigneur *Dolphin*, according to the manner declared in the said Treaty of *Madrid*. And that he also shall cause this Treaty to be Ratified and approv'd by all the particular Estates of the Provinces and governments of his Kingdomes: And that hee shall make them sweare and promise, that the said Treaty shall be perpetually kept, and shall cause them to be Registered and verified in the Parliament of *Paris*, and all other Parliaments of the Kingdome of *France*, in the presence of the Attorneys Generall of the said Parliaments, to whom the said King shall give especiall and irrevocable power, to appeare in his name, in all the said Parliaments, and there consent to the aforesaid Inregistering, and submit himself voluntarily to the keeping of all that is contain'd in the said Treaty. And that, by vertue of the said voluntary submission, hee may be enjoyned or condemned thereunto, by the definitive sentence of the said Parliaments in good and convenient forme. And that this Treaty shall bee also verified and Inregist'ed in the *Chambre des Comptes* of *Paris*, in the presence, and with the consent of the Kings Attorney, for the more effectuell execution, and accomplishment of them, and the validations of the Acquittances, Renuntiations, submissions, and other things contain'd and declar'd in the said Treaty. Which Ratifications, Inregistrings, Verifications, and all other things above-mention'd shall be done and perfected by the said King, and the dispatches of them,

them, in due forme delivered into the hands of the said Emperour, before his Children bee delivered, and within the space of foure Moneths at furthest. And if, for the Inregistring and verifications above-mention'd, it should be necessary that the said King should release, and discharge unto his Officers those Oaths that they have taken, not to consent or suffer any alienations of the Crown, the said King shall doe it; and that also the said Emperour shall, in his great Counsell, and his other Councells and *Chambres des Comptes* in his Dominions of the *Low-Countries*, cause to be made such other Inregistring, and verifications, releasing also the Oath of his Officers, and causing the particular States of his said Dominions to Ratifie and approve this Treaty, within the time above mentioned.

XLIII. That this Peace shall be publish'd through all the Kingdomes and Seigneuries and Dominions of the Emperour and the King, and especially the Frontiers, before the 15th day of *September* next, to the intent that no man may pretend Ignorance; And the said Arch-Dutchesse on the part of the Emperour, and the Dutchesse of *Angoulesme* on the part of the French King, and the said Arch-Dutchesse particularly for the Queen *Leonora*, forasmuch as may duly concern her, and by those Oaths that every one of them hath made, do promise that they shall duly Ratifie all that is contain'd in this Treaty of Peace. And that they shall give Letters Patents thereof, in due and sufficient forme, on either part, within two Moneths and a halfe after the concluding this present Treaty.

In testimony whereof the said Ladies Arch-Dutchesse and Dutchesse, and each of them, have signed and sealed these presents. Dat. in the City of *Cambray* the 5th of *August*, 1529.

Margarite. Louise.

And this is the most substantiall part of the Treaty of *Cambray*, as it is set down by *Sandoval*; but *Bellay l. 3.* addes, that, besides the above-mention'd two Millions of Crowns, *Francis* paid, for the Emperour, to our King, D.M. Crowns as a penalty the Emperour had incurr'd for not marrying the Princesse *Mary*. Moreover, that he was bound to dis-engage, from our King, a rich Jewell in the forme of a Flower-de-luce, wherein was a piece of the wood of the true Crosse, being pawn'd heretofore by *Philip*, Father of the Emperour, to *Henry* the Seventh, for fifty thousand Crowns. The Acquittances, for which payments, together with the Jewell, as the same Author confesseth to have been sent to the Emperour, so he acknowledgeth, in the manner of it, the great Liberality of our King; who, besides giving *Francis* foure years Terme, for payment of C D M. Crownes (which, as he saith, was the Money lent by our King to *Charles*) did remit and forgive him absolutely the D.M. Crownes above-mention'd; and, for the Jewell, presented it to his Godson *Henry*, second Son of *Francis* by the conveyance of *Guillaume Seigneur de Langey*, whom

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whom the French King sent for that purpose into *England*.

Besides this Treaty, I find, by our Records, another at the same time and place, made betwixt our King, and the Lady *Margarite*, in the name of the Emperour. Our Kings Commissioners being *Cuthbert Tonstall* Bishop of *London*, *Sir Thomas More*, Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and *Mr. John Hacket*, our Kings Resident there. Which yet, because it contains nothing of extraordinary, but only the Continuation of Traffique for Merchants, and the forbidding to print or sell any Lutheran books on either side, I purposely omit.

Francis understanding this conclusion of Peace at *Cambray*, hasteth thither, that he might both render the Lady *Margaret* a visit, and promise not to faile in performance of those Articles his Mother had agreed. Which yet the Spanish Writers say Hee held no longer than untill the Ambassadors of his Confederates in *Italy* came to him; So that, when, together with his breach of League with them, they represented their own miserable estate at that present, Hee excused himselfe, through the necessity of his condition at that time; assuring them neverthelesse, that, notwithstanding any Treaty, he would continue his love to and care of them, only when first he might have his Children. So that in effect he secretly assisted them still; as hoping thereby to defend himselfe against the Emperour, when occasion were. Which also hee extended so farre, as, upon presumption thereof, hee broke some Articles lately concluded with the Spaniard. The Newes of this Treaty was no sooner brought to Queen *Leonora*, but she, for the better complying with her Husband, interceded with the Emperesse, upon pretence that *Charles* attempted to draw some of the Suisse (heretofore allyed with *Francis*) unto his service, and that the Children of *Francis* might have some more liberty, and the French detein'd in *Villalpando* a lesse streight Prison; which also was granted her by the Emperesse.

For the Emperour taking his opportunity (while the Treaty betwixt the Ladies was in agitation) departed from *Barcellona* the 28th of *July* 1529. and arriv'd at *Genoua* the 12th of *August* after, with a Royall Train, and about eight thousand Souldiers. And here (as *Sandoval* observes) began the wearing of skort haire, (the Emperour cutting off his, as a vow for his passage, or, as others have it, for a pain in his Head) long haire having been accustomed for many ages before. The Pope, being inform'd of this voyage of the Emperours, sends some Cardinalls to meet him at *Genoua*, himself in the mean while, preparing to attend him at *Bononia*. While the Emperour having found a reception from the *Genouesi*, temper'd betwixt love and feare, did so civilly interpret all to be respect, that He bid them a kind farwell, and so held on his way till he came neer the confines of the Popes possessions. Where three Cardinalls (carrying with them the Book of Ceremonies) met Him; And, after due Congratulations, made it appear that the antient Custome of all those who entred upon the Patrimony of the Church, was, to swear first not

to offer any violence to it. The Emperour accepts the Oath, yet so as he said he would not prejudice his own Imperiall right. And because this was neer to *Peacenza*, divers understood his words to have Relation to that place, which as also *Parma*, is said to have belong'd antiently to the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Emperour had now a great Army in *Italy* under the command of *Antonio de Leyva*, which was employ'd cheifly against the Venetians, to which it is probable also hee would have joyned his own Forces, had not Newes come to him of the great mischiefs which *Barbarossa*, that famous Pirate, did on the Seas, and of the Turks entry into *Hungary* with Two Hundred and fifty thousand men. For as this startled the Emperour from his designs in *Italy*, so he considered aswell how usefull the Pope would be in disposing other Princes to joyn against this formidable Army. For which reasons, as also for making his Coronation more glorious, Hee resolved to protest against all other enterprises, and apply himself wholly to that warre. And the rather, that the Turk had lately undertaken the protection of *John Sepuse*, pretender to the Kingdome of *Hungary*, and now layd Siege to *Vienna*, and endanger'd therein the Ancient Patrimony of the House of *Austria*; Besides, the Protestants in *Germany* having, about this time, made some high demands, Hee thought it his part to correct or suppress them. Only hee judg'd it necessary not to give any publike demonstration thereof, untill the affairs of *Italy* were compos'd. Therefore, he first makes a Peace with the Venetians, upon Condition they should restore the places withheld in *Naples* from him, and give back to the Pope likewise the possessions of the Church.. Moreover, that they should pay him a great summe of Money towards his charges. Which Articles the Venetians (as being in effect abandoned of all their Confederates) gladly accepted, only, when the Duke of *Urbino* (their Generall) might be comprehended therein. Which also was accorded. They together with the Pope interceded likewise for *Francesco Sforza*, desiring he might be restor'd to his former Estate. The Emperour also, considering that hee could make no secure Peace in *Italy*, unlesse he remov'd all just causes of jealousy, begins to thinke how he might gratifie *Sforza* herein, upon a Proposition of a Marriage to be made between him, and *Christierna* younger Daughter of the King of *Denmarke*, and *Isabell*, Sister to the Emperour; which yet because of her unripenesse for Marriage (being now but ten years old) took no effect till 1534. So, that when the businesse of *Florence* might have bin ended, all *Italy* now seem'd compos'd to quietnesse. These things thus settled, the Emperour entred *Bononia* about the beginning of *November*, with more glory, doubtlesse, that he was inform'd how the Turk had rais'd his Siege from *Vienna*, about twenty dayes before. From whence after a Moneths siege, Hee was forced to retire by the water of old German Garrison commanded by *Philip Count Palatine*, having done nothing notable, but crowned with his own Hand at *Buda*. *John Sepute* King of *Hun-*

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gary. His reception also was Magnificent, while the youth of that City having apparell'd themselves in a Livery, attended his Horse like Laquais, that they might have the better pretence to be neer him. After whom followed his Army, some choice persons whereof carried *Antonino de Leyva* on their shoulders; (though whether in regard of his antient infirmity of the Gout, or otherwise, for more ostentation, is not certain.) In which equipage hee went to the Church of *St. Petronio*, at the gate whereof the Pope, having rais'd a high Throne upon a scaffold, and placed himselfe on the top, with his *Tiara* or Triple-Crown on his Head, and, for the rest, attended with a great traine of Cardinalls, did in that posture expect him. The Emperour alighting here from his Horse ascended the steps, and humbled himselfe to a kisse of the Popes foot, which the Pope presently diverted to a Pax or kisse on the cheek. Which Ceremony as it attracted all mens eyes, so was it the more considerable unto the spectators, that the conjunction of those two great lights (as they termed it) could not but portend some strange effect to Christendome. *Charles* was then about twenty nine, that is to say in the prime age to temper his countenance betwixt lovelinesse and Majestie; though nothing yet, in his face, was so remarkable as his great nether-lip. Which *Sandoval* will have to be peculiarly deriv'd to that family (even to this day) from the House of *Burgundy*. The Pope though gray, retain'd yet much vigour in his eyes, though observed for nothing so much as his beard, which not only hee, but also all the Cardinalls, as our Agent *Richard Crooke* hath it, wore at a great length, besides, he said, many of them had their Robes or Vestures of a Violet colour, instead of Scarlet, appearing, for the rest, (as the same *Crooke* relates) in their fashions somewhat souldier-like. This Interview being past, not without a serious Protestation of the Emperours, that he would strive to reduce the affairs of Religion into better termes, they both lodged in the same House, for the more conveniency of that private conference, which often past betwixt them : which also continued for some Moneths before they departed. Whereof though it were thought that the Emperour would make his advantage, as having the Pope in his power and Custody; Yet the Pope and Venerians so manag'd the businesse, as, joyning offices together (as is above said) they obtain'd that *Francesco Sforza* should be admitted to the Emperours presence, and in sequence thereof not only pardon'd, but restor'd to the Dutchy of *Milan*. Which act of the Emperours, as it was magnanimous beyond expectation, so was it no lesse opportune; both as it quieted not the Estates alone, but even minds of the Italians; and, as hee dispos'd them thereby to give him their best assistance towards his great affaires in *Germany*. Besides, he excludes *Francis* from hope of attempting that Dutchy, unlesse he would declare himselfe an open disturber of the Peace of *Italy*. Hee did not omit yet, to Capitulate with *Sforza*, that the Marquis de *Guafo*, and *Antonio de Leyva* should have certain lands assign'd them out of the Dutchy, and that he might put

put Garrisons in some of the most important places thereof, till conditions were perform'd. Shortly after which a kind of universall League, under pretence of the good of Christendome, was by the Popes means concluded, (place being left for those that would to enter into it) which also was publish'd the first of *January* 1530. in the Cathedrall Church of *St. Petronio*. And thus, the Emperour proceeded to his Coronation in *Bononia*, whither the Crown of Iron (which should be receiv'd at *Milan*) being brought, and after put on, in the Popes Chappell; The other, of Gold, was set on his Head, *Febr. 24.* (which was his birth day) by the Pope in the great Church, with many Ceremonies. Among which I find none more Notable, than that the Emperour, by antient custome, must first put on the habit of a Canon of *Sancta Maria dellatorre* in *Rome*, and after that of a Deacon, before they can be compleatly invested in this Imperiall dignity, the Pope the mean while saying Masse, both in Latine and in Greeke. The Rites whereof appear'd so much more new and strange, that since the time of *Frederick*, 1442, no Emperour had been publickely Crowned. This being done, *Francesco Sforza* was restor'd to an actuall possession of his Estate. The Emperour placing only a Commander in the Fortresse or Cittadell of *Milan*, and another in *Como*, And causing the City of *Monzo* with vast possessions to be given *Antonio de Leyva*. Having thus settled *Lombardy*, Hee commandeth his Army to march against the Florentines, whom the Pope passionatly desir'd to chastise for the many Injuries his name and Family had lately received from them.

All which signes of amity and correspondence being advertis'd to our King, by *Crooke*, and other his Agents in *Italy*, it was easie to imagine what hope of favour hee might expect from the Pope in his important Businesse, yet, lest he should omit any thing which might serve for Justification of his Honour and Dignity in a lawfull way, Hee sent to the most famous Universities in *Italy*, and else-where, to have their opinions concerning the Divorce. Not offering any way to prevaile himself either of hisown power among his Clergie, or of the Counsell the Pope had formerly given him, till hee had first discover'd what the learned'st men in Christendome held in that point. Hee also writ Letters with his own hand to the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Sir *Gregory Casalis*, (then with the Pope) to tell them, that hee had sent Sir *Tho. Bolen*, (newly created) Earle of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*, with *John Stokesley*, Elect Bishop of *London*, and *Edward Lee*, as his Ambassadors to the Emperour, and that they should advise together what was to be done. These comming to *Bononia*, after some passages with the Emperour, who told them he could not desert his Aunts Cause, repayred to the Pope; to whom, having propos'd the Kings affaire, they received this Answer from him; That, though he was urg'd by the Queens Sollicitor to proceed against the King, yet Hee desired rather that all proceeding should be suspended in the Roman Court, upon Condition yet that King *Henry*, on the other

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side, would promise, not to Innovate any thing in the mean while in *England*. Whereof information being given our King, Hee answered, That his Holinesse hath fed him hitherto with faire words only, without intent to aide him, as appear'd lately by denying his Ambassadors Audience to justifie his Cause.

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In the mean while our King attends his Parliament businesse, where Sir *Thomas More*, who was now returned from the Treaty at *Cambray*, being (in reward of his service) made Lord Chancellour, gave in an eloquent Oration, at the Parliament-Chamber in Black-Friers, the first overtures of the Kings intentions in that Parliament. To which, our King, attended with his Nobles, repair'd from his adjoining Palace of *Bridewell*, *Thomas Audley* being chosen Speaker for the lower House. And as now *Luthers* doctrine was secretly admitted into many places of this Kingdome, with much approbation, so it gave those impressions, as even the most ignorant began to examine whether the errours then ordinarily controverted did belong to the Doctrine, or to the Government of the Church. And this alone as it was the first step, so was it a great and bold salley towards that Reformation which followed afterwards. Yet as Learning was not then commonly found among those, who in their studies had no other designe but truth, and satisfying their conscience; so few understood the state of the questions propos'd, save only they, who being of the Party, either for their own private Interest would not retract, or for feare of unsettling the received Grounds of Religion in mens Hearts, thought it dangerous to permit an Innovation; which yet prov'd a pernicious and fatall Solacisme. For whereas, in the beginning, a voluntary Mitigation of the Rigour of some of the late doctrines of the Roman Church, and a benigne Interpretation of the rest, might have conserved an universall Peace among Christians, they now, by an obstinate and wilfull impugning of all those who said it was possible for them to erre, did leave the undertaking of this great Worke either to discontented Clergy-men, or to the more Laique and improvident sort; Which therefore as it prov'd in some kind, tumultuous and refractary, so certainly the Authors on either side were much to be blamed, When in handling of Controversies, they either, out of affectation of glory, or hope of gaining large stipends from their followers (upon pretence of revealing some new or readier way for obtaining Heaven and everlasting salvation) did teach divers peremptory, and uncharitable Doctrines. Whereas yet, according to the Rules both of Piety and wisdom, they should have proceeded more moderatly; conserving, in the midst of their differences, a brotherly love, and pronouncing the errours, on what part soever, more worthy pittie than hate. Which rule yet was so little observ'd in *England*, that many Reformers books, and persons were publikely burnt, while their Disciples (for Revenge) fell foule upon the persons of their adversaries, setting forth Books to the prejudice of the whole Ecclesiasticall Order. Which comming at last to the Kings knowledge

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ledge made Him enquire further into the Abuses of the Clergy, permitting the Redresse thereof to the lower House of Parliament; Where Complaint for Probats of Testaments and Mortuaries, of Pluralities, Nonresidence, and Priests that were Farmers of Lands, &c. being made, the Spirituality was much offended, and especially *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, who (as our History hath it) in a Passionate Speech told the Lords, That the Commons would nothing now but down with the Church. Saying further, that all this was for want of Faith; aggravating the danger the Kingdome was in, by the Example of *Bohemia*. The Lower House being inform'd hereof, sent the King a Complaint by their Speaker; desiring Reparation. But *Fisher* excusing himselfe as hee could, *Sir William Fitz-Williams* on the part of the King, mediated the rest. Notwithstanding which, the Injury was not so digested, but that one who had made use of the Evangeliques Doctrine so farre, as to take a reasonable liberty to judge of the present times, and howsoever was offended that the Bishop Rejected all on want of Faith, spoke to this effect.

If none else but the Bishop of *Rocheſter* or his Adherents, did hold this Language, it would lesse trouble me. But since so many Religious and different Sects (now conspicuous in the whole World) doe not only vindicate unto themselves the name of the true Church, but labour betwixt Invitations and Threats for nothing more than to make us Resigne our Faith to a simple Obedience; I shall crave leave to propose, what I think fit (in this case) for us Laiques and Secular Persons to doe. Not that I will make my Opinion a Rule to others, when any better Expedient shall be offered; but that I would be glad wee considered hereof, as the greatest Affaire that now or hereafter may concern us.

For if in all humane Actions it be hard to find that *medium* or even temper which may keep us from declining into extreams, it will be much more difficult in Religious Worship; both as the path is supposed narrower, and the Precipices more dangerous on every side. And because each man is Created by God a free Citizen of the World, and obliged to nothing so much as the inquirie of those means by which he may attaine his Everlasting Happinesse, it will be fit to examine to whose tuition and Conduct Hee commit himselfe. For, as severall Teachers, not only differing in Language, Habit and Ceremony (or at least in some of these) but Peremptory and opposite in their Doctrines, present themselves, much circumspection must be used. Here then taking his Prospect, Hee shall find these Guides directing Him to severall wayes; whereof the first yet extends no further than to the Lawes and Religions of each mans native Soyle or Diocesse, without passing those bounds. The second, Reaching much further, branches it selfe into that diversity of Religions and Philosophies, that not only are, but have been extant in former times, untill Hee be able to determine which is best. But in either of these, no little difficulties will occurre. For, if each man

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ought to be secure of all that is taught at home, without enquiring further, How can Hee Answer his Conscience? When looking abroad, the terrors of Everlasting Damnation shall be denounced on Him, by the severall Hierarchies and visible Churches of the world, if Hee believe any Doctrine but theirs. And that, amongst these again, such able and understanding Persons may be found, as, in all other affaires, will equall his Teachers. Will it be fit that Hee believe, God hath inspir'd His Church and Religion only, and deserted the rest; when yet Mankind is so much of one off-spring, that it hath not only the same *Pater Communis* in God, but is come all from the same Carnal Ancestors? Shall each Man, without more Examination, believe his Priests in what Religion soever, and, when Hee hath done, call their Doctrine his Faith? On the other side, if Hee must argue Controversies before Hee can bee satisfied, How much leisure must Hee obtaine? How much Wealth and Substance must Hee Consume? How many Languages must Hee learn? And how many Authors must Hee Reade? How many Ages must Hee look into? How many Faiths must Hee examine? How many Expositions must Hee conferre? And how many Contradictions Reconcile? how many Countries must Hee wander into? And how many dangers must Hee run? Briefly, would not our life on these termes bee a perpetuall Peregrination? While each man Posted into the others Country, to learn the way to Heaven, without yet that Hee could say at last, Hee had known or tryed all. What remains then to be done? Must Hee take all that each Priest upon pretence of Inspiration would teach him? because it might be so, or may Hee leave all, because it might be otherwise? Certainly, to embrace all Religions, according to their various and repugnant Rites, Tenents, Traditions, and Faiths, is impossible, when yet in one Age it were possible (after incredible Paines and Expences) to learn out, and number them. On the other side, to reject all Religions is as impious; there being no Nation, that in some kind or other doth not worship God. So that there will be a necessity to distinguish. Not yet that any man will be able, upon Comparison, to discern which is the perfectest, among the many professed in the whole world; (each of them being of that large extent, that no mans understanding will serve to comprehend it in its uttermost Latitude, and signification,) But (at least) that every man might vindicate and sever, in His particular Religion, the more Essentiall and demonstrative parts, from the rest, without being mov'd so much at the Threats and Promises of any other Religion, that would make Him obnoxious, as to depart from this way: There being no Ordinary method so intelligible, ready, and compendious for the conducting each man to his desired end. Having thus therefore recollected Himselfe, and together implored the assistance of that Supreme God, whom all Nations acknowledge; Hee must labour, in the next place, to find out, what Inward Means, His Providence hath deliver'd, to discerne the True, not only from the False.

False, but even from the Likely, and Possible; each of them requiring a peculiar scrutiny and consideration. Neither shall he fly thus to Particular Reason, which may soon lead Him to Heresie; but, after a due separation of the more Doubtfull and Controverted parts, shall hold Himself to Common, Authentique, and universall Truths, and consequently informe Himselfe, what, in the severall Articles proposed to Him, is so taught, as it is first written in the Heart, and together deliver'd in all the Lawes and Religions Hee can hear of in the whole world; For this certainly can never deceive Him; Since therein Hee shall find out how farre the Impressions of Gods Wisdom and Goodnesse are extant in all Mankind, and to what degrees His Universall providence hath dilated it selfe: While thus ascending to God by the same stepps Hee descends to us, Hee cannot faile to encounter the Divine Majesty. Neither ought it to trouble Him, if Hee find these truths variously complicated with Difficulties or Errors; since, without insisting on more points than what are clearly agreed, on every side, it will be His part to reduce them into Method and order; which also is not hard, they being but few, and apt for connexion; So that it will concern our severall Teachers to imitate us in this Doctrine, before they come to any particular direction; lest, otherwise they doe like those who would perswade us to renounce day-light, to study only by their candle. It will be worth the labour, assuredly, to inquire how farre these Universall Notions will guide us, before wee commit our selves to any of their abstruse and scholastique Mysteries, or Supernaturall and private Revelations. Not yet, but that they also may Challenge a just place in our Beliefe, when they are deliver'd upon warrantable Testimony; but that they cannot be understood as so indifferent and unfallible Principles for the instruction of All Mankind. Thus, among many supposed Inferiour and questionable Deities, worshipped in the foure Quarters of the World, we shall find one Chiefe so taught us, as above others to be highly Reverenced.

Among many Rites, Ceremonies, and Volumes, &c. deliver'd us as Instruments or parts of His Worship, Hee shall find Vertue so eminent, as it alone concludes and summes up the rest. Insomuch as there is no Sacrament which is not finally resolv'd into it; Good life, Charity, Faith in, and love of God, being such necessary and essentiall parts of Religion, that all the rest are finally clos'd, and determin'd in them.

Among the many Expiations, Lustrations, and Propitiations for our sinnes, taught in the severall quarters of the World, in sundry times, We shall find that none doth availe without heary sorrow for our sinnes, and a true Repentance towards God, whom wee have offended.

And lastly amidst the divers Places and manners of Reward and Punishment, which former Ages have deliver'd, Wee shall find Gods Justice and mercy not so limited, but that Hee can extend either of them

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them even beyond death, and consequently Recompence or Chastise eternally. These therefore, as universall and undoubted Truths, should in my opinion be first Receiv'd. They wil at least keep us from Impiety and Atheism, and together lay a foundation for Gods service, and the Hope of a better life. Besides, it will reduce mens minds from uncertain, and controverted Points, to a solid practise of Vertue, or when wee fall from it, to an unfeigned Repentance, and purpose through Gods grace to amend our sinfull life, withour making Pardon so easie, cheap or mercenary, as some of them doe. Lastly, it will dispose us to a generall Concord and Peace: For when wee are agreed concerning these Eternall causes and means of our Salvation, Why should wee so much differ for the rest? since as these Principles exclude nothing of Faith, or Tradition, in what Age or manner soever it interven'd; each Nation may be permitted the Beliefe of any Pious Miracle that conduceth to Gods Glory; without that, on this occasion, we need to scandalize or offend each other. The common Truths in Religion formerly mentioned, being firmer bonds of Unity, than that any thing emergent out of Traditions (whether written or unwritten) should dissolve them. Let us, therefore, establish and fix these Catholike or Universall Notions. They will not hinder us to believe whatsoever els is faithfully taught upon the Authority of the Church. So that, whether the Eastern, Western, Northern, or Southern Teachers, &c. and particularly whether my Lord of *Rochester*, *Luther*, *Eccius*, *Zuinglius*, *Erasmus*, *Melancthon*, &c. be in the Right, Wee Laiques may so build upon those Catholike and Infallible grounds of Religion, as whatsoever superstructures of Faith be rais'd, these Foundations yet may support them.

But as few men are of the same mind in all Points of Religion, so this Overture was entertain'd diversly: Some desiring to passe further than such generall Notions, others again not finding how the divine Providence could bee sufficiently conserv'd to all mankind unlesse these did suffice. The resultance whereof finally was that a Reformation was pray'd, as farre as might bee, in Religion: Though when Particulars were examin'd, it was found, that some diseases therein were like that of *Cancer Occultus*, which Physicians say, it is more safe to let alone, than to Cure. Yet as it was manifest that in Probats of Testaments, Pluralitie of benefices, and divers other wayes above mention'd, the Clergie had incroach'd and usurp'd both upon each other, and upon the Laity for many Ages, so they would now omit no longer to give a redresse to these grosse faults. Therefore about last Wills and Testaments, which Cardinall *woolseys* Legatine power had so disordred (as Sir *Henry Guilford* protested openly, that Himselfe being, with others, Executors of the Will of Sir *William Compton* (who dyed 1528. of the sweating sicknesse) could not obtain a Probat from the Cardinall, and Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, before hee had payed a 1000 Marks) some profitable orders were made. And the businesse of Mortuaries (exactd with much

extremi-

extremity even on the poorest) was settled. Moreover Spirituall Persons were abridg'd from taking of Farmes, and from Plurality of Livings, unlesse they were qualified, either by certain University Degrees, or by the Nobility, to whom a competent number of Chaplaines were assign'd. Nonresidence also (then very usuall) was forbidden; but in some Cases, and for the rest explained, and interpreted. An Act also pass'd for a Generall Pardon of all offences, Forfeitures, punishments, &c. except Murders, and Treasons, which the King granted by way of gratifying His Subjects, for a Release of a great Lone of money from them *Anno 15 H. VIII.* which motioned and assented to by the Lords, was with much adoe, Confirmed by the Lower House. After which was enacted a Statute for abridging Plaints in Assize, which being Complicate before were reduced to a more single method. And this was much to the ease of the Subjects. It was also declared Felony for servants to imbeile their Masters goods to the value of forty shillings and upwards. And order taken, that, after a Felon was attainted (but not before) the stolne goods might be restored. Furthermore, it was provided particularly, that no Brasse should bee carried beyond Sea. Which seems to regard principally making of great Ordnance; (about this time appearing of great use.) Artificers strangers also were restrain'd to certain rules. As that they might not keep above two strangers servants in their house. That they should beare such charges as Naturall subjects did, paying all subsidies, &c. and take an Oath to be true and obedient to the King and his Lawes. That they should have no Conventicles, but meet in the Common Halls of their Craft. That they should nor have Journey-men or Prentices strangers above ten at a time. Moreover, authority was given to the President of the Kings Counsell to associate with the Chancellour, Treasurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, &c. both for the punishment of Ryots, and unlawfull assemblies, &c. and setting of prises of Wines, as also all other Acts, limited and appointed by any Statute to be done by the Chancellour, Treasurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seale, &c. Other Lawes also were enacted, which for being meerly Legall, and therefore relative chiefly to the Masters of the Law, or otherwise Mechanicall, or at least so particular, that they belong not properly to History, I purpotely omit. And so, a weeke before Christmas, the Parliament was prorogued to the yeare following.

Before yet I come to the yeare 1530. I must not omit to mention *Haradin Barbarossa* that famous Pirate, who, from a low and obscure beginning, had, by his valour and conduct (as wee have before touched) obtained the Kingdome of *Argel*. For being not fortunate alone by Sea, when he landed his men, hee did, with no lesse successe attempt divers strong places; So that hee was generally feared; and the rather, that one *Haradin*, call'd *Caca-diablo*, *Sinan* a Jew, and many other notable *Picarones* had ranged themselves under him; Whereby his Forces were so increased, that no Navigation was secure

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in the parts adjoyning to him. This year (particularly) Hee had taken *Penon de Velez* from the Spaniard, and defeated a Fleet of theirs shortly after. And now his Designe was to make himselfe Master of the Seas from *Gibraltar* to *Sicily*. For preventing whereof the Emperour employed divers, but infortunatly, Insomuch that *Andrea Doria* himselfe, though recovering some Ships out of the Haven of *Sargel*, where part of *Barbarossa's* Sea forces (under the command of one *Haly*, a Pirat of *Tunes*) rode at Anchor; yet when he caused some Souldiers to be landed to attempt the Castle; *Haly* gathering a few resolute men together, charg'd them desperatly, and gave them a repulse with the losse of so many as made *Doria* desist from his enterprize; Which being advertis'd to the Emperour, made him resolve to Invade *Barbarossa* in his own Country, the successe whereof shall be related hereafter. The contents of my History requiring mee now to Speake of the Florentines; On whom as the Pope passionatly desir'd to be reveng'd, so the Emperour, having his pretences also, did for complying with him, send an Army thither under the Cōmand of *Philibert* Prince of *Aurange*, the Marquis of *Guaſto*, *Juan de Urbino*, and others of note, and about twenty six thousand men. The Pope yet used distinction; for if he desired that the enemies of his Name and Family with their adherents should be punished, hee intreated aswell that the City and the Country (whereof he was a Native) should be spared. But as the Prince *de Aurange* thought this a subtiltie fitter for a Schooleman than a Souldier, he undertook them together. While *Malatesta Baglioni* a brave Gentleman associated with *Francesco Carduci*, and ten others were chosen the chiefe Directours of the Florentine affairs. And by their advice the smaller Places of *Poscana* (for avoyding that finall desolation that assaults doe bring) yeelded themselves betime. Yet so as *Juan de Urbino*, a souldier of note was kill'd at one of them. And thus siege was layd to that faire City; the Suburbs whereof being weak, were thrown down, that they might the better fortifie their Ramparts, and especiall care taken to keep a passage for Victuals open. Yet as the warre was thought to proceed out of unkindnesse rather than hate, so divers of the more innocent sort perswaded the rest to implore the Popes mercy. The resultance whereof was, that at last an Ambassade was sent. But as by the craft of the adverse party, election was made of mean and despicable persons, the designe was eluded; the Pope not vouchsafing so much as to heare them. This made them resolve to defend themselves. Insomuch that all their fear being now actuated into desperation, they by continuall sallies (as well by night as day) not only wearied the assiegers, and slew divers of their ablest Commanders, but finally kill'd *Philibert* Prince of *Aurange* himself, who being young, valiant, and liberall, was much lamented among the Souldiers. Famine, yet, at last pressing the Florentines, a parly was propos'd; but the more daring sort (choosung rather to dye with their Armes in their hands, than to yeeld to the Incensed Pope) sallied forth with that fury and disorder, that one would

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would have thought they pretended not so much to Victory, as to some other death then Hunger. The more unquiet sort, being thus at length worn out and spent, the rest, by the means of *Malatesta*, came to a composition with the Emperour, (the Pope also, out of Compassion to his Country, consenting to it) upon these termes; That they should pay 80000. Duckets towards the charge of the Army. That their popular Government should bee chang'd to Monarchicall, under the rule and Dominion of *Alessandro de Medici* (son of *Lorenzo* late Duke of *Urbino*) and his Heirs; their antient Priviledges being neverthelesse reserved. And thus, after above ten Moneths Siege, the City was rendred to the Emperour; who, for more ample testimony of his favour, bestowed *Margarite* his naturall Daughter upon *Alessandro de Medici* together with the title of Duke. I find, yet by a private dispatch, that hee was not very well pleas'd with these Articles; as beleeving he might have made more advantage of his conquest, though, for contenting the Pope, He gave way to it, as being now intentive wholly to the Businesse of *Germany*. For as the affaires of Religion in those parts, together with the Invasion of the Turk requir'd his presence, so hee departed from *Italy*, about five Moneths before the reddition of that place: making (in his way) the Marquis of *Mantua* a Duke, and receiving his brother *Ferdinand* at *Insprach*, with much demonstration of love. Where also he advis'd concerning the present Estate and disposition, not of the Affaires only, but even persons and Favorites of those with whom he was to Treat. So that, comming at last to *Augsburg*, where a generall Diet and Assembly was appointed, with much solemnity (the Electors and other Princes of *Germany* meeting there) hee requir'd their Grievances. The account whereof yet I must omit awhile, that I may come to the restitution of *Francis* his Children.

The Jewell, Money, and Acquittances requir'd for discharge of his pretious Hostages, being now gotten together, *Francis* would no longer delay to performe his agreement. Only as hee confest himself much enabled hereunto by the speciall goodnesse and bounty of our King, so hee fail'd not to take his advice on all occasions. And thus, the day being come, *Anne de Montmorencie*, Grand Maistre of *France*, and *Hernando de Velasco Condestable de Castilla* were chosen by both Princes for the persons to whose fidelity and care they thought fit to commend this important businesse. And because the Cautions and Difficulties were many, they agreed upon certain Articles, the most substantiall whereof (besides those extant in the Treaty of *Cambray* to which Relation must be had) were these following.

I. That a Bridge or *Pontone*, of forty foot long, and fifteen broad should be erected upon Boats fastned with Anchors upon the midst of the River betwixt *Fuentarabie* and *Andaya*; whereupon the Exchange should be made.

II. That no troops of Horse should be within ten Leagues of the place for ten dayes before, and ten dayes after the delivery, Nor no confide-

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considerable number of foot, And that no Gentlemen should passe that way, but those who were appointed.

III. That at the day of delivery no Company of men or women should be within three Leagues of the Place.

III. That in *Fuentarabie* there should be none but the ordinary Garrison, being fifty men, and that the Cannon should bee dismounted.

V. That a hundred Horse, and foure hundred Foot, (which afterwards was reduced to a lesse number) should be allowed on either side to come to the bank of the River.

VI. That twelve Persons should be admitted on either side to passe over and see these Articles observ'd; And that two Galleons should coast the River, with equall numbers of both Nations to prevent surprises.

VII. That the Money should be brought in one Shallop, and the Hostages in another to the two sides of the Bridge; And that, for Counter-ballancing the money, so much Iron should be put in the other.

VIII. That in the Shallop of the Hostages should be twelve Spaniards, the *Condestable*, and *Seigneur de Praet* being comprehended, and *Mons' de Brisac* a Frenchman, with swords and daggers, the Hostages having daggers only. And that the like number and Armes should be permitted to *Montmorency* in the other Shallop. And one *Alvaro de Lugo*, a Spaniard with two Pages to go along with them in lieu of the Hostages, and twelve Oares on either part unarm'd.

IX. That comming both at the same time to the two sides of the Bridge, the *Condestable*, & *Montmorency* should land first on the said Bridge, and call to them in equall number their Companies. And that the Spaniards should passe into the Shallop where the Money and Writings and Jewells were, along the one side of a Barriere erected, and the French, on the other Shallop of the Hostages.

X. That Queen *Leonora* should goe in a Shallop a part with six Ladies attendants, the rest being eight Cavaliers, and six Oares of either Nation; but that she should not passe till the Exchange were made. Notwithstanding which Agreement so much time was employ'd in counting, weighing, and examining the money, that many weeks preceding were spent before they could accord of the payment. The Spaniard finding the Gold to want of its purity, and the Deschee or losse being valued at 40000 Crownes. Besides, as the River on the Spanish shore was shallower than on the French, there wanted not some Jealousie and wrangling. Howsoever, at length the delivery was made. Whereof *Francis* being advertis'd did part from *Bordeaux* to *Varin*, where with much joy hee receiv'd his Children, and Queen *Leonora de Seres*, Whom also hee married an houre before the day following.

And now *Francis* remembring how much it concern'd him to correspond

July 1.

correspond with our King (to whom hee owed first his own, and next his Childrens liberty) sent over to acquaint him therewith.

Our King also considering that *Francis* being now dis-ingag'd might more freely declare himself, did (by a particular message) not only make known the little hope hee had of the Popes favour in his particular businesse, but desir'd that Kings assistance, for obtaining the resolution of the Universities and learned men in his Kingdome concerning the lawfulnessse of his Marriage, for which purpose Hee induced *Guillaume de Bellay* (sent by *Francis* to him in the beginning of this yeare) to cooperate, with them, as also those of *Italy* and *Germany*, not omitting together to employ at *Paris*, his Kinsman, and Beneficiary, *Reginald Pole*, with Sir *Francis Bryan*, and *Edward Fox*, Master *William Paget* (after) being sent to *Orleans*, & *Tholouse*, and *Francis* together readily promising his assistance. And because our King had many Agents about this time employ'd in *Italy*, as namely Doctor *Richard Croke* (a man excellent in the Greek tongue) at *Padua*; *Hierome de Ghinucci* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Gregory Casalis* at *Rome*; Doctor *Stokesley* at *Venice*, *Thomas Cranmer* (afterwards ArchBishop of *Canterbury*) *Andreas* and *Johannes Casalis*, and *Previdellus*; hee had enough to doe: while sometimes he laboured to reconcile, and sometimes again to make use of their various Advertisements. *Stokesley* writ (in a Letter dated 13th *June*) that he had gotten the Opinions of the University of *Bononia*; and that more would have concurr'd, had not the Pope contradicted. *Croke* said, the Pope and Emperour threatned all that subscrib'd in favor of the Kings cause. He writes also, that the Emperour's Ambassador in *Padua*, challeng'd one Fryer *Thomas*, for favouring the Kings cause, and told him, If this Conclusion should take effect, many of the greatest Princes of Christendom should bee disherited, or taken as Illegitimate; accounting in those as well the Emperour, as the King of *Portugall*. Notwithstanding which, he had gotten 80 principal mens hands a good while since, and had obtained thirty more, which yet, by their means, were burnt. By a Letter also of *Crokes* 24th *August*, It appears, that the Emperor labour'd with the State of *Venice*, to oppose the King in his Demand. Furthermore hee protested none would take money (Lawyers only excepted) for delivering their opinions, though he forced sometimes a small reward on them when they had done. Which particular Doctor *Stokesley* (in a Dispatch, 23th *September* 1530.) did confirme; saying, it was their manner both in *Padua* and *Bononia* to refuse mony with these words, *quod a Spiritu sancto gratis accepimus, gratis & libenter impertimur*. Moreover *Croke*, by a Letter 31th *August* 1530, said, *Cesar minis, precibus, pretio, & sacerdotiis, partim territat nostros, partim confirmat suos*: Certifying our King further, that *Andreas Casalis*, & *Previdellus* did reveale his Highnes secrets to the *Casarians*: In Conclusion I find that many would have given their opinion in favour of the Divorce, if they durst. So that though the Kings Agents did now and then differ in some points, they all yet agreed that most of the learned men in those parts would have favour'd the King in the

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Mart. du Bell.

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June 22.

July 4.

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point of his Divorce, had not the Pope and Emperour oppugned it. *Croke* addes further, that the Emperour got some hands in *Mantua* for Money, but they were of the meaner sort. Whereas twenty nine Doctors in that place had freely subscribed on his Highnesse part. Now as *Gregory Casalis* seem'd among all his Highnesse Agents, at this time, the most industrious, so hee solicited the Pope continually on our Kings behalfe, not neglecting also the Cæsarians, to whom hee gave, and from whom he received that intelligence, as hee made advantage of all. By which dangerous and suspected wisdom yet hee prevail'd so farre, that at length hee had Authority, as it seems, to write this following Dispatch, which I have caus'd faithfully to be transcrib'd out of the Originall.

Serezissime & Potentissime Domine Rex, Domine mi supreme, humillima commendatione premissa, Salutem, & felicitatem. Superioribus diebus, Pontifex secreto, veluti rem quam magni faceret, mihi proposuit conditionem hujusmodi, Concedi posse vestrae Majestati, ut duas uxores habeat; Cui dixi, nolle me Provinciam suscipere ea de Rescribendi, ob eam Causam, quod ignorarem an inde vestrae Conscientiae satisfieri posset, quam vestra Majestas imprimis exonerare cupit. Cur autem sic Responderem, illud in causa fuit, quod ex certo loco, unde quæ Cæsariani moliantur aucupari soleo, exploratum certumq; habebam, Cæsarianos illud ipsum querere & procurare. Quem vero ad finem id quarant, pro certo exprimere non ausim. Id certe totum vestrae prudentia Considerandum relinquo. Et quamvis dixerim Pontifici, nihil me de eo Scripturum, nolui tamen Majestati vestra hoc reticere; quæ sciat omni me industria laborasse, in iis quæ nobis mandat, exequendis. Et cum Anconitano qui me familiariter uti solet, omnia sum Conatus. De omnibus autem me [ad] communes Literas rejicio. Optime valeat vestra Majestas. Romæ die xviii. Septembris, MDXXX.

C.V. Majestatis

Humillimus Servus

Gregorius Casalis.

How this Letter was believed or accepted yet, doth not appeare to me, So that although *Melancthon* is said to have concurr'd in some such opinion, no effect followed thereof. For I find, that at this very time, King *Henry*, jealous of the Queenes, or (as our Historians say) of *woolfsey's* procuring Bulls against him, set forth this Proclamation, September 19.

Sept. 19.
Hall.

THe Kings Highnesse streightly Chargeth and Commandeth, that no manner of Person of what Estate, degree or condition soever, hee or they be of, doe purchase, or attempt to purchase from the Court of *Rome*, or else where, nor use and put in Execution, divulge or publish any thing heretofore within this year passed purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, conteining matter prejudiciall to the

the high Authority, Jurisdiction, and Prerogative Royall of this his said Realm, or to the lett, hinderance, or impeachment of his Graces Noble and vertuous intended purposes in the Premises; upon pain of incurring his Highnesse Indignation, and Imprisonment, and farther punishment of their Bodies, for their so doing, at his Graces pleasure, to the dreadfull Example of all other.

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Thus did the King begin to shake off the Romish yoke; to which he was much animated by the Concurrence of his Subjects in Parliament, both Spirituall and Temporall, who (as it appears by our Records) in *July* this yeare under their hands and Seals sent a Declaration to the Pope. The Tenor whereof is this;

July 30.

Sanctissimo in Christo Patri & Domino Domino Clementi divina Providentia ejus nominis Papæ septimo, Osculatis Pedibus omni cum humilitate fœlicitatem præcamur, & optamus perpetuam, in Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Beatissime Pater, tam-etsi Causa Matrimonii, Invidiissimi & Serenissimi Principis Domini nostri, Angliæ Franciæq; Regis Fidei Defensoris & Domini Hiberniæ, multis ipsa per se Argumentis V. Sanctitatis opem imploret atque efflagitet, ut illud quam celerrime finem accipiat, quem Nos, summo cum desiderio, jam diu desideravimus, & longa, sed hætenus vana Spe a V. Sanctitate Expectavimus: Non potuimus tamen committere ut Rebus nostris Regniq; Statu, ex hac litis Protelatione in tantum discrimen adducto, omnino sileremus, sed quod Regia Majestas nostrum Caput, atq; adeo anima omnium nostrum, & in cujus verbis nos, tanquam Membra conformia, justa compagine capiti Coherentia, multa solitudine V. Sanctitatem precati, & frustra tamen precati sumus, id nos literis nostris doloris gravitate adducti seorsim & separatim flagitaremus. Sufficere sane alioqui debuisset, Causæ ipsius justitia eruditissimorum virorum calculis passim probata, Celeberrimarum Academiarum suffragiis judicata, ab Anglis, a Gallis, ab Italis, prout quisq; apud eos cæteros eruditione antecellit, pronunciata & definita, ut Sanctitas V. etiam nemine petente & Reclamantibus quibuscunque, suo Ore, suaq; Authoritate aliorum sententias confirmaret; præsertim cum Causæ definitio eum Regem,

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illud Regnum respiciat, quod de Sede illa Apostolica tam multis nominibus bene meritum sit: Precibus autem nihil opus fuisset, nisi quatenus homines doloribus indulgent, & Preces non necessarias interdum effundere solent. Cæterum quum apud Sanctitatem V. nec ipsius Causæ Justitia, nec beneficiorum acceptorum recordatio, nec optimi Principis tam assiduæ & diligentes preces, quicquam profecerint, ut obtineatur a vobis quod Paternæ Pietatis officium exigebat; adauctus supra modum in nobis miseriarum ac calamitatum recordatione doloris cumulus singula etiam Reip. nostræ membra vocalia facit, & verbis & literis conquestionem edere compellit. Nam quæ tandem infelicitas, ut quod dux Academiæ nostræ, quod Academia Parisiensis, quod multæ aliæ Academiæ in Gallia, quod passim doctissimi eruditissimi & integerrimi viri domi forisq; verum affirmant, & pro vero defendere tam Verbis quam Calamo se paratos ostendunt, id pro vero non obtineat a sede Apostolica ille Princeps, cujus Ore atq; Presidio sua stat Sedi Apostolicæ autoritas, a tam multis ac Populis etiam potentissimis tam valide impetita, quibus partim ferro, partim Calamo, partim voce atq; autoritate sæpius in ea Causa restitit; & tamen solus illius autoritatis beneficio non fruitur, qui curavit ut esset qua alii fruerentur. His quid responderi posset non videmus, & malorum interim Pelagus Reip. nostræ imminere cernimus, ac certum quoddam diluvium comminari, aut quod Diluvio par est, multa cæde ac sanguine restinctam olim Successionis controversiam denuo reducere. Habemus enim summis virtutibus Principem, certissimo titulo Regem, indubitatam Regno Tranquillitatem daturum, si Sobolem ex corpore Masculam nobis reliquerit; cujus in vero matrimonio sola spes esse potest: Matrimonio autem vero tantum illud nunc obstat, ut quod de priore matrimonio tot docti viri pronunciant, id utique V. Sanctitas sua autoritate declaret. Hoc autem si non vult, & qui Pater esse debeat, Nos tanquam Orphanos relinquere decrevit, et pro abjectis habere, ita certe interpretabimur, Nostri nobis curam

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curam esse relictam, ut aliunde nobis remedia conquiramus. Sed ad hoc ne adigamur, Sanctitatem V. oramus ut Regi nostro in tam sanctis desideriis adesse, et, sine mora aut dilatione, favere velit, vehementer obsecramus, ut iudicio suo Comprobet quod viri Doctissimi affirmant, per illam quam nobis ex Pastoralis officio debet Pietatem ex mutuo Cordis affectu obtestamur, ne claudantur Paterna viscera, tam obsequentibus, tam benevolis, tam morigeris filiis. Causa Regiæ Majestatis nostra cujusque propria est, a Capite in Membra derivata, dolor ad omnes, atque injuria ex æquo pertinet, omnes in ejus Majestate compati-mur, quibus facile Sanctitas V. mederi posset, nec posset modo, sed ex Paterna Pietate deberet. Quod si vel id non fecerit, vel facere quidem distulerit Sanctitas V. hætenus sane conditio nostra erit miserior, quod tam diu sine fructu frustra laboratum sit, sed non omni prorsus remedio destituta. Sunt quidem Remedia extrema semper duriora, sed Morbum omnino utcunque levare curat ægrotus, & in malorum commutatione non nihil est Spei; ut, si minus succedat quod Bonum est, sequatur saltem quod est minus Malum, & id temporis etiam cursu facile tolerandum. Ista autem ut secum consideret Sanctitas V. iterum atque iterum rogamus, in Domino Jesu Christo, cujus Vices in Terris se gerere, profitetur, idque ut nunc factis conetur ostendere; Ut veritatem doctissimorum hominum, vigiliis ac laboribus inventam, probatam & confirmatam, ad Dei Laudem & Gloriam sua Sententia & Pronunciatione velit illustrare. Interim Vero Deum Optim. Maxim. quem ipsam esse veritatem certissimo Testimonio cognoscimus, comprecabimur. Ut vestræ Sanctitatis Consilia ita informare atque dirigere dignetur, ut, quod Sanctum, Justum ac verum est, a V. Sanctitatis Autoritate obtinentes, ab omni alia assequendæ veritatis molestia liberemur.

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1. Archiepiscopi.	Jo. Audley.	Ro. of Thorney.
T. Cardinalis Ebor.	Hen. Scroope.	Ro. of Selby.
Willielmus Cant.	Tho. Dacres.	William Abbot of
2. Duces.	Tho. La-Ware.	Bardney.
Tho. Norfolk.	Willielm. Dacre.	Will. Ab. of St. Be-
Charles Suffolke.	Tho. Barkley.	net de Hulmo.
3. Marchiones.	Hen. Morley.	Tho. Ab. of St. John
T. Dorset.	Geo. Cobham.	by Colchester.
H. Exeter.	Rich. Latimer.	Jo. Ab. of Hyde.
4. Comites.	Edw. Stourton.	Clem. Ab. of Eve-
Willielmus Arundel.	Jo. Fitzwarren.	sham.
Jo. Oxenford.	Jo. Semers.	Rich. Ab. of Malm-
H. Northumberland.	Jo. Lumley.	bury.
Rauf. Westmerland.	Willielm. Mountpy.	Rich. Ab. of Winchel-
Geo. Shrowsbury.	Chris. Goniers.	comb.
Henr. Essex.	Hen. Daubeney.	Rob. Ab. St. Crucis de
Edw. Derby.	T. Darcy.	Waltham.
H. Worcester.	T. Montegle.	Jo. Ab. of Cirester.
Tho. Rutland.	Willielm. Sandys.	Hen. Ab. of Teuxbu-
Hen. Cumberland.	Jo. Husey.	ry.
Robert Suffex.	Andr. Windsor.	8. Milites & Do-
Geo. Huntington.		ctores in Parlamento.
G. of Kildare.	7. Abbates.	William Fitzwilli-
5. Episcopi.	Jo. of Westminster.	am.
Robert. Cicestrens.	Jo. of Bury St. Ed-	Hen. Guildford.
Job. Carliolens.	mund.	Steph. Gardiner.
Job. Lincoln.	Rich. Glaston.	Jo. Gage.
Rich. Menevensis.	Will. Gloucester.	William Kingston.
	Tho. of Abendon.	Bryan Tuke.
6. Barones.	Hugh of Reading.	Rich. Sacheverell.
Henr. Mountagu.	Edw. of Yorke.	Rich. Sampson.
G. Rochford.	Jo. of Peterburgh.	Edw. Lee.
Willielm. Weston.	Jo. of Ramsey.	Rich. Woolman.
E. Bergavenny.	Jo. of Croyland.	Jo. Bettar.

To which Clement returned this Reply.

Vene-

*Venerabilibus fratribus Archiepiscopis & Episcopis, ac dilectis filiis
Abbatibus, Nobilibusq; viris, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comi-
tibus, Baronibus, Militibus ac Doctoribus Parlamen-
ti Regni Angliæ,*

CLEMENS Papa VII.

Venerabiles fratres & dilecti filii Salutem & Aposto-
licam benedictionem. Multa sunt in vestris literis
die xiii. Julii datis ac nobis superioribus diebus
redditis quæ gravius accepissemus, nisi ea affectui, studioq;
vestro erga Charissimum in Christo filium nostrum, Regem
vestrum condonanda arbitraremur. Itaq; sedato animo ad
eas literas respondebimus, tantum ut doceamus quam imme-
rito de nobis conquesti sitis, neq; oportuisse tantum a vobis
tribui privato erga Regem sive officio sive amoris vestro, ut
nos duobus ingrati adversus Serenitatem suam animi ac de-
negatæ Justitiæ, gravissimis nominibus incusaretis. Nos
quidem agnoscimus Regem vestrum ea omnia quæ in ve-
stris literis enumeratis, ac multo etiam plura promeritum,
manebitq; perpetuo non modo apud nos sed ad posteros
nostros memoria ejus in Sedem Apostolicam meritorum.
Fatemurq; nos non modo Pontificiæ personæ quam gerimus,
sed privato nostro nomine tantum Serenitati suæ debere, ut
nunquam beneficiis parem gratiam relaturi videamur. Sed
quod attinet ad Controversiam quæ de matrimonio est in-
ter Serenitatem suam & Catharinam Reginam, tantum ab-
est, ut denegando Justiciam, Regis spem frustrari volueri-
mus, ut ultro ab altera parte, tanquam plus æquo in partes
Majestatis suæ propensi, reprehendamus. Sed, ut paulo altius
perpetuum animi nostri erga Regem vestrum Tenorem re-
petamus: Cum primum, tribus ferme ab hinc Annis, Regii
Oratores ad nos hanc Causam detulissent; animi nostri pro-
pensionem potius quam Juris rigorem secuti, commisimus
illam dilectis filiis nostris Thomæ tt^{li}. Sanctæ Cecilix E-
boracen.

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boracen. in Regno Angliæ Legato, & Laurentio tt. Sanctæ Mariæ in Transiberim Campegio a nostro Latere misso, Presbyteris Cardinalibus in Regno atq; adeo domi ipsius Regis audiendam & terminandum; satisfecimusq; tum, quantum in nobis fuit, Serenitatis suæ voluntati. Verum cum Regina suspectum illud in partibus Judicium habere cepisset, & agravaminibus sibi, ut dicebat, per eosdem Legatos illatis ad Sedem Apostolicam appellasset, Procuratoribus etiam ad dictam appellationem prosequendam constitutis, ne tum quidem desiderari passi sumus nostram erga ipsum Regem benevolentiam. Nam tametsi causæ hujusmodi appellationis Commissio negari non poterat, tamen Concordia potius quam via Juris terminari hanc controversiam cupientes omnes moras in Commissionem dictæ causæ appellationis concedenda interposuimus, eo pretextu, quod esset de majoribus causis, meritoq; ad Consistorium rejicienda. Habita vero deinde super hoc cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus aliquoties consultatione, fuit aliquam diu dilatum negotium; Sed tandem unanimi omnium Cardinalium voto conclusum est, Commissionem causæ appellationis hujusmodi per nos negari non posse. Itaq; Commissa est audienda & subinde in dicto Consistorio nobis referenda & terminanda. Nam cum omnibus in Rebus considerate procedere debemus, tum in hac potissimum quæ Regias & illustres personas tangit, & in quam totius Christianitatis oculos conjectos esse videmus. Post quæ deinde nullus Regius legitimus Procurator comparuit, qui aut scripto aut verbo de Juribus Regis doceret; ideoq; factum, ut lis ad-huc decidi non potuerit. Quippe cum exactis & productis, non ex amore & benevolentia decidenda sit. Quamobrem nulla causa est, cur nobis ascribatis litis quam dicitis protelationem; de qua miramur vos queri, cum illam oratores ipsius Regis alibi, & præsertim Bononiæ a nobis petierint & imperarint, invitissimis quidem & reclamantibus Regina Procuratoribus. Cum itaq; nunquam per nos steterit, quin hæc lis, omnibus Rebus mature discussis,

termina-

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terminaretur, non videmus quibus rationibus nitatur querimonia vestra; nisi forte id dicitis, tot esse Regis erga nos & Sedem Apostolicam beneficia, ut quoquo modo in ejus voluntatem Causam diffiniri oportuerit; id enim ostenditis satis aperte, cum dicitis, in causa, ab eruditissimis viris Anglis, Gallis, Italis, ac tot Academiæ suffragiis probata, & nemine petente, ac reclamantibus quibuscunq; Sententiam a nobis ferri debuisse. Qua in re non parum prudentiam & modestiam vestram requirimus. Nam non videmus, quibus rationibus freti postuletis, ut, in causa maximi momenti, Sententiam feramus, nemine petente, ac cæteris reclamantibus, cum adversa pars continue opponat totius Christianitatis scandalum, tot annorum matrimonium ad supplicationem Clarissimorum Regum Henrici Patris, ac Ferdinandi Catholici, ex dispensatione hujus Sanctæ Sedis constitutum; præterea filiam extantem, & plures Reginae partus; & adversus opiniones Doctorum, quas pro vobis allegatis, multorum & ipsi gravissimorumq; virorum judicium, & pro se facientia divini Juris mandata adducant, argumentis haustis non modo ex Latinis, sed etiam, & uberrimis, in hac re Hebræorum fontibus, nobis tamen in neutram ad huc partem inclinantibus, sed æquas aures præbentibus, cum causam hanc gravissimam & ad totam Rempublicam Christianam & posteritatem omnem pertinere existimemus. Nam ex iis quas pro vobis facere Doctorum hominum atque Universitatum Opiniones scribitis, pauca admodum venerunt in manus nostras, nobis non legitime, nec Regis nomine, ab Oratoribus præsentata, illæq; nudæ tantum illorum hominum Opiniones, nullis adscriptis rationibus cur ita sentiant, nullaq; Sacrorum Canonum & Scripturæ, quæ tantum spectare debemus, autoritate subnixæ. Postulare autem, ut, in Regis Gratiâ, quicquid temere atq; inconsiderate statuamus, nec æquum nec vestra sapientia dignum est. Nam, tametsi multum Serenitati suæ debemus, Tamen in judicando plius facere cogimur Eum, per quem Reges regnant, & Principes imperant; & veri Patris officium est prospicere, ne nimia facilitate

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tate plus æquo indulgeamus filiis nostris : irretiremus enim non nostram solum sed serenitatis suæ Conscientiam matura sententia ; quæ, non recte prolata, pernicioso universæ Christianitati noceret exemplo. Nam quod Regno vestro diluvium impendere dicitis, id multo magis timendum esse abitraremur, si sententiam, quæ recta Justitiæ via ac ratione ferenda est, præcipitarem, ac, nimio Erga Regem vestrum amore, proVecti, a Justitia atque Officio nostro discederemus ; Masculam autem Prolem, non vos magis optatis quam nos Serenitati suæ ; atq; utinam tanto Regi similes filios, ac non Regni tantum, sed & virtutum Heredes haberet Christiana Respublica ! Sed pro Deo non sumus, ut liberos dare possimus. Quod autem dicitis, nolle nos, auctoritate nostra, secundum veritatem de priori matrimonio declarare, quod tot docti viri pro ipso Rege pronuncient ; vellemus nos quidem omnibus in rebus Serenitati suæ gratificari ; posse autem ita debemus, ut non destruamus ; destrueremus enim, si quid contra Juris Ordinem statueremus, & si oculis nostris exploratissima res esset. Ceterum, quod est in extremo literarum vestrarum, Nisi petitionibus vestris satisfecerimus, vos existimaturos, vestri vobis curam esse relictam, atq; aliunde Remedia conquisturos, nec vestra prudentia nec Religione dignum Consilium, ab eoq; ut abstinatis, Paterna Charitate vos monemus. Nec tamen ulla medici culpa esset, si ægrotus, curationis impatiens, quicquam in se statuerit, quod adversaretur saluti. Nos quidem, quæ recte ac sine perniciæ dari possunt, remedia, non denegamus ; quis enim infirmatur, & ego non infirmor ? Quis scandalizatur, & ego non uror ? Os meum patet ad vos, filii dilectissimi, & vos ut filios Charissimos monemus. Sed nec Regem ipsum, cujus Causam agitis, probaturum fuisse Credimus, ut ita scriberetis : Cognitam enim habemus ac perspectam ejus probitatem, ut ne ultro quidem oblatum, quod æquum non esset, accepturum fuisse putemus ; & tametsi vestrum omnium intercessionem magnificimus, Tamen noster erga Serenitatem suam amor non patitur se cujusquam cohorta-

cohortatione precibusq; excitari; nec meminimus frustra
unquam Serenitatem suam a nobis petiisse, quod cum no-
stro, et hujus Sanctæ Sedis honore concedere possemus; pa-
remq; ostendemus perpetuo voluntatem. Denique, quod
ad hanc causam attinet, Nos quidem nullam ejus expeditio-
ni moram interponemus, quin, cum instructa, & partes
auditæ fuerint, terminetur; nobis summopere cupientibus
vestrum Regem & ipsam Reginam, nosq; ipsos molestissi-
mo hoc negotio liberari. Hoc tantum a Serenitate sua &
devotionibus vestris requirimus, ne plus, ob summa ejusdem
Regis beneficia, a nobis exigatis, quam quod sine offensa
Dei persolvere possumus: cum in cæteris omnia a nobis ex-
pectare possitis, quæ habita officii ac personæ quam gerimus
& Justitiæ ratione expectari debent. Datum Romæ apud
Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die xxvii. Septem-
bris MDXXX. Pont. nostri Anno Septimo.

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Evangelista.

And now Cardinall *woolfsey* it seems had tried his uttermost skill
for recovering of the Kings favour; Whereof also some hope was gi-
ven him in his being permitted to remove to *Richmont*. But as his
enemies suspected hee would make use of this nearnesse, to obtain ac-
cesse to the King, so they labour'd instantly to send him to the North.
Wherein, they prevail'd at length, obtaining further, that the Reve-
nues of the Bishoprick of *winchester*, and Abbey of *St. Albans*, as also
some other places of his forfeited by the *Pramunire*, might be applied
in part to the Kings servants; a Pension only out of *winchester*, being
reserved to the Cardinall. The Revenues, also, of his two Colleges
were torn, and divided. Which grieved him more than any other af-
fliction; Infomuch, that he wrote to the King, humbly, as on his
knees, with weeping eyes, that the College of *Oxford* might stand,
and importun'd *Cromwell* to this purpose, since they are in a manner,
saith hee, *Opera manuum tuarum*. But *Cromwell* return'd him no Com-
fort herein, Saying, the King was derermined to dissolve them,
though whether hee meant to restore them again, and found them in
his own name, hee knew not: but wishes him to be Content, &c.
Howsoever, in the traffique of these and other Lands, as well as Ne-
gotiating his Masters business, *Cromwell* shewed that dexterity, which
at last wonne him much Credit, both with the King, and his prin-
cipall Counsellors. And now the Cardinall being Commanded to

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Torke, had no excuse for retarding his Journey, but want of Means, which also hee signified to the King; Who thereupon sent him a thousand pounds, with which and a Train, reduced now to about one hundred and fixty Persons, he set forth, giving by the way, much Almes, and not a few other arguments of Devotion, which also made him gracious with the People, who resorted from all places adjoyning, to him. And thus with slow and unwilling removes, hee came to *Cawood Castle*, neer *Torke*, about the end of *Sept. 1530.* where hee prepar'd, according to the antient custome, to be installed with much Ceremony about a moneth after; All access to the Quire, being, till then forbidden. But whether the solemnity of this Action was thought by our King to be unseasonable, and misbecomming one in Disgrace; or that otherwise the Cardinall had cast forth some discontented words, which were related again to the King; here certainly began his finall Ruine. Which, as his enemies (at this distance) did with more boldnesse and advantage procure, so had hee lesse means to repaire himselfe. Infomuch, that without being able to discover or prevent their Machinations, hee was forc'd to suffer all that could be either truly, or (almost) falsly surmised against him. Neither had hee other hope; but that the punishments he had already indur'd, might be accepted as an intire satisfaction for all offences. And now, his stallation grew neer, when the Earle of *Northumberland*, Warden of the Marches, with one *Sir Walter welsh*, Gentleman of the Kings Privy Chamber, came by the Kings Command to *Cawood* to arrest the Cardinall, wherein, he used that diligence, and secrecie, that hee had plac'd his Guards in the Hall, before any escaped to advertise the Cardinall thereof. Neither did hee, at the Earles comming up stayres, receive him in other termes than those of a Guest, till entring into a privat Chamber together, the Earl in a low and troubled voice, Arrested him of high Treason. The dismay'd and Pensive Cardinall stayed awhile before he answered, but at last recovering his spirits, demanded the sight of the Earles Commission, protesting that, otherwise, he would not obey; urging further that hee was a member of the College of Cardinalls at *Rome*, and so exempt from all Princes Jurisdiction. But while the Earle replied, that he might not shew his Commission, *Sir water welsh*, who had now arrested Doctor *Augustine* the Cardinalls Physitian, comes in, and confirms what the Earle had said. The Cardinall beleiving (by this time) that they were in good earnest, yeelds to *Sir Walter welsh*, as the Kings servant, and not to the Earle; to whom he said he would not submit himself, before he was better satisfied of his Authority. Which whether hee did out of stubbornnesse to the Earle, who had been heretofore educated in his house, or out of despight to Mistris *Anne Bolen*, who (he might conceive) had put this affront upon him, in finding means to employ her Antient Sutor to take Revenge in both their names, doth not appeare to me by my Author. Howsoever, he protested he was no way faulty in his Allegiance. Doctor

Augustine,

Augustine, (whose offence yet doth not appear to me) was dispatch'd to *London*, in the Posture of a Traitor, his leggs tyed to his Horse. But the Cardinall had some respite; though yet commanded to prepare for his Journey; which he began at length, in that deliberate manner, that, if hee removed slowly, before, from the King, hee moved now more slowly to him. Inſomuch that, had not the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, to whom (being the Steward of the Kings Houſhold) the Earle of *Northumberland* was commanded to deliver him, till the Kings further pleasure were known, told him, that the King commanded he should be us'd kindly, as one whom he highly favoured; It is probable that the afflicted Cardinall would have fallen under the burthen of his own griefes. Furthermore, the Earle assur'd him on the Kings part, that, though his Highnesse could do no lesse than put him to his Tryall, yet that it was more for the ſatisfying of some persons than out of mistrust of his Traiterous doings. And thus at *Sheffield* Castle, he had staid a Fortnight, when a Wind-Collick, which ended in a Dyſentery, took him. In which state, Sir *William Kingston*, Captain of the Kings Guard, and Constable of the Tower, attended with twenty foure Yeomen of the Guard (all of them formerly servants to the Cardinall) did find him. So that, notwithstanding the many Incouragements of the Earle, ſeconded by Sir *William Kingston* (who on his knees saluted him) the Cardinall remained still sick, and comfortlesse. Neither did it availe him, that Sir *William Kingston* (on the Kings part) gave him many gracious words, adding furthermore, that hee should make no more haſt than stood with his health, and conveniency. For the Cardinall became still more and more dejected. Notwithstanding, as hee conſider'd that delay would but argue Guiltineſſe, ſo hee proceeded in his Journey the beſt hee could, till he came to *Leiceſter* Abbey, where a Fever, complicate with his former Diſeaſe, ſeizing on him, hee languish'd, not without manifeſt ſignes of his end. Being thus upon his bed, Sir *William Kingston* came again to comfort him. But the Cardinall, finding now that Death would diſcharge him of all Tryalls, but that before God, ſpake to this effect.

Had I ſerv'd God as diligently as I have done the King, hee would not have given me over, in my gray haire; but this is my juſt reward. Notwithstanding, I pray yee commend mee moſt humbly to the King, deſiring him to call to remembrance all matters that have paſt betwixt us, and eſpecially about Queen *Katherine*, and then ſhall his Grace know whether I have offended him. Hee is a Prince of a Royall courage; but rather than he will want, or miſſe any part of his will or pleaſure, hee will endamage the loſſe of one halfe of his Realme. For, I aſſure you, I have often kneel'd before him, ſometimes the ſpace of three houres, to perſwade him from his will and appetite, but could never diſſwade him from it. Therefore Maſter *Kingston*, I warn you, if ever you be of his Counſell (as for your wiſdome you are meet) that yee be well aſſur'd and advis'd what you

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put in his Head, for you shall never put it out again. After which words (as *Cavendish* hath them) he began an exhortation to take heed of the Lutherans, by the example of those of *Bohemia*, lest they should likewise subvert the secular Power. But as in the prosecuting of this discourse his speech fail'd him, so did his breath presently after, Insomuch that hee dyed, and was buryed there in the Abbey Church, *November* 30th before day. And not, where hee had begun a Monument for himselfe, long since (wherein, as appears by our Records, he had not omitted his own Image) which one *Benedetto*, a Statuary of *Florence*, took in hand 1524, and continued till 1529. Receiving for so much as was already done 4250. Duckats. The designe whereof was so glorious, that it exceeded farre, that of *Henry VII*, Neverthelesse, I find, the Cardinall, when this was finished, did purpose to make a Tombe for *Henry VIII*. But dying in this manner King *Henry* made use of so much as hee found fit, and call'd it his. Thus did the Tombe of the Cardinall partake the same Fortune with his Colledge; as being assumed by the King; both which yet remaine still unperfect. The Newes of the Cardinalls death being brought to our King, did so much afflict him, that he wish'd it had cost him twenty Thousand pounds upon condition hee had lived. Howbeit hee omitted not to inquire of about 1500 pounds, which the Cardinall had lately got, without that the King could imagine how. So that, till it appear'd hee borrowed it of divers Persons, hee might perchance suspect it to be the remainder of some of his Antient Acquisitions.

And thus concluded that great Cardinall. A man in whom ability of parts, and Industry were equally eminent, though, for being employed wholly in ambitious wayes, they became dangerous Instruments of power, in active and mutable times. By these Arts yet hee found means to governe not only the chiefe affaires of this Kingdome, but of *Europe*; there being no Potentate, which, in his turn, did not seek to him. And as this Procur'd him divers Pensions, so, when hee acquainted the King therewith, his manner was, so cunningly to disoblige that Prince who did see him last, as he made way thereby oftentimes to receive as much on the other side. But not of secular Princes alone, but even of the Pope and Clergy of *Rome* hee was no little Courted; of which, therefore hee made especiall use, while he drew them to second him on most occasions. His birth being otherwise so obscure and mean, as no man had ever stood so single: for which reason also his chiefe Indevour was not to displease any great person, which yet could not secure him against the divers pretenders of that time. For as all things passed through his hands, so they who fail'd in their suits, generally hated him; All which though it did but exasperate his ill nature, yet this good resultance followed, that it made him take the more care to be Just; whereof also he obtain'd the reputation in his publike hearing of Causes. For as hee lov'd no body, so his reason carryed him. And thus hee

was

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determine controversies, of which two should be Persons of quality, two Lawyers, and three Divines. Whereupon the Romanists tooke the Bishop of *Augsburgh*, and Henry Duke of *Brunswicke*, two Lawyers, and *Wimpinus*, *Eccius*, and *Cochlaus*, Divines. The other side choosing George Duke of *Brandenburgh*, John Fredericke of *Saxony*, two Lawyers, and *Melanchthon*, *Brentius*, and *Schnepfius*, Divines. But these not agreeing sufficiently (though comming somewhat neerer than they are at this present) *Melanchthon* with two Lawyers, and *Eccius* with two others were permitted to decide the businesse. But because the Protestants thought they had yeelded already, to asmuch as was possible for them with safety of Conscience, the businesse was remitted again to a greater number. To which course yet the Protestants would not condescend, but desired a Course should be taken for Preserving of Peace till a Generall Council were call'd. The Emperour finding things thus protracted, labours to divide the Chiefs, betwixt threats and promises, as each was most obnoxious; writing notwithstanding to the Pope (as I find by the Spanish History) that there was no way for ending of differences but by a Council, which therefore he desir'd might be granted, for those reasons which *Don Pedro de Cueva* should tell him. Hee omitted not also to write to the College of Cardinals for this purpose: adding further, for a motive, that divers Princes (in which our King also concurr'd) agreed in the same request; as judging it necessary, not only for the cause abovementioned, but even for the Popes proper conservation. Hee required also the dispatches usuall for making his brother *Ferdinand* King of the Romans. Lastly, hee desir'd permission to sell the Ornaments and goods of the Churches in *Italy* and *Germany*, or at least to have the fourth part of the Ecclesiasticall Revenues, it being as hee said for defence of the common Faith. Which comming, at last, to the Princes notice, was so suspected, that they oppos'd it. So that, though otherwise they were averse enough from the Roman Church, yet, whether out of the danger they foresaw of putting so much money into the Emperours hands, or that otherwise they would make themselves necessary, they vehemently impugn'd it. *Erasmus* understanding now what was doing, writes to *Campegius* a Monitory Letter, concluding, that as affairs then stood, it was better suffer, than to make warre against the Lutherans; supposing perchance, no Peace so devoid of Religion, as a Civill warre. The Emperour finding matters thus discompos'd, calls the Princes together, promising that a Council should be call'd, as soon as the place might bee agreed; upon Condition they would keepe Peace in the meane while, and the Religion antiently professed. But the Protestants, affirming that theirs was the antient Religion, thank'd the Emperour for the rest, desiring only the Council might be Pious and free. The Emperour not satisfied thus, would needs dispute himselfe awhile (which the Spanish say hee did with that eagernesse that hee drew his Dagger.) but neither this prevail'd. So that, for a Conclusion, instead of

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making an amiable accord, hee published a rigorous Decree; Commanding the practise of the Ancient Religion, and Ceremonies, and that the Protestants every where should permit the Romanists the use therof, denouncing severe punishments to those which obey'd not; Howbeit, he promised, within six Moneths to obtaine from the Pope sufficient Authority for calling a Councell the year following. In the meane time, that Peace should be kept with all those who subscrib'd to this Decree; who also, and no other, might be admitted to sit as Judges in the Imperiall Chamber. The Protestants now considering, that it was impossible to come to an exact decision of the points controverted, tooke their leaves somewhat abruptly, and returned; Whereupon the Emperour (intending chiefly the safeguard of *Germany* against the Turks) commanded the other Princes attendance. From whom Hee demanded money, towards the warre; which as few denyed (to their powers,) so the Agents for the Duke of *Saxony*, and other Protestants offer'd freely to Contribute their parts, when they might but enjoy Peace, and the exercise of their Religion till the above-mention'd Councell was call'd. But the Emperour, not thus contented, insisted still on his Decree; and the rather that the prime Doctors of the Reformed (which were many) could not agree among themselves, concerning the Lords Supper, and some other Articles. The consequence whereof being not difficult to foresee, the Duke of *Saxony* employ'd *Martin Bucer* to reconcile them; who also had brought them neer to a head. Neither was there other impediment, but that singularity they affected in their severall opinions. Which yet proved to the detriment of Religion. For had they all, who agreed on a Reformation, agreed sufficiently among themselves, it is probable their Doctrine would have been more generally imbrac'd. But as the Romanists took this occasion to brand the Reformed, so they again regarding more their Reputation (ingaged to their Auditors in the Pulpit, or publike writing) than an Unity and Peace of Religion, did by degrees rather violently confirme their own assertions, than any way retract them. So that *Germany* now labour'd under the tertours, and difficulties which their severall teachers imposed on them. In which state of things yet the Reformed Princes and Cities, for preventing further inconveniences, agreed together to meet by themselves, or Deputies, at *Smalcald*, about the end of *December* (at the same time that the Emperour having concluded the Dyet at *Augsburgh* (19. *Novemb.*) had appointed all the Electors to meet at *Collen* (Decemb. 29.) concerning the choosing a King of the Romans. And here a defensive League being made by the Protestants, they thought fit to signifie it to the Emperour; and together to declare certain objections against the Pretended Election. Notwithstanding which, the Emperour proceeds to make his brother *Ferdinand* King of the Romans *Jan. 5. 1531*, which also being advertis'd to the Confederate Protestants, *John Frederic* Duke of *Saxony* manifested the Election imperfect and defective. Not without the advise

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was an usefull Minister of his King, in all points, where there was no question of deserving the Roman Church; of which (at what price soever) I find hee was a zealous servant; as hoping thereby to aspire to the Papacy, whereof (as the factious times then were) hee seem'd more capable than any, had he not so immoderately affected it. Whereby also it was not hard to judge of his Inclinations; that Prince, who was ablest to help him to this Dignity, being ever prefer'd by him; which therefore was the ordinary Bait by which the Emperour, and French King, one after the other, did catch him. And, upon these termes, hee doubted not to convey vast treasures out of this Kingdome, especially unto *Rome*, where hee had not a few Cardinalls at his devotion. By whose help, though hee could not obtain that Supream Dignity hee so passionately desir'd, yet he prevail'd himself so much of their favour, as hee got a kind of absolute Power in spirituall matters at home. Wherewith again hee so serv'd the King's turn, as it made him think the lesse of using his own Authority. One error seem'd common to both, which was that such a Multiplicity of Offices and places were invested in him. For as it drew much envy upon the Cardinall in particular, so it derogated no little from the Regall authority, while one man alone seemed to exhaust all. Since it becommeth Princes to do like good Husbandmen when they sow their grounds, which is, to scatter and not to throw all in one place. Hee was no great dissembler, for so qualified a Person; as ordering his busineses (for the most part) so cautiously, as he got more by keeping his word than by breaking it. As for his Learning, (which was farre from exact) it consisted chiefly in the subtilties of the Thomists, wherewith the King and himselfe did more often weary than satisfie each other. His style, in Missives, was rather copious than eloquent, yet ever tending to the point. Briefly if it be true (as *Polydore* observes) that no man ever did rise with fewer vertues, it is true, that few that ever fell from so high a place had lesser crimes objected against him. Though yet *Polydore* (for being at his first comming into *England*, committed to Prison by him, as wee have sayd) may be suspected as a partiall Author. So that in all probability hee might have subsisted longer, when either his Pride and immense wealth had not made him obnoxious, and suspected to the King, or that other than women had oppos'd him: Who as they are vigilant and Close enemies, so for the most part, they carry their busineses in that manner, as they leave fewer advantages against themselves, than men doe. In Conclusion, as I cannot assent to those who thought him happy for enjoying the untimely Compassion of the People a little before his end, so I cannot but account it a principall felicity, that during his favour with the King, all things succeeded better than afterwards, though yet it may be doubted whether the Impressions hee gave, did not occasion divers Irregularities which were observ'd to follow.

I will return now a while to the businesse of the Emperour at *Augsburg*, Where (by his Command) the Generall Diet was ap-

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pointed the eighth of *April* 1530. Cardinall *Campegius* being employ'd for these busineses on the Popes behalfe. The Emperour comming thither in the beginning of *June*, The first point resolved, was, that untill Controversies in Religion were settled, all the Preachers on both sides (some moderate Persons to be nominated by the Emperour only excepted,) should be silenced: Which being done, the Emperour declares, that the Causes of calling together the Assembly were, First, the Invasion of the Turke. Secondly, the Affairs of Religion. Demanding their advice and help in both; Which that they might perform with lesse Confusion, he Commanded their severall propositions to be put in writing and read. Whereupon, the Reformed Princes made instance, that matters of Religion might be first compos'd, promising afterwards to proceed unto the rest. Not long after which, *Campegius*, in a Latine Oration, exhorted them to obey the Emperour herein; adding further in the Popes name, that such order should be taken as Unity in Religion might be conserv'd, to the end that all might go against the Turk. Which also was spoken in sequence of the Emperours Treaty with the Pope at *Bononia*, where hee indeavour'd nothing more, than to reconcile the Differences then in agitation in *Germany*. Hereupon, the Duke of *Saxony*, (with whom *Melancthon* was,) the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, the *Lantgrave*, and others, desired the Emperour to receive in writing the Confession of their Faith, (called, from this Dyet, *Confessio Augustana*) which the Emperour, at last, granted; admitting, afterwards, the Confession of *Strasbourg*, *Constance*, *Lindaw*, *Memmingen*, and some other great Townes, who, following *Zuinglius* rather than *Luther*, differ'd in some points. Whereupon, advice being taken with *Campegius*, what was to be done, it was determin'd, that some able persons of the Romanists should, by way of confutation, return a written answer hereunto, accompanied with a strict command of the Emperours to obey it. But this, again, was mitigated; and the reasons, at last, examined on both sides. The resultance whereof (among the more sober) was, that, since they agreed on so many points, their chiefe labours should be not to make any Schisme for the rest; since it could not be denyed, but some things required Reformation. But the more heady sort, on either side, would not acquiesce so, requiring an absolute assent to their severall opinions; insomuch that they kindled in their Disputations against each other. The Duke of *Saxony* (particularly) demanding, that the Answer to their Confession might be given to them in writing; which yet was not suddenly approv'd by the Emperour; though, at last, finding no other way to avoyd tumult, hee granted their request, on this Condition, that they should not Print or Publish the said Answer. Wherewith some were so discontented, that they returned home, as thinking it not enough to enjoy their particular Conscience, unlesse they disputed it abroad, and instructed others. At last, in *August* 1530. seaven Persons were appointed on each side, to determine

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Bishop of *Rocheſter* was one, and fifty two Abbots and Priors conſented thereunto, as alſo the major part of the Lower Houſe, and particularly *Stephen Gardiner*. Being thus agreed on the Proeme, they Petition'd the King, that Hee would accept the ſumme of one hundred thouſand pounds of the Province of *Canterbury* (eighteen thouſand eight hundred forty pounds, being afterwards given by the Province of *Torke*) in lieu of all Punishments : They promiſing, for the future, to make no Conſtitution, nor execute any, without the Kings leave. All which the King graciously accepting granted them a Pardon for all offences againſt the Statutes of Proviſors, Proviſions and *Premunire*, and all other Penalties, and Forfeitures, except Treason, Murder, and Robbery. But when this Act having paſſ'd the Lords, came to the Lower Houſe, the Commons, not knowing how farre this might concern them, made ſome difficulty till themſelves were included, which being related to the King, he gave them a Check, ſaying, that was not the way to exempt themſelves. Whereupon the Lower Houſe, becomming ſenſible of the Kings diſpleaſure, and their own danger, humbled themſelves in that ſort, that the King granted them a Pardon likewise.

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I Shall begin the Forreigne buſineſſe of this yeare 1531. with the Coronation of *Ferdinand* King of the Romans at *Aix*, *January* 11th, on whom it was thought, the Emperour his Brother did conferre this Dignity, that he might the better eaſe himſelfe from the troubles of *Germany*, which now appear'd in ſo many kinds, and places, that his Counſell in *Spain* writ a Letter, Exhorting him to leave thoſe parts, and return. To which alſo conduced that *Ferdinand* had receiv'd the yeare before, the Crown of *Bohemia*, ſo that he was now enabled to ſuſtain the dignity of that Charge; to the which I find alſo the Duke of *Bavaria* aſpired. Howbeit as this was done by the Emperours ſole Authority (and without thoſe formalities antiently uſed) So the Romanists fighting for them, *tanquam pro aris & focis*, it was not every where allow'd for authentickall. So that it was thought fit an Imperiall Mandate ſhould be ſent forth every where in *Germany* to obey *Ferdinand*. Together with which the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Proteſtants were requir'd to aſſiſt in a warre againſt the Turkes. For which alſo all Military prepararions were made. But whether the Proteſtants doubted leſt this ſhould be intended againſt them, or that otherwiſe they thought all hope of reconciling differences in Religion to be vaine, they prepared to defend themſelves. They would indeed have been glad to ſee ſome generall and moderate Reformation. But as thoſe they call'd the moſt erroneous points of the Roman Clergies faith, proved to bee their moſt profitable and commodions doctrines, all accord was judged desperate : Notwithſtanding which, neither would they have broken thoſe neceſſary Bonds of Charity, (which Religion ſhould ſtrengthen) or lived under other name than that of Catholique, when the Romanists would

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would have allow'd the antient Creed to be the Rule of Faith. But when they found that, for reducing divers things to their Primitive institution, they were call'd Innovators, and that the Roman Church would remit nothing of its Rigour, under pretence that it was Inspir'd from above; they not only cast off all hope of Accommodation, but advis'd how to obtain a benigne Censure of their Actions abroad. Therefore, they sent severall Letters, to our King, and *Francis*, Dated 16th February 1531. from *Smalcald*, Reciting what had formerly pass'd at *Wormbs*, and *Augsburg*, betwixt the Emperour and them; saying farther, that the Emperour propos'd to them certain Articles (call'd the *Interim*) which they should hold till a Generall Council were summon'd, but that they were such, as they could not with any safety of Conscience admit; concluding with a request, that their good offices with the Emperour might be interpos'd for the Convocation of a pious and free Council, out of all the parts of the Christian World; which also the Emperour had promis'd. But before the severall answers of these Princes were return'd, the Emperour, doubting the consequences of this Assembly, requires again their Assistance against the Turke. To which the Princes replied, that before themselves had security given for Peace, it was unseasonable to grant help against others. Which being privately advertis'd to the French King, hee left awhile his *Amourettes*, to which he was now much addicted, and studied nothing more than how to make som advantage of the division. For the present yet hee return'd this answer only to the Princes, Dat. 21th April 1531. That hee desir'd Peace and a Generall Council, and was glad to understand they inclin'd that way; only that they must take care of choosing a secure and Indifferent place, for the Convocation thereof. And for how much hee esteem'd them, hee said they might gather by this, that during his war with the Emperour, all free access, and intercourse was permitted them. Our King also by his Letters, of May the third, writ, that hee was glad to understand their Designe was to conserve the Antient Religion, and to cure only the diseases crept into it. Therefore, that they should especially take heed of those who desir'd to Innovate, bringing in parity of degrees and persons, and making the Magistrate contemptible. Of whom hee could not but take notice, some of them having come out of *Germany* to his Realme; Concluding, that he desir'd a Council, and that hee would mediate with the Emperour for them. The Princes thus animated, protest against the Coronation of *Ferdinand*, as being done in an undue manner, preparing withall to defend themselves. Which being related to the *Suisse*, made them desire to enter into the Confederacie. But the Duke of *Saxony* refused; alleging, that since they differ'd about the Lords Supper, they could not safely accept their help and Friendship, lest ill should happen to them, as to those (*ut scriptura testatur*) *qui muniendi sui causa cujusq; modi perisidiis usi sunt*. For, as the Scriptures began then commonly to be read, so out of the literall sence thereof, the manner of those times was

wise certainly of *Francis*; who as hee had his designs that way, so hee endeavoured nothing more than to draw a Party to him; giving order, in the mean while, to unite and incorporate *Bretaigne* to *France*, upon condition that the eldest sonne should alwayes quarter the Armes thereof with those of *Daulphine*. And in these termes stood the affaires of *Germany* in the end of 1530. which I have delivered with the more particularity, that the first manifest separation from the Roman Church began here, there being little else materiall in regard of *England* that I can find, save that our King, (as appears by a Dispatch of the fifteenth of July 1530.) having certified *George* Duke of *Saxony*, of his intentions concerning his Divorce, was much comforted and applauded by him. I shall conclude this yeare with two great Inundations; one of *Tiber* in *Rome*, and the other of the Sea in the *Low-Countries*; which were very dammageable; shortly after which followed the death of the two great Ladyes who made the Treaty of *Cambray*. Madam *Margarite*, Aunt to the Emperour, departed first, who having been propos'd in Marriage to our *Henry* the Seventh (when shee was then about twenty seven years of age) and afterwards thought of it a little with *Charles Brandon*; dyed in the 52th yeare of her age, with the reputation of governing the *Low-Countries* with much discretion for the space of 23 years. The newes whereof being brought the Emperour, made him neglect all his other businesses, to come to the buriall; which being perform'd with much solemnitie; hee substituted his Sister *Dohna Maria*, (Widow of the late unfortunate King of *Hungary*) in her place. Madam *Louise*, Mother of *Francis*, died shortly after, (for whom our King kept a solemne Obsequie) a Lady from whom *France* receiv'd many good, and not a few ill Offices. For if shee govern'd wisely, during the Kings Captivitie, and again procur'd both his and her Grand-childrens delivery; Shee was thought also out of some particular despight to *Bourbon* to have given Him the first causes of Discontentment. And to have Occasion'd in part the losse of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

Our King during these great affaires of Christendome, resolving his Parliament should continue, caus'd it to sit again, Jan. 6. 1531. Where these Lawes were enacted.

That, because much Wooll was employ'd to uses not so beneficiall to the Kingdome, and sometimes transported by strangers, It was Degreed that none should buy Wooll in some principall Shires (to the number of twenty eight) but those who would make Cloth or Yarne thereof, and that strangers should not buy any till the Purification of our Lady. But this being a Law that might likewise have his inconveniency, was continued only for ten years, as it had been in some former Kings times.

Also a Law was made against exactions on Apprentices by Masters, Wardens, &c. And this was beneficiall for poore men, who were not able to put their children to learne Occupations without paying

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paying extraordinary summes. A remedy also was taken for repaying of decayed Bridges, and High-ways, and the manner of raising the money (which before was uncertain) set down. The carrying over of Horses, Mares, Geldings, also was forbidden upon a penalty to all places but *Calais*. Moreover, Denisons, Notwithstanding their Priviledges, were order'd to pay such Customes as they pay'd before. For which purpose the Officers and Ministers of Cities and Boroughs, &c. where such Customes, &c. were due, were commanded to set up a Table in some open place, conteining the particulars of them. Which Act yet was not extended to the Merchants of the Stillyart (called then *Theutonici*.) Together with which, it was provided, that the tables touching Scavage to be set up at *London*, should be first viewed and examined by the Chancellour, and Treasurour in *England*, the President of the Kings Counsell, the Lord Privy Seale, and Lord Steward, and the two chiefe Justices; or by foure of them at least, and by them subscribed. And this was for preventing of the secret exactions of Tolls by Mayors, Sheriffs, &c. Upon Wares to bee sold within their Precincts. A Law was made also against Egyptians, who under pretence of telling Fortunes, got money, and credit among the more Ignorant sort. And whereas some penall Statutes were made heretofore against Strangers who were Handicrafts-men; It was declared, that the said Strangers, being Bakers, Brewers, Surgeons, and Scriveners were exempted, and not taken to be handicraftsmen. And, because the abuse of taking Sanctuary, and flying to Hallowed places was great about this time, Insomuch that many Criminals, finding Refuge and protection in them, did there abjure the Realme, and so went into Forraigne parts, by which means they discover'd the secrets of the State, to the great prejudice thereof. And whereas also, when they were to be tryed before the Judges in the Circuits, they would plead they were taken out of some Sanctuary or Hallowed place, and Justice thereby delayd; Divers good orders were taken to remedy these Inconveniencies. Which yet I mention not at large; because they, together with the use of Sanctuaries, were at length wholly antiquated, and abolish'd. And now the businesse of *Premunire*, into which the whole Clergy was sayd to fall by supporting the power Legantine of the Cardinall, having fully been debated by the Kings Counsell learned, and resolved against them; (Whereupon also they were brought to the Kings Bench:) It was agreed in their Convocation House, to deliver a Petition to the King. Here then the first question was, in what forme to make it; the Title of *Ecclesia & Cleri Anglicani Protector & Supremum Caput*, was by some inserted in the Proeme; But this again being demurr'd on, some of the Kings Counsell, together with *Cromwell*, came in, and perswaded them to approve it; But they being silent, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* said, *Qui tacet Consentire videtur*; Whereupon answered, *Itaque tacemus Omnes*. But at last this Clause being added, *quantum per Christi legem licet*, nine Bishops, (whereof *John Fisher* Bishop

was, Promiscuously to draw arguments, for whatsoever in matter of State or otherwise was to be done. Inſomuch, that the text which came neereſt the point in queſtion, was taken as a deciſion of the buſineſſe; to the no little detriment of their affaires: the Scriptures not pretending yet to give regular inſtructions in thoſe points. But this is ſo much leſſe ſtrange, that the yeare preceding, the Scriptures (heretofore not permitted to the view of the People) were now tranſlated in divers Languages, and into Engliſh by *Tindall*, *Joye*, and others, though, as not being warranted by the Kings Authority they were publiquely burnt, and a new and better tranſlation promiſed to be ſet forth, and allowed to the People. It being not thought fit by our King that, under what pretence or difficulty ſoever, his Subjects ſhould be defrauded of that, wherein was to be found the Word of God, and means of their Salvation. Howbeit not a few Inconveniencies were obſerv'd to follow. For as the People did not ſufficiently ſeparate the more cleare and neceſſary parts thereof from the obſcure and acceſſory; And as again taking the ſeverall Authors to bee equally inſpir'd, they did equally apply themſelves to all; they fell into many dangerous opinions: little caring how they liv'd, ſo they underſtood well, bringing Religion thus into much irrefolution and Controverſie. While few men agreeing on the ſame Interpretation of the harder places, vexed each others Conſcience, Appropriating to themſelves the gift of the Spirit. Whereof the Roman Church, (much perplext at firſt with theſe defections) did at laſt prevaile it ſelfe; As aſſuming alone the power of deciſion; which yet was uſed more in favour of themſelves, than ſuch an Analogy, as ought to be found in ſo perfect a Book. So that few were ſatiſfied therewith, but ſuch as, renouncing their own Judgement, and ſubmitting to theirs, yeelded themſelves wholly to an Implicite Faith; In which, though they found an apparant Eaſe, yet as, for juſtifying of themſelves, the Authority of their beleefe, was deriv'd more immediatly from the Church, than the Scripture, not a few difficulties were introduced, concerning both: while the more ſpeculative ſort could not imagine, how to hold that as an Infallible Rule, which needed human help to vindicate and ſupport it; Nevertheleſſe, as by frequent reading of the Scripture at this time, it generally appear'd what the Roman Church had added or alter'd in Religion, ſo many recover'd a juſt liberty, endeavouring together a Reformation of the Doctrine and Manners of the Clergie, which yet, through the obſtinacy of ſome, ſucceeded worſe, than ſo pious Intentions deſerv'd.

The former proceedings of King *Henry*, being advertiſ'd to the Pope made him feare a totall defection in our King, Inſomuch, that at *Rome* they ſtudied nothing more than how to reteine Him in his antient devotion; ſome arguments whereof have been formerly mention'd. To the furthering of which intention alſo it did not a little conduce, that he had taken ſome diſtaſt againſt the Emperour; who, being deſir'd to appoint certaine Judges to determine all differences
betwixt

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March 30.

Hall.

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betwixt him and the Duke of *Ferrara*, concerning *Modena* and *Reggio*, chose such as sentenc'd on the Dukes behalfe; which so incens'd the Pope, that hee fell off from the Emperour (as will appeare hereafter.) For which reason also it is probable, that our King might have clos'd with him, and received some satisfaction in the affaire of the Divorce, had not his Parliament, at this time, as is above-said, concurr'd to the setting up of the Regall Authority in Ecclesiasticall affaires. To whom therefore hee thought fit to communicate what his Agents in *Italy*, and other places had done, concerning that so much-controverted point of the lawfulness of his Marriage. Whereupon, the Parliament yet sitting, the Lord Chancellour, accompanied with Doctor *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, and divers other Lords Spirituall and Temporall, came into the Lower-House 30th March 1531, and told them; That they could not bee Ignorant, how the King, having married his Brothers Wife, was troubled in Conscience, and therefore had sent to the most learned Universities in Christendome, to be resolv'd in that point; and namely had employ'd the Bishop of *London* there present, for this purpose. Not, yet, but that his own Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* could have sufficiently decided the point, but that hee might the more amply satisfie himselfe and the world. Whereupon Sir *Bryan Tuke* was commanded to take out, and read the Determinations of the Universities of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Angiers*, *Bourges* in *Berry*, and *Tholouse* in *France*, and of *Bononia*, and *Padoua*, in *Italy*, who all agreed, in declaring the Marriage unlawfull. After which, above a Hundred bookes of severall Doctors, (whereof Doctor *Crammers* was one) confirming the same opinion, were exhibited. The perusing of which yet (the day being far spent) was referr'd to a further time. As also the Resolution of our two Universities (brought after the rest to our King,) which because *Sanders* calls in a sort surreptitious, I shall relate out of some Originall peeces which I have seen. To the University of *Oxford*, the Bishop of *Lincolne* was employ'd, where, neither easily, nor by generall Vote, there past this Decree 4th April 1530.

NOs Johannes Cotisford hujus almae Universitatis Oxonia Commissarius, autoritate & consensu hujus totius venerabilis Convocationis, declaramus, decernimus, & diffinimus, majorem partem omnium Doctorum Magistrorum tam Regentium quam non Regentium singularum facultatum hujus almae Universitatis Oxon. concessisse & consensum pariter & assensum suum praeuisse, quod Determinatio Definitio & Responsio ad Questionem nobis ex parte Serenissimi Domini Regis nuper propositam per illos Triginta tres Doctores & Baccalaurios, ad id per facultatem Theologiae nuper electos, sive per majorem partem eorum facienda, habeatur, censeatur, & reputetur pro diffinitione Determinatione & Responsione totius hujus Universitatis; Et quod liceat Dominis Commissario & Procuratoribus Sigillum commune Universitatis literis super praefata determinatione per eosdem concipiendis apponere.

Which

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Which Copy though blurr'd (upon what occasion I know not, for it is not probable it should be intended to the King in that manner) was dispatcht the day following, as the Act of the University, by the Bishop of *Lincolne*. As for the University of *Cambridge*, I find *Stephen Gardiner*, and *Edward Fox* were employ'd; Where, Notwithstanding the Kings Letters, and the diligence us'd on their part, not a few difficulties did occur. Insomuch that it was first denyed, then the voyces on both sides were brought even, and at last, (some absenting themselves) it was agreed, that the Question should be disputed by twenty eight Delegates, and that two parts of three should determine it; which accordingly was done in favour of the King, by the Vice-Chancellor, and the two Proctors, ten Doctors, and fifteen others, whose names are extant in the same Record. Which avernesse, more than in Forreigne Universities, whether it should be attributed to the power of the Pope in *England*, or to their particular scrupulositie of Conscience, is more than I will determine; Though, on this occasion, I can doe no lesse, than repeat some Arguments drawn (in favour of the Divorce) out of our Records. First the place in *Leviticus* xviii Chap. xvi verse; Thou shalt not uncover the nakednesse of thy Brothers Wife. Secondly, *St. Basil's* opinion, tending this way, Where he saith, that he shall be Excommunicated that marrieth his wifes Sister. Thirdly, because two Epistles, transcrib'd out of the Popes Registers, and sent into *England*, by Doctor *Stokesley* (whereof one was of *Gregory*, the other of *Innocent* the third) do professe, that the Pope cannot dispence against the Law of God; the particular case being then a Marriage. Fourthly, that, granting the Pope can dispense, *ex urgentissima causa*, with that which is *ex jure divino*, (which yet Divines for the most part deny) there was no occasion here, since the Peace betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, (which was taken as the ground of the Breve) stood firme and intire. Lastly, that the Jewes themselves (for our Agents consulted with them also) did not hold the Law of Marrying the Brothers wife, *Deut. 25.* as necessary in this time, but did often *pati discalceationem*. All which being maturely considered by the Lower House, made them detest the Marriage, as our Historians have it. Whereupon the King thought fit also to prorogue the Parliament, to the intent that every man repairing home, might satisfie his Neighbour of these passages; Not omitting, together, to cause these Forreigne determinations, to be printed and published this yeare, as the Book yet extant in Print shewes. Notwithstanding which, so farre was the King from remitting any thing of his gentle behaviour to the Queen, that, had he not forborne to come to her bed, neither could his outward favour towards her, or her fashions towards him have argued any diminution of love; all those wonted Ceremonies, by which they sustain'd the dignitie of their place, and civilities which might imply a mutuall respect, continuing firmly on either side. Which our Historians amplify so farre, that they say hee fore lamented his chance, and made no

Basil. Epist. 197

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manner of mirth or pastime as he was wont to do; without yet that they can be thought to speak improbably, when wee consider both how deere this liberty cost him, and how much it endanger'd the succession. Howsoever, that he might both prevaile himselfe of the occasion, and also satisfie the doubts he had rais'd not in his own alone but subjects breasts; Hee sent to Queen *Katherine* some Lords of his Counsell, wishing them to acquaint her with these Determinations (which also I find had been shewed the Pope) and together to demand of her, for quieting the Kings Conscience, and ending this businesse, whether she would rather referre her selfe to the Judgment of foure Spirituall, and foure Temporall Lords in this Kingdome, or stand to her Appeale. To which the sad Queen answered, That her Father, before hee consented to her second Marriage, had taken the advise of Doctors, and Clerks, whose opinion shee beleev'd rather than any others; And that, the Pope having confirmed it, shee wondred that any should question it. And, whereas for quieting the Kings Conscience, you would have me put the businesse to eight Lords; That which I say, is, I pray God send his Grace a quiet Conscience. As for Answer to your message; I pray you tell the King, I am his lawfull Wife, and so will abide, till the Court of *Rome* determine to the Contrary. But our King, who alleg'd his Proceedings were according to the Law of God (which therefore hee sayd should be more insisted on, than any other authority) sent other Messengers, exhorting her still to conforme her selfe, among whom one spake to this effect. Madam, you cannot bee ignorant how much you have provoked the Kings displeasure against you, since his Grace having used all fit means to cleare his own, and subjects insatisfactions, concerning the lawfulness of his Marriage, you yet continue refractory in that violent manner, as you not only refuse the generall Determinations of Universities, and learned Men; but, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and the Royall dignity have cited his Highnesse to appeare in the Court of *Rome*; neither have those many Admonitions you have received concerning the danger, and consequences hereof, been able to divert you from your purposes, or reduce you to reason and your duty. Of which therefore his Highnesse is so sensible, that he hath forbore of late to see your Grace, or receive your tokens, giving you liberty further, to repaire either to his Mannor of *Oking*, or *Estamstead*, or the Monasterie of *Bisham*; for, since you were known by his Brother Prince *Arthur*, you cannot be his lawfull Wife. To which the vertuous and sorrowfull Queen replied little more than this. That to what place soever shee remov'd, nothing could remove her from being the Kings Wife. And here the King bid her a finall farwell: for, from this time, being *July* the fourteenth, I find not the King ever saw her more.

July 14.

Our King being now inform'd that Italian, and other Forreigne Merchants brought Commodities hither, which they sold well, and then return'd the money by Exchange to their own Country, to the exhausting

exhausting of the wealth of this Realme, and the diminution of his Customes, Caused a Proclamation to be set forth, that according to a branch of a Statute *Ri.III.* no Mony they tooke here for selling their Wares should be exchanged to other Countries, but employed in the Commodities of this Realme, which (our Historians say) as long as it was observed, proved to the great benefit both of the King and Subject. And now, the Mony for the *Premunire* being call'd on, the Clergy, for their ease would have drawn the Priests of *London* to contribution, which they tooke so ill, that, in outrageous manner, breaking into the Chapter-house of *St. Pauls*, they did beat his servants; till the Bishop, for avoiding more mischief, gave them his blessing, and leave to depart for the present; though shortly after they were punish'd for their misbehaviour.

This while, the Emperour (intensive wholly to the affairs of *Germany*) did more calmly suffer our Kings intended Divorce; and the rather, that it is probable the Determinations of the Universities above mentioned had given him, if not satisfaction, yet colour enough to neglect awhile the Prosecuting this businesse. Especially, since at this time he might have so much use of our Kings assistance, against the Turke; Of which also hope was given him. On the other side *Francis* did by all means advance, and set it forward; both in regard himselfe (as their Historians have it) was much addicted to love-making at this time; and as that hee doubted not, hereby, to keep our King at a variance with the Emperour. Against whom the offences and quarrells hee had taken being not extinguished, hee both fortified himselfe by all means, and labour'd publikely to traduce even his most Impartiall and generous Actions. Therefore hee was so farre from admitting the Restitution of *Milan* to *Francesco Sforza* to be an Act of Piety, that hee took it, if not as an affront to him, yet at least as a Politique Introduction of one to that Dignity, who hee knew could not be dispossest thereof again, without offending all *Italy*. So likewise the parting with the *Contado* of *Asti* (antiently belonging to the house of *Orleans*) to the Duke of *Savoy*, was thought to be no more than an intereassing him in that quarrell. Furthermore, his retaining an Army in *Italy*, at the Cost of the Confederates, (but under the Command of *Antonio de Leyva*) was understood, not for conserving the Peace of *Italy*, but defending of *Genoua* against him. All which was so ill taken, that *Francis* did, not only by the entremise of *Guillaume de Bellay*, Treat of entring a private League with the Princes of *Germany*, for defence of the Rights of the Empire, (violated as he conceiv'd by the undue Election of *Ferdinand*) but prepar'd to send them succours when occasion were. Nor did his rancour against the Emperour stay here; but (if wee may believe some even of his owne Nation) extended it selfe so farre, as secretly, at this time, to incourage the Turke to invade the Patrimony of the House of *Austria*; to the no little scandall, both of his own Honour, and the Christian Religion. The Emperour, not ignorant of all these

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machinations, lends *Seigneur de Balançon* to *Francis*, to borrow Money, and to invite him to furnish land, and Sea-forces for a warre against the Turke; alleging Treaties, Promises, and many Arguments to this purpose. To which *Francis* answered. That the Emperour had gotten, lately enough, from him, two Millions of Gold, which ought to suffice. For the rest that hee was neither Merchant nor Banquer to furnish money, but a Christian Prince, that would have his part of the Honour and danger in all brave Actions. Therefore that hee would spare no Forces out of his Kingdome, nor permit them goe to any place where himselfe did not lead them. Besides, as this Summer was farre spent, he could not send his Cavallerie to *Austria* without much incommoditie, (the distance between both Countries being so great.) Therefore, that the Emperour should defend *Germany*, while himselfe with an Army of fifty thousand Men, would undertake to defend *Italy*, which the Turke also menac'd. And for the next yeare, hee would be ready, with the help of his good brother, the King of *England*, to goe to any place where it should be needfull. As for his Shipping, hee could least of all spare it; having occasion to defend the Maritime parts of *France* against Pirats. Which being related again to the Emperour (then at *Ratisbone*) hee thought fit to publish it, thereby to make *Francis* more odious, though effectively hee took his offer to defend *Italy*, to be little more than irrision. Bussinesse standing thus, *Monsieur de Bellay* Ambassadour from the French King to the Princes, (having first conferr'd with *Monsieur de Velly* Ambassadour from *Francis* to the Emperour) absolutely concludes that Accord the Princes had formerly propos'd to his Master: giving by this means a perpetuall cause of Jealousie, and Offence to the Emperour. Yet as *Francis* thought himselfe not strong enough alone, so hee implored our Kings assistance; which our King also promised, by *Monsieur Gillex de Pommeraye*, (French Ambassadour in *England*,) sending with him (at his returne) fifty thousand Crowns to be employed for the defence and conservation of the right and privileges of the Empire. An Enterview also was projected betwixt them for the yeare following, wherein both Kings should Treat of the Generall affaires, and particularly what they were to do, in case the Turk should again invade Christendome.

While affaires abroad passed thus, our Nation enjoyed much security, and quietnesse; so that, if contention about Religion had not hapned, they might have thought themselves happy; which though it had its beginning from the divers explications of the holy Scripture, yet many good men laboured to reconcile them; Affirming, that, whatsoever was necessary to the attaining of everlasting happinesse, was so plainly, and so perspicuously set down there, as it needed no Interpreter. And that, if any thing besides were taught, it was, if not erroneous, yet unnecessary to Salvation. Howbeit, they would not deny, but divers points might be added, for the Ampliation, convenience, and Ornament of Religion when they were deliver'd upon these

these termes, and not under those Condemnations and Penalties wherewith the more necessary parts were injoynd. Whereupon also they concluded, that, if divers passages in the holy Scriptures might seem obscure, it was Gods will to have it so, who thought not fit to reveale them, otherwaies; as reserving a full knowledge to a second and better life. Yet, because divers, not content with this or any Moderate Reformation, did (through the violence of their spirits) runne into those extremities, as they labour'd to draw all the Doctrine of the Roman Church into a perverse sence; much occasion of controversie was given; While they who indeavour'd a Peace so little prevail'd, as, (for the most part) like those who part Affraies, they bore blowes on either side. In which doubtfull times King Henry put in execution all former Lawes against Hereticall Persons, and Books; whereby one *Thomas Bilney*, Batchelaur of both Lawes, declaring himselfe with great vehemency in divers Articles against the Roman Church, was (a) condemn'd to be Burnt, and shortly after, for the same cause, (b) *Bayfield* a Priest, and (c) *Baynham* a Lawyer. The whole narration whereof being extant in Master Fox, I shall mention no otherwise.

The next Yeare *January* 15th, the Parliament sate againe till *May* 14th. Where the Commons persisting in their Grievances against the Clergy, which they comprized in a Booke, and delivered by their Speaker; The King answer'd, Hee would take advice, and heare the parties accused speake, and then proceed to a Reformation; which followed in part, as appears in some Statutes of this Parliament. For, Whereas it was usuall in former times that Clerks who committed petty Treason, Murder, or Felony, were (through a certaine Privilege of the Church) Deliver'd to their Ordinaries, Who also thereupon, for Lucre or other undue motives, did suffer them to make their Purgation by such as nothing knew of their misdeeds, to the great scandall of Justice; It was now enacted, that none should have the benefit of this recourse to the Ordinarie, but those who were within holy Orders, and yet to find sufficient Sureties for their good abearing. This Act yet not to extend to those, who being attainted of Felony, or Murder, are after admitted to their Clergy, and so deliver'd to the Ordinarie. It was provided also that Ordinaries, having such persons in their Custody, might degrade them, and send them to the Kings Bench to be detain'd.

It was enacted also, how perjuries, and untrue Verdicts should be punished. And this was to the singular benefit of the Subject; there being no mischief so easie to be done, so irreparable in their Consequence, or unlimited in their extent, as those of this kinde.

And, whereas the Commission of Sewers being about Sea-walls, Gutters, Banks, &c. and Damms, Weres, &c. in fresh Rivers, was not particularly enough set downe heretofore; It was now declared and interpreted. And this was much for the benefit of the Sea-Coasts, and making great Rivers Navigable.

1532.

Fox.

(a) Aug. 19.

(b) Nov. 27.

(c) April 30.

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Jan. 15.

Reg. 23.

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Whereas also Statutes of the Staple were heretofore used only betwixt Merchant, and Merchant, for such Merchandize of the Staple, as passed betwixt them; the use thereof was now permitted to others of the Kings subjects upon certain Conditions. And this not only enlarged Contracts, but strengthened much the sinews of them.

Whereas heretofore the Kings Subjects were ordinarily called by Citations to appeare, in the Arches, Audience, and other high Courts of the Arch-Bishops of this Realme, to answer to many surmised causes; and that they who refused, were Excommunicated or suspended from divine Service; It was now enacted, that none should be so Cited but in certain cases declared in the said Statute.

Feofments of Lands also to the use of a Church (as being little different from Mort-main) were made void.

Whereas divers, having the benefit of their Clergie, were afterwards committed to their Ordinaries, and did there break Prison, it was now Declared Felony.

Divers other good Statutes passed also this Session; which yet, for being meerly Legall, or limited to certaine places, are not here recited.

This Yeare also an Act passed, concerning *Annates* or the first fruits of Bishopricks, paid usually to the See of *Rome*, for the obtaining of Palls, Bulls, &c. The Preamble and consideration whereof was (as I find in the Records.) 1. The great sums of money already passed out of the Kingdome that way, (being no lesse than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds Sterling, since the second year of *Henry* the Seventh.) Secondly, that more was like to be shortly transported, by reason many of the Bishops are Aged. Thirdly, That the first use and grant of them was for maintaining Armes against Infidels. So that it was enacted, that they should henceforth cease, and no more money to be paid to *Rome* to that intent, except as is hereafter specified, (*viz.*) Lest the Court of *Rome* should thinke themselves irremunerated for their pain, in making and sealing Bulls in Lead, &c. it was ordein'd, that there may be allow'd for the said Bulls five pounds in the hundred, according to the rate of the Bishopricks cleere value above all charges. And if any man, being chosen to a Bishopricke, and presented by the King to the Pope, shall hereupon find any lett or hindrance, by restraint of his Bulls, upon convenient suit for the same; then hee may be named and presented by the Kings Highnesse to the Arch-Bishop of the Province; who shall Consecrate him; or, the said Arch-Bishop delaying under pretence of want of Pall, Bull, &c. the person, so named, shall be Consecrate, and invested by any two Bishops of the Land, whom the King shall appoint thereto; and shall be held and reputed thereafter as a Compleat Bishop. But of this Act wee shall speake again when wee come to the 25th yeare of the King. For though it past the Parliament now, and the King gave his Assent thereto; Yet power was reserv'd for him to annull or confirme the same any time within two years next following.

More-

Records.

Moreover, in this Statute, the King and his Parliament Declare, that they doe not intend to use any extremity or violence, before gentle and courteous wayes have been attempted. But if it shall please the King to propose an amicable Composition to the Pope, and his Holinesse shall be content either to abolish or moderate those *An- nates*; then the Composition, so made, to stand firme. But if, upon the said amicable Propositions, the Realme cannot be disburdned, and that, for the continuance of the same, the Pope shall unjustly vex, and disquiet the King or his Subjects by any Excommunication, &c. Bee it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the Kings Highnesse his heires and Successours Kings of *England*, and all his Spirituall and Lay subjects of the same, without any scruple of Conscience, shall and may lawfully, to the honour of Almighty God, the increase and continuance of vertue, and good example within this Realme, (the said Censures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Compulsories, or any of them notwithstanding) minister, or cause to be ministered throughout this said Realme, and all other the Dominions and Territories belonging or appertaining thereunto, all and all manner of Sacraments, Sacramentalls, Ceremonies, or other Divine Service of holy Church, or any other thing or things, necessary for the health of the Soule of Mankind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been vertuously used or accustomed to doe within the same. And that no manner of such Censures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Processe or Compulsories shall by any of the Prelats, or other spirituall Fathers of this Region, ne by any of their Ministers or Substitutes, be at any time or times hereafter published, executed, or divulged in any manner of wayes.

This Act being pass'd, our King made use thereof, to terrifie the Pope, which also tooke effect; as I find by our Ambassadors Letters Dated from *Rome*, April 29th 1532. though together (as they were instructed from hence,) his Holinesse was told by them, that our King had reserved the whole businesse to his own power and Discretion; which however it appears the Pope awhile, yet as matters past afterwards, the Statute had his finall confirmation. *Anno 25. Henry VIII.*

1532.

April 29.

I Shall begin this year's History with the affairs of Queen *Katherine*; who, by her Proctor at *Rome*, assisted with the advise and power of the Imperialists, Negotiated puissantly with the Pope; So that, notwithstanding our Kings Indignation for her prosecuting him in this manner, Shee urged still her Appeale, beseeching the Pope to Cite the King, by himselfe or Proctor to appeare. But the Pope thought fit rather gently thus to exhort our King to take againe his Wife *Katherine*.

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CLEMENTS PAP. VII.

Charissime in Christo fili noster, salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Quod pro nostra in te benevolentia, tuoq; honore & salute falsum esse cupimus, Relatum nobis est, & a multis confirmatum, Serenitatem tuam, quæ non solum antea, verum-etiam post motam litem inter te & charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Catharinam Angliæ Reginam Illustrem, super validitate matrimonii inter vos Contracti, eam apud se, ut decebat, in sua Regia curia tenuerat, atque ut Reginam & uxorem habuerat, & tractaverat, a certo citra tempore eam non solum a se & sua Curia, sed etiam a Civitate seu loco suæ residentiæ separasse, alioq; misisse, loco autem ejus quandam Annam in suum contubernium, & Cohabitationem publice recepisse, eique maritalem affectum uxori tuæ debitum exhibere; Quæ res, fili Charissime, si modo vera est, tuq; parumper animum ab humanis affectibus collegeris, non dubitamus, quin, etiam tacentibus nobis, perspecturus sis, quam multis modis indigna te fuerit, vel ob contemptum litis-pendentia & Judicii nostri, vel ob scandalum Ecclesiæ, vel ob communis pacis perturbationem; Quæ omnia ita a recto & religioso Principe, qualem te semper habuimus, aliena sunt, ut, tanquam tuæ naturæ & Consuetudini repugnantia, & si nobis in dies magis confirmantur, difficilius tamen credamus. Quid enim minus tibi, & tuæ probitati convenit, quam hinc apud nos, per Oratores & literas, super causa istuc remittenda, instare, inde te ipsum Tuo facto causa decidere? Quid simile tui, armis & scriptis olim Ecclesiam & sanctam fidem defendisse, Nunc tali facto Ecclesiam videri Contemnere? Jam vero communis salus & tranquillitas a nullo unquam nostri temporis Rege acrius quam a te custodita est, qui bellum pro Ecclesia olim susceptum, & gloriose confectum, pro communi quiete deposueris; semperque Arbiter quidam pacis & communis concordia inter Christianos Principes

Principes Conciliandæ fueris existimatus ; Quo magis hæc nova de te audientes, admiramus simul ac dolemus, unum hoc tuum factum, si modo verum est, ab omni vitæ tuæ gloria & consuetudine discrepare. Quamobrem cum nec rem tantam non explorare certius, nec neglectam omittere debeamus, Hanc ad te, quasi amantis & solliciti Patris vocem procurrare volumus, antequam Judicis ullas partes tecum sumamus. Faciunt enim tuæ Celsitudinis dignitas, vetera tua in nos merita, nostraq; ex his erga te benevolentia, ut tecum omni respectu & lenitate agere velimus, sumpta parentis persona, & Judicis tantisper deposita, donec ex tuis literis consilium progrediendi capiamus. Cupimus quidem, fili, ut diximus, hæc penitus falsa esse, aut non tam aspera quam nobis referuntur, Teq; ipsum deinceps, pro tua singulari sapientia, providere, ne cuiquam de Serenitate tua omni virtute conspicua in hoc tantum obloquendi detur occasio. Si quis enim vel ex Catholicis dolens, vel ex hæreticis gaudens audiat, te Reginam, quam in uxorem accepisti, Regumq; filiam, Cæsarisq; & Regis Romanorum materteram, viginti amplius annis tecum commorata, prolemq; ex te susceptam habentem, nunc a tuo thoro & contubernio procul amovisse, Aliam quoq; publice apud te habere, non modo sine ulla licentia nostra verum etiam contra nostram prohibitionem ; Is profecto necesse est, ut sententiam quodammodo de optimo Principe ferat, tanquam Ecclesiam & publicam tranquillitatem parvi faciente, quod nos scimus ab intentione & voluntate tua longissime abesse ; in tantum, ut si quis alius hoc idem in tuo regno audeat, quod a tua Serenitate factum dicitur, nullo modo te probaturum, sed etiam severe vindicaturum pro certo habeamus. Quamobrem fili, etiam si tu rectissime sentias, ut nos quidem constanter credimus, tamen causam præbere rumoribus & scandalis non debes ; hoc præsertim tempore tam calamitoso, plenoq; Hæresum, & aliarum perturbationum ; ne tuum factum latius pateat ad exemplum. Sunt enim facta regum, præsertim illustrium, sicut tua Serenitas est, proposita

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posita quasi in specula, hominibus cæteris ad imitandum. Nec præterea negligenda tibi est communis salus, & totius Christianitatis tranquillitas, quod semper fuit optimorum Regum. Nec, fili, debes Serenissimos Cæsarem & Romanorum Regem, dictæ Catharinæ Reginæ nepotes, nulla te persecutos contumelia, hac tam gravi injuria, indecisa lite, afficere, & exinde pacem perturbare universalem, qua sola adversus imminentem nobis Turcam tuti sumus; ne scandali in Ecclesia, periculi in tota Christiana republica causam præbeas, propterea; Rex coelestis a te irritatus, tantam suam erga Te benignitatem aliqua severitatis amaritudine permisceat. Te igitur, fili, per eam, qua semper te sumus persecuti benevolentiam, semperque, si per te liceat, prosequemur, omni studio & amore hortamur, & paterna charitate monemus, ut, si hæc vera sint, quæ tuam veterem pietatem & gloriam denigrant, tute ea corrigere velis, ipsam Catharinam Reginam ad te humaniter revocando, atq; in eo Reginæ honore, & uxoris quo decet affectu, apud te habendo: Ipsam vero Annam a publico tuo convictu & cohabitatione, propter scandalum, removendo, donec nostra sententia inter vos subsequatur. Quod nos quidem, etsi est a te debitum, tibi; est maxime futurum honorificum, beneficii loco recepisse a tua Serenitate videbimur. Nam quod te in pristina tua voluntate erga nos, Observantiaq; erga hanc sanctam sedem, cum qua mutuis officiis & beneficiis semper certasti, conservare maxime cupimus; Summo sane cum dolore, ad ea descenderemus Juris remedia, quorum necessitatem non nostra privata contumelia, quam tibi libenter condonaremus, sed Dei omnipotentis honor, publicæque utilitatis, & tuæ animæ salutis ratio ad postremum nobis, quamquam invitis, imposeret, Sicut Etiam Nuntius apud te noster hæc Tuæ Serenitati uberius explicabit. Datum apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxv^{to}. Januarii 1532. Pont' nostri Anno Nono.

Jan. 25.

Blosius.

But

But the Pope had no good Answer thereunto ; For as the People for the most part exclaim'd against the Match (as our Historians relate,) so the King would have found perchance some difficulty to appease their scruples, when otherwise he could have satisfied his own. The Queen wanted not yet those who Defended her cause publicly both in books and Sermons (of whom the chiefe were *Thomas Abel* her Chaplaine, and *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*) and privatly in discourse, (especially women) though not sufficiently either to clear all objections, or to remove the King from his affection to Mistresse *Anne Boleyn*. Among which I muſt not forget one *Temſe*, of the Lower Houſe of Parliament ; who motion'd that they all ſhould petition the King, to take his Queen againe ; which being advertiſ'd to our King, He ſent for *Thomas Audley*, the Speaker of the Houſe, and told him to this effect. That he marvel'd any among them ſhould meddle in buſineſſes which could not properly be Determined there. As for this particular that it concern'd his Soule ſo much, that hee many times wiſh'd the Marriage had been good, But ſince the Doctors of the Vniverſities had generally Declar'd it unlawfull, hee could Doe no leſſe, than abſtaine from her Company. Which therefore he wiſh'd them to take as the true reaſon, without imputing it to any wanton appetite : ſince, being in the 4th. yeare of his age, it might be juſtly preſum'd ſuch motions were not ſo quick in him. All which, that they might the better underſtand, he had inform'd himſelfe in all parts of Chriſtendome, concerning ſtrange marriages; and that, ſaving in *Spaine*, and *Portugall*, he could never find that any man had ſo much as married two Siſters, if the firſt were carnally known. But for the Brother to marry the Brothers wiſe was ſo abhorr'd among all Nations, that he never heard any Chriſtian ſo did but himſelfe ; and therefore wiſhed them to beleve that his Conſcience was troubled. Shortly after which, the King ſent for the Speaker againe, and told him that he had found that the Clergy of his Realme, were but his half Subjects, or ſcarce ſo much. Every Biſhop or Abbot, at the entring of his Dignity, taking an Oath to the Pope Derogatory to that of their fidelity to the King, which Contradiſtion He deſired his Parliament to take away : Whereupon theſe two Oaths by the Kings command being read and conſidered, the Parliament ſo handled the Buſineſſe, as it occaſion'd the finall Renouncing of the Pope's authority about two years after.

While theſe things thus paſſ'd, King *Henry* commands his Agents at *Rome*, (the Biſhop of *Worceſter* and Sir *Gregory Caſalis*,) to preſent unto the Pope the opinion of Divers famous Lawyers, in favour of his cauſe ; procuring alſo learned men from all parts of *Italy*, to come to *Rome*, to offer diſputation, for the ſame. To ſecond this againe King *Henry* in *January* 1532. ſends *William Benet*, Doctor of Law, to *Rome*, with inſtructions to this purpoſe. But becauſe it was found, that, by the continuall interceſſion of the Queen and Emperour, the Pope intended ſhortly to Cite the King to appeare at *Rome*, either

1532.

April 30.

Hall.
Fox.

May 11.
Hall.

Jan.

in

1532.

Feb.
March.
April.

March 16.

April.
June.

July 8.

July.

Novem. 4.

Novem. 14.

in person or by Proxy; He Dispatches thither about *February*, *Edward Karne*, Doctor of Law, to be his Excusator, and to remonstrate, that his Grace is not bound by Law so to appeare. But the Pope making difficulty to admit this Excusator, It was Disputed in the Consistory, whether he ought to be heard or no? but much time being spent herein, the Queen's Agents require the Pope to proceed in the principall cause. In the meane while our King, by Sir *Francis Bryan*, importunes *Francis* to intercede for him with the Pope; who, thereupon, by Letter Dated *March 16th.* informs his Holinesse, that the request of the King of *England* is just, and he ought to relieve him. Or else they two, (being *une mesme chose*, and who have so well Deserv'd of him) shall be forc'd to seeke such other Remedies, as shall not please him, &c. To enforce this most earnest Letter, *Francis* sends *Gabriel de Grammont*, Bishop of *Tarbe* (lately made Cardinall) to the Pope, who yet, being continually urged by the Imperialists to proceed against the King, and hearing (besides) first the prohibition of *Annates* above-mentioned, and afterwards that a certaine Priest was committed for maintaining the Papall Authority, and that another Priest (being put in Prison by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* for favouring *Luther*) after hee had appeal'd to the King *tanquam Dominum Supremum*, was set at liberty, proceeds to Citation; And, calling a Consistory *July 8th.* commits the hearing of the cause to *Paulus de Capisucci* Deane of the *Ruota*, and appoints the Month of *October 1532.* for the Kings Apparence, protesting *alioqui procedetur &c.* In the meane time, he writes to our King, certyfying him, what was done, (yet emitting the Clause of *alioqui procedetur*) intreating him further to send a Proctor; making, also, this overture to our Agents, That hee will be content that all the Processe shall be in *England*, except only the finall Decision, which (because there is question of the Papall Authority and the Law Divine) he will reserve to himself. The terme prefixed for our Kings apparence being expir'd; *Capisucci* Cites our King againe, or his Proctors, or finally his Orators. To all which *Edward Karne* answered publicquely the 14th. of *November 1532.* That the proceeding was undue, both as the question concerning his Excusation was not yet Decided, and that he could not get a Copy of the Citation; and finally as it was not congruous to the Breve sent to the King concerning this businesse. Besides, that the Emperour was so powerfull in *Rome*, that he could not expect Justice. Wherefore, unlesse they Desisted, he Declared, that, he must Appeale from thence to the able men in some indifferent Universities. And that, if this were refused, he protested then a Nullity in all that they did. But the Pope as little regarding this, goes to *Bononia*, shortly after, to meet the Emperour, according to an agreement made a good while since betwixt them; promising our Agents yet, that notwithstanding the Queen's Proctors sollicitation, nothing of moment should be Done in this cause, till the Emperour were departed.

The

The Turke now threatning *Germany*, the Elector of *Ments*, and *Lodovicus* Prince *Palatine* interposed Offices for Reconciling the Emperour and the Protestants: The Treaty whereof began in *Aprill*, and so continued untill *July*. When Newes of the comming of the Turk being brought, both parties condescended to this Capitulation concluded at *Noremberg*.

That no man should be troubled for cause of Religion, till the Councill be held, (which the Emperour will labour to procure to be summon'd within six Moneths, and held within a year following) or some other way of determination of controverted-points be found.

Whereupon also the Protestants (being seven Princes, and twenty three Cities) offer'd him ayd against the Turke, Who, this Yeare 1532. upon Colour of putting *Johannes Sepusius* in possession of that Crown, invaded *Hungary*, which also hee prosecuted in that peremptory manner, as without admitting any reasons from the Emperour, or indeed allowing him any other Title than the King of *Spaine*, (for hee said there was no Emperour but himselfe) hee brought in an Army of three hundred thousand men into *Hungary*. And because his equipage was singular, I presume the Reader will take well the Description of it. For his own Person he was cloath'd only in a rich Robe of Crimson brodered with Gold; but his Cimitary and Dagger, as also the Saddle and Bitt of the Horse, on which hee rid, was set with Stones of inestimable value. Then followed his Visir-Bassies, and *Abaym* his Favorite and household Retinue; being about twelve thousand men. Before him went foure thousand Horse with the Standard Imperiall, and foure thousand Janisaries of his Guard, foure hundred slaves on horseback in a rich Livery, and fifty Chariots carrying his most pretious Treasure, and some of the Choycest beauties of the *Serraglio*, and especially the admired *Espanziel* a Macedonian, and foure thousand Horse to Guard them, besides two hundred brave Horse richly furnished, which were led by the hand. His Pages were a hundred on Horseback, whereof twelve more gorgeous than the rest, and his Lacquies one thousand, Richly appparelled likewise in a Livery, all of these (last mentioned) wearing great Plumes. After which followed his Doggs and Hawkes in no small proportion.

With this Trayne *Solyman* marches to *Belgrade*, then turning to the left hand of the *Danubius* he besieges *Giuntz*: whence being Repulsed, hee sends out his Captaine to forrage the Country; Who after committing all sort of cruelty, were at the last defeated and slaine: And now *Solyman* finding great Forces raised again't him, and prepared to give him Battell, retir'd, with as little successe as hee had, three years since, at *Vienna*; This Army of the Christians consisting, as I find, of ninety thousand Foot, and thirty thousand Horse was rais'd by the Emperour, who yet did not thinke fit to conduct them, in person, as comming from *Lintz* in *Austria* to *Vienna*, No sooner than that *Solyman* was departed from *Hungary*; Whence he sent to *Rome*

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April.

July 23.

Seid.

Octob. 16.
1529.

1532.
Octob. 4.

Aug. 18.

Libro. xx. p. 178

Sept. 21.

Bellay.
1527.

Tillet.

June 23.

a Dispatch of 4th of October, desiring the Pope to meet him at *Genoua*. About which time hee received newes from *Andrea Doria*, whom the last Summer hee had commanded to scoure the Mediterranean Sea, and to land where hee thought fit. Whereupon *Doria* with a great Fleet, and ten thousand Souldiers, setting forth from *Messina* in *Sicily* August 18 passing by *Cephalonie* and *Zante*, came to *Morea*, and landed at *Coron*, (antiently called *Corone*, not *Cheronea*, in *Bœotia*, *Plutarch's* Country, (as *Sandoval* mistakes it) and battering it both by Sea and Land, took it by Composition, Sept. 21. where leaving fifteen hundred Spaniards, Hee return'd with great Spoyles and honour to *Genoua*.

This while our King finding he could obtain no satisfaction from the Pope, hastens the League with *Francis*, formerly projected, to a conclusion; and the rather, that hee heard this meeting betwixt the Pope and the Emperour would shortly follow. In emulation whereof therefore an Interview betwixt him and *Francis* was concluded, in that forme which *Cardinall Woolsey* heretofore had set down upon the like meeting projected Anno 1527.

The Articles of Treaty formerly concluded betwixt *Thomas Earle of Wiltshire*, and *Ormond Lord Privy Seale*, together with *Edward Fox*, the Kings Almoner, on the one part, and *Gilles de la Pommeraye* on the other part, were these.

I. That all former Treaties shall remain in force, so that, if any Conditions in this Treaty be not performed, the former Treaties yet, especially that of perpetuall Peace, shall stand firme.

II. That if the Emperour *Charles* any way shall Invade each of them directly or indirectly, in the Lands they now hold, they shall be bound to send mutuall Ayd, (*viz.*) The King of *France* to the King of *England* (within three moneths warning) to the place appointed five hundred men at Armes, (armed *a la Françoisse*), or any other lesse number, which the King of *England* shall pay according to the rate they use to have of the French King. The King of *England* to the King of *France* such a number of Archers on foot as hee shall require, so it exceed not five Thousand; to receive pay of the French King according to the rate of *England*. And if either the Horsmen or Archers passe the Sea, these into *France*, or those into *England*, then, besides this pay, there is such provision to be made for victuall, by the Prince under whom they serve, that the Souldiers may well live and maintain themselves by their Pay. And if the said Emperour shall attempt any thing by Sea, the Prince invaded giving two Moneths notice to the other, shall receive for Ayd a Navy, (in which shall be fifteen thousand Souldiers,) well armed and equipped, which Navy both Kings shall be bound to maintain for six Moneths together, or longer if need be, at their own costs, to defend and secure against the said Emperour the Sea and shores on both sides, from the Isle of *uslant* to the place call'd the *Downes* between *Sandwich* and *Dover*.

III. If

III. If the Emperour or his Governours shall detaine the goods, or ships, or persons of the English Merchants in his Dominions, the King of *France* shall summon him to make restitution, which if hee denies, hee shall lay hold on and arrest the Emperour's Subjects, and goods in his Kingdome, &c. nor shall release them till satisfaction be given. And in like manner is the King of *England* bound to the King of *France*.

(But, if for any probable cause, and particularly for any contained in the Articles of the former Treaty between him and the Kings of *England* and *France*, or for Justice denied, after hee hath requir'd it, the Emperour shall arrest any of the Subjects of the two Kings, or their goods, then the other is not bound to see him indemnified, according to the former Article. Provided, First, that the Emperour make it appeare, that it is for a just cause. Secondly, That hee arrest no more than may countervail his pretended losse. Thirdly, Provided also that the Number of Ships arrested by the Emperour, bee not above five or six, and that for some particular interest or deed betwixt them and him.) This third Article shall not be extended to the Merchants of Higher *Germany*, and the Subjects of *Charles Jure Imperii*.

Neither of the two Kings may make a new League, Friendship, or affinity with any Prince or Estate, to the prejudice of the other. If hee doe, it shall be counted voyd, and of no effect: This Treaty, being Minured 23 June. 1532, was to be signed five Moneths after.

And now the time of the Interview approaching, our King pass'd the Seas to *Calais*, xi. of October 1532, with a Royall traine, and Mistress *Anne Bolen*, (lately * Created Marchionesse of *Pembroke*.) And going thence to *Bologne*, the young Princes, the Children of *Francis*, meeting him, were recommended to Him by the King their Father. Who, after many complements, conducted him to the Abbey, where they both lodg'd in the same house. Many curtesies were exchange'd, and many designs projected betwixt those Princes concerning Religion, and other affaires of Christendome, for the space of foure daies that they stay'd together; Which being past, *Francis* return'd with our King to *Calais*, in this order, that, while *Francis* was on French ground hee gave place, but when hee came to the English pale, hee receiv'd it. Being now come neer *Calais*, the Duke of *Richmont*, a goodly young Gentleman, bravely attended met them. All the Souldiers of the Town also, and servants to the Nobility, richly apparell'd, made a Guard for their entrance into the streets. The lodging which *Francis* was brought to, was most richly furnish'd with Cloth of Gold and Tissue, Imbroidered in some places with Pearle and Pretious Stone. And their severall services brought in a hundred and seventy Dishes all of Massive Gold. The Marchionesse also made them a curious and rich Masque, in which both Kings danc'd. After which, *Anne de Montmorencie*, a Noble man of most Antient and generous Family, Grand-Maistre, and Mareschall of *France*, and *Philip Chabot Seigneur de Bryon*, and Admirall of *France*, were accepted into the

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Octob. 11.
* Septemb. 1.
Octob. 20.

Octob. 25.
Hall.

Octob. 27.

Octob. 28.

1532.

Octob. 25.

Bell.

Order of the Garter. *Francis* himselfe (who was also of this Order) sitting in his Stall at their Election. And this was in lieu of the taking of the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* into the Order of *St. Michael* by *Francis* at *Boulogne*. And, here, the two Kings advised what in their particular should be done against the Turke; For, though *Newes* was already brought of his Retrair, yet because that hee had left behind him a great part of his Forces, and that it was thought hee intended to returne, It was agreed betwixt these Princes, the next year to bring an Army into the Field of seventy thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse, and not to part without mutuall consent. That they should send to the Princes in *Italy* or *Germany* to require passage and victuall at a reasonable price, &c. This being settled, our King complained of the ill usage the Pope gave him in the affairs of his Divorce, in regard he was Cited to appeare at the Court of *Rome* by himselfe or Proctor; Whereas it was usuall in these cases to send Judges to the place; It being not reasonable that either a Proctor should be trusted with the secrets of his Conscience, or that himselfe should abandon his Realm to go in Person to so remote a place. Whereupon they began mutuall complaints against the Pope for the *Annats* and exactions taken upon the Subjects in either Country, which they promised to remedy, by summoning him to a Councill, and in the mean while to send their Ambassadors to require reparation, protesting, that otherwise (by calling Provinciaall Councills in their severall Kingdomes) they would give that order which was fitting: And, for this purpose that the Cardinalls of *Tournon* and *Grandmont*, should be employed; who also were Authoris'd to tell the Pope, that, whereas an Interview had been propos'd betwixt him and the French King at *Avignon* or *Nizza*, that it might be, that the King of *England* his good Brother, could be perswaded easily to go along with him, for ending all controversies, if his Holinesse were dispos'd thereunto. In the mean while, the Bishop of *Auxerre* the French Ambassadour at *Rome* should certifye the Pope, that the said Cardinalls would be present at the Interview betwixt the Pope and Emperour, to the end they might mediate with the Pope, for giving King *Henry* Judges in his own Kingdome, to decide the point of the Divorce. After which, comming to speak, (as I find by our Records) concerning his intended Match with the new Marchionesse, *Francis* encourag'd him to proceed; promising, if the Cause were questiond, to assist him to the uttermost, whatsoever should come of it. In which Discourses purposing *per la Partie* for the chiefe affaires of *Europe*, they passed four daies at *Calais*. After which time the King conducting him to the French ground bid him farewell 30 October 1532, and so return'd to *Calais*. Yet as the weather was then tempestuous, hee passed not the Seas before the 14th of November; on which day some write, He privately marryed the Marchionesse, though others place it on the 25 of Jan. following, *Roland Lee* afterwards Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and President of *Wales*, (under whom it began first to be govern'd

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govern'd by the Lawes of *England*) celebrating the Marriage in the presence of Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, and her Father, Mother, and Brothers, &c. which yet was not published till the Easter following. Not long after which (or as some have it in the beginning of the next Spring) the King sent *George Bolen*, Lord *Rochfort*, to *Francis* to acquaint him with the Marriage, and to desire him (if occasion were) not to faile his promise. Furthermore he requir'd his advice, how it were best to publish it, since it could not be long Conceal'd. He also acquainted him how the Earle of *Murray* had done some hostile Acts in his Kingdome; wishing him therefore not to take it ill if he Reveng'd himselfe on the Scots; Intreating him further that if the Interview betwixt the Pope and him (then secretly projected) must needs follow (which yet he wished were protracted) that he would remember his Cause, then depending in *Rome*, as he was often desir'd.

The Emperour who was well inform'd of this Interview, hastened his with the Pope. And because the Pope could not be perswaded to come to *Genoua* by Sea, the meeting was agreed at *Bononia* 20th. December 1532. where also the two Cardinalls above mentioned, were on the part of *Francis*. And now they treated of the generall affairs, but not with that intirenesse and satisfaction which formerly past; for the Pope retained still some grudge Concerning the businesse of *Ferrara* above-mentioned. Therefore, when the Emperour (according to his promise given to the German Princes) prest him to call a Councill, he deferr'd it; and, when he wish'd him to renounce all Friendship with our King and *Francis*, he excus'd himselfe, saying, they were Christian Princes. Again, when he required that *Catharina de Medicis* the Popes Neece (between whom and the Duke of *Orleans*, second Sonne to *Francis*, a Treaty past) should be disposed of to *Francesco Sforza*, he replied she was already promised. Only, it seems, he accorded all that could be requir'd Concerning our King. Insomuch, that unlesse he would Contribute puissantly for and against the Turke (for which purpose the Pope promis'd his Letters) the Emperour was then assur'd that all that could bee done in favour of Queene *Katherine* should bee immediatly dispatched. Which also the Emperour (now more than ever offended at our Kings League with *Francis*) tooke so well, that in Contemplation thereof, he not only withdrew his forces out of *Lombardy*, but gave Peace to *Italy*, as by a League then Concluded betwixt them more fully appear'd. Some Cardinalls being made at this Interview, the Ambassadors of *France* demanded a Cardinalls Hat for *Hierome*, Bishop of *Worcester*; which the Emperour oppos'd, saying he would have taken it lesse ill, that the French King should have sued for four Hats for his owne Subjects, than one for any appertaining to our King, especially for him who had been a diligent Agent in the Divorce. Many designs here likewise were projected, and among them one by the Bishop of *Como*, who for deciding all controversies,

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Bellay.

Decem. 20.

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said it was necessary that the Pope, the Emperour and French King should meet together, which, yet, was not finally approv'd unlesse our King made the fourth. But this also in regard of the little security those Princes Could mutually give or receive, being Judg'd improbable, was rejected. Shortly after which the Pope and Emperour took leave of each other. During this Interview I find in our Records a *Portugues* in the name of *David* King of the *Ethiopians* (vulgarly Called *Prete Jan* presented himselfe Ambassadour to his Holinesse; for authorising of which Charge he brought with him not only Letters of Credence (translated out of the Chaldee to the Italian and Portugall Tongues) wherein the said King declared himselfe to be descended from Queen *Candace* mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, but a Crucifix of Gold; the further effect of his Employment being to require some excellent Artificers, and 2000. Arquebusiers, whom he would use in a Warre against the Turke in Egypt, when his Holinesse would Compose the differences in the Westerne parts, and joyne all Christian Princes for recovery of the Holy-Land; pretending thereupon in the name of that King to render Obedience to his Holinesse as the true Successour of St. Peter. But this (as *Augustino de Augustini* an Italian there present, and sometimes servant to Cardinall *woolfsey* hath it in his Letter to *Cromwell*) made the rest suspected; And the rather, that other Circumstances made it probable, that this Ambassadour was suborn'd partly by the *Portugall* to countenance his Monopoly of Spices towards those parts (much grudg'd at by his neighbour Princes) and partly by the Pope to advance his Authority and Reputation. But to returne to our History.

Our King having notice of the foresaid Interview, and finding that the Emperour who seem'd a while to desist from the eager prosecution of his Aunts Cause, was now more vehement than ever; sends Instructions to his Agents at *Rome* to protest in his name that he was not bound either in his owne Person, or by his Proctor to appeare there, urging, for this purpose, the Determination of some Universities, and particularly of *Orleans* and *Paris*. Notwithstanding which he permitted Doctor *Bennet* to make (as of himselfe) divers motions to the Pope, the principall whereof in our Records I find these. First, That seeing by the opinions of Lawyers, and the Council of *Nice*, the matter ought to be decided *in partibus*; and that by the Lawes of *England* the Determination (it Concerning the Succession) Cannot elsewhere be made; it would please his Holinesse that the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* taking to him two eminent Bishops or Abbots, or the whole Clergy of his Province, should decide the same. But this being dislik'd by the Pope, *Bennet* secondly propos'd, Whether he would referre the Determination to Sir *Thomas More* or the Bishop of *London* to be nominate by the King, and let the Queen or Emperour name another, and the French King the third, and let the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* be the fourth. But this also

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also being rejected, *Benet* Came, it seems, to the last degree of the Instructions, which was, That if the Cause might be heard in *England*, and that the Queen refused the sentence, she should have the benefit of her appeale before three Judges, one of *England*, one of *France*, and the third from the Pope, who also should discusse the matter in some indifferent place. But the Pope allowed not this, saying, since he saw the King would needs Conserve his Authority, he would likewise Conserve his, and proceed *via ordinaria*. Before yet, I conclude this yeare, I shall relate some particular home-busineses, Among which I find that our King having gotten *Torkehouse* (now *White-Hall*) upon the Cardinalls Conviction in a *Praemunire*, did newly enlarge and beautify it, buying also the hospitall and Fields of *St. James*, and building the Palace there. For which purpose he Compounded with the Sisters of the house for a Pension during their lives. Not long after which hee suppress'd the Priory called *Christ-Church* in *London*, distributing the Canons being *Franciscans* into other houses of that kind, and bestowing the Church-Plate, and Lands, on *Sir Thomas Audeley*, newly made Lord Chancellour, Keeper of the Great Seale. For *Sir Thomas More* Lord Chancellour of *England*, after divers sutes to be discharg'd of his place, (which he had held two years and a halfe) did at length by the Kings good leave resigne it. The example whereof being rare will give me occasion to speake more particularly of him. *Sir Thomas More*, a Person of sharp wit, and endewed besides with excellent parts of learning (as his works may testify) was yet (out of I know not what naturall facetiousnesse) given so much to Jestings that it detracted no little from the gravity and importance of his place, which though generally noted and disliked, I doe not thinke was enough to make him give it over in that Merriment we shall find anone, or retire to a private life. Neither can I beleeve him so much addicted to his private opinions, as to detest all other governments but his own *Utopia*, so that it is probable some vehement desire to follow his booke, or secret offence taken against some Person, or matter (among which perchance the Kings new intended Marriage, or the like might be accounted) occasion'd this strange Counsell, Though, yet, I find no reason prerended for it, but infirmity and want of health. Our King hereupon taking the Seale, and giving it, together with the Order of Knight-hood, to *Thomas Audeley* Speaker of the Lower-House, *Sir Thomas Moore* without acquainting any body with what he had done, repairs to his family at *Chelfey*, where after a Masse Celebrated, the next day, in the Church, he comes to his Ladies Pew, with his hat in his hand (an office formerly done by one of his Gentlemen) and says Madam, my Lord is gone. But she thinking this at first to be but one of his Jestes was little mov'd, till he told her sadly, he had given up the Great Seale; whereupon she speaking some passionate words, he Call'd his Daughters then present to see if they Could not spye some fault about their Mothers dressing, but they after

June 4.

May 16.

June 4.

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Tho: More by
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after search saying they could find none, hee replied, doe you not perceive that your Mothers Nose standeth somewhat awry, of which Jeere the provoked Lady was so sensible, that she went from him in a Rage. Shortly after, hee acquainted his servants with what hee had done, dismissing them also to the attendance of some other great Personages, to whom he had recommended them. For his Foole hee bestowed him on the Lord Major during his office, and afterwards on his Successors in that Charge. And now comming to himselfe, hee began to consider how much he had left, and finding that it was not above one hundred pounds yearly in Lands, besides some money, hee advised with his Daughters how to live together. But the grieved Gentlewomen (who knew not what to Reply, or indeed how to take these Jestes) remaining astonish'd, hee sayes, Wee will begin with the slender dyet of the Students of the Law, and if that will not hold out, wee will take such Commons as they have at *Oxford*; Which, yet, if our purse will not stretch to maintain, for our last refuge wee will goe a begging, and at every mans dore, sing together a *Salve Regina* to get Almes. But these Jestes were thought to have in them more levity, than to be taken every where for currant; hee might have quitted his dignity, without using such Sarcasmes, and betaken himselfe to a more retired and quiet life, without making them or himselfe contemptible. And certainly whatsoever hee intended hereby, his Family so little understood his meaning, that they needed some more serious Instructions. So that I cannot perswade my selfe for all this talke, that so excellent a Person would omit at fit times, to give his Family that sober account of his relinquishing this place, Which I find hee did to the Arch-Bishop *Warham*, *Erasmus*, and others.

1533.
Feb. 4.
Regn. 24.

THis yeare of 1533, *February* 4. the Parliament fate againe.

The chiefe Lawes enacted were; That all Viſtuals should be sold by the larger kind of weight call'd Haverdepois. That the price of a pound of Beefe or Porke should be a halfe-penny at most, and of Mutton or Veale three farthings, and lesse, where it was usually sold for lesse. Which I therefore remember that we may compare the Rate of those times with these. This Law yet was finally Repeal'd in regard unseasonable years did not permit a Certain rule in these things, and some of the Lords of the Counsell appointed to set the prices; whereof in its due place.

That they who kill'd any Person attempting to Rob by or neere the high-way, or that broke Houses, should be acquitted without forfeiting either goods or lands.

That no Appeals should be made out of this Realme for these reasons (*viz.*) That whereas the Kingdome of *England* was a just Empire furnish'd with such able Persons both Spirituall and Temporall, as could decide all Controversies arising in it; And whereas *Edward I.* *Edw. III.* *Rich. II.* *Hen. III.* and other Kings of this Realme, have made

made fundry Ordinances, Lawes, and Statutes, for the Conservation of the Prerogative, liberties, and preeminences of the said Imperiall Crowne, and of the Jurisdicions Spirituall and Temporall of the same, to keep it from the annoyance of the See of *Rome*, as also from the Authority of other Forreigne Potentates attempting the diminution or violation thereof; And because notwithstanding the said Acts, divers Appeals have been sued to the See of *Rome* in causes Testamentary, Causes of Matrimony, and Divorces, Right of Tythes, Oblations and Obventions, to the great vexation and Charge of the Kings Highnesse, and his Subjects, and the delay of Justice; And, forasmuch, as the distance of the way to *Rome* it such, as the necessary proofes and trueknowledge of the Cause, cannot be brought thither, and represented so well, as in this Kingdome; And that therefore many Persons be without remedy: It is therefore enacted, That all causes Testamentary, Causes of Matrimony, and Divorces, Tythes, Oblations, and Obventions, either Commenc'd or depending formerly, or which hereafter shall Commence in any of the Kings Dominions, shall be heard, discussed, and definitively determin'd, within the Kings Jurisdiction, and Authority in the Courts Spirituall and Temporall of the same, any forreign Inhibition or restraints to the Contrary Notwithstanding. So that, although any Excommunication or Interdiction on this occasion should follow from that See, the Prelat's and Clergy of this Realme should administer Sacraments and say Divine Service, and doe all other their duties, as formerly hath been used, upon penalty of one years Imprisonment, and fine at the Kings pleasure; And they who procur'd the said sentences, should fall into a *Priamunire*. As for the Orders to be observ'd henceforth, It was enacted, That in sutes Commenc'd before the Arch-Deacon or his Officialls, Appeale might be made to the Bishop of the said See. And from thence within 15. dayes to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, or Arch-Bishop of *York*, respectively in their Provinces, and so likewise to the Arch-Bishops in the Kings other Dominions. Or if sute be Commenc'd before the Arch-Deacon of any Arch-Bishop or his Commissaries, then Appeale may be made within 15. dayes to the Court of Arches and so to the Arch-Bishops without further Appeale. In all which Cases, the Prerogative of the Arch-Bishop and Church of *Canterbury* was reserved. That if any sute arose betwixt the King and his Subjects Appeale might bee made within 15. dayes to the Prelats of the upper House in the Convocation then sitting, or next Called by the Kings Writ, there to be finally determined. And that they who shall take out any Appeale Contrary to the effect of this Act, or refuse to obey it, They, their adherents, and Counsellours, shall incurre the penalty of the Statute of *xvi. Rich. Setundi*.

All former Statutes also made against the excesse of Apparell were repealed, and new orders given, which yet stood not long; There being no measure it seems for things that depended somuch upon

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upon fancy and opinion. It is now time that we returne to our History.

Among the many things Concluded at the late Interview at *Bologna*, we may remember one was that the Pope should write to our King to send Ayde against the Turke, who having sayld (accidentally) in his intentions, He sayd this Summer would puissantly Invade Christendome. But our King answer'd by his Ambassadors. That the Emperours Ambition was the Cause thereof, and the rashnesse of the Pope, who at the Emperours request had lately Excommunicated *John Sepuse Vayuode* of *Transilvania* and Elect King of *Hungary*, and so forced him to seeke forreign Ayde; which ought to put his Holinesse in mind, that he be wary how he proceeded with potent Princes. Yet if the Pope in his owne particular were afraid of the Turke, that he should come to *Avignon*, and that hee and *Francis* would undertake his protection, since the Emperour was resolv'd to Consent to the German Princes, about some Innovation in Religion; only to diminish his Holinesse power. How the Pope yet relish'd this motion, appears not; But certainly I find that as long as hee was so aw'd in *Italy*, neither did *Francis* thinke it safe to Treat, or our King to repose intire Confidence in him; though now the Cæsarean Forces being withdrawn a private Treaty betwixt the Pope and *Francis* tooke effect, Insomuch that *Francis* now began secretly to fall off from our King. For as the Pope together with giving *Catharina de Medices* (Daughter to *Lorenzo*, late Duke of *Urbino*) in Marriage to the Duke of *Orleans*, had promis'd his assistance to him for recovering his Claymes in *Italy*, which hee passionately desir'd, so hee was disposed now, though not altogether to forsake our King, yet at least to decline the Conventions betwixt them, at their late Interview. And to induce the Pope to draw *Francis* on his side, it may be thought no small motive, that hee had upon his own Authority not only levied some Tenths upon the Clergie in *France*, but prepared Forces to assist the Protestant Princes, which so scandaliz'd his Holinesse, as hee thought it safer to permit a Warre of Dominion (though in *Italy*) then of Religion in *Germany* assisted by the French. And certainly, as the times then stood, the Pope had reason to feare a defection in more than one Prince. The Pope also wanted not his designs upon *Modena* and *Rheggio*, wherein hee hoped *Francis* would second him, against the Emperour, whom hee hated still for approving the late Sentence in favour of the Duke of *Ferrara*. Which places now hee intended to give his Neece, together with the Dutchy of *Urbino*, when it could be gotten. For performance of all which, the French Writers say a Treaty was concluded. Our King being well inform'd of all, and particularly knowing that *Francis* notwithstanding both their late private Treaty at the Interview, and divers Reiterated professions of friendship, had upon the Popes Breve and request executed some Persons in *France*, who it seem'd oppos'd the Papall Authority, and recall'd from Banishment one *Bede* a bitter enemy

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enemy to the Kings Divorce, thought it now his expedient to stand to the decision of his own Clergie, Whereunto it conduc'd much, that *Warham*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, being lately dead, *Thomas Cranmer* (an able Person) much favour'd by the Nobility, as our Historians say, and lately employed in the Kings businesse in *Italy*, and at this present in *Germany*, was though absent chosen to this Place. Neither indeed could the Kings Clandestine Marriage be much longer hidden, the new Queen being quick with Childe, So that hee resolv'd shortly, both to publish his Marriage, and to require his Clergie to proceed to a Sentence concerning the Divorce. His Parliament, in the mean time, so favouring his intentions, that they made the aforesaid Act against Appeals to *Rome*, to the no little displeasure of Queen *Katherine*, who found thereby how dangerous it would be (in point of our Law) to insist on hers. Howsoever, I find, she had many openly favour'd her cause, without that our King thought fit to punish them.

Queen *Katherine* was now at *Amptill* in *Bedford-shire*; And because it concern'd the King to acquaint Her with the Causes of this second Marriage, hee sent again, some grave Persons to prepare her thereunto, wishing her together to submit. But shee persisting still, *Cranmer* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* Cired her to appeare at *Dunstable* being six miles off. Where for deciding this businesse, hee appointed a Court to be held; And with him came the Bishop of *London*, *Winchester*, (being *Stephen Gardiner*) *Bath*, *Lincolne*, and many great Clerkes. Their first proceedings (as *Sanders* hath it) was a Citation to our King to put away his Wife *Katherine*, protesting otherwise that they would Censure him. But the Records which I have seen, mention only that *Cranmer* demanded and obtained leave of the King to determine the matter, since it caus'd much doubt among the Common People, and feares of great Inconveniencies in matter of Succession. The Court being now held, and the Queene summond fifteen dayes together, without yet that shee appear'd, The Arch-Bishop having first pronounc'd Her Contumacious, proceeds to Sentence, which also hee caus'd to be publikely Read in the Chappell of our Lady in the Priory of *Dunstable*, before two Notaries, and then sent to the King, desiring further to know his Mind concerning his second Marriage, as soon as he had advis'd with his Counsell.

The Tenor of the Sentence was this.

IN Dei nomine Amen : Nos Thomas permissione divina Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus totius, Angliæ Primas, & Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, in quadam Causa inquisitionis de & super viribus Matrimonii inter illustrissimum & potentissimum Principem & Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum, Dei gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regem, Fidei Defensorem,

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fenforem, & Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispaniarum Regis filiam contracti & consummati quæ coram nobis in Judicio ex officio nostro mero aliquamdiu vertebatur, & ad huc vertitur & pendet indecisa, Rite & legitime procedentes. Visis primitus per nos & diligenter inspectis Articulis sive capitulis in dominica Causa objectis & ministratis una cum responsis s eis ex parte dicti illustrissimi & potentissimi Principis Henrici Octavi, factis & redditis, visisq; & similiter per nos inspectis plurimorum Nobilium & aliorum testium fide dignorum dictis & depositionibus in eadem causa habitis & factis, Visisq; præterea & simili modo per nos inspectis quam plurium & fere totius Christiani Orbis principalium Accademiarum censuris seu conclusionibus Magistralibus etiam tam Theologorum quam Juris peritorum Responsis & Opinionibus, utriusq; deniq; Provinciæ Anglicanæ Consiliorum Provincialium assertionibus & affirmationibus, aliisq; Salutaribus monitis & doctrinis super dicto Matrimonio de super respective habitis & factis. Visisq; ulterius et pari modo per nos inspectis, tractatibus seu foederibus pacis & amicitiae inter perennis famæ Henricum Septimum nuper Regem Angliæ & dictum nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandum nuper Regem Hispaniæ, de super initis & factis visis quoque peramplius & diligenter per nos inspectis omnibus & singulis actis, actitatis, literis, processibus, instrumentis, Scripturis, munimentis, Rebusq; aliis Universis in dicta causa quomodelibet gestis & factis, ac hiis omnibus & singulis ita per nos visis & inspectis atq; a nobis cum diligentia & maturitate ponderatis & recensitis : Servatisq; ulterius per nos in hac parte de Jure servandis ; Nec non partibus prædictis (viz.) præfato illustrissimo & potentissimo Principe Henrico Octavo per ejus Procuratorem idoneam coram nobis in dicta causa legitime comparente dicta vero Serenissima Domina Catharina per contumaciam absente (cujus absentia divina repleatur præsentia) de Concilio Juris peritorum et Theologorum

gorum cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus ad sententiam nostram diffinitivam, sive finale decretum nostrum in dicta Causa ferendam sive ferendum sic duximus procedendum et procedimus in hunc modum. Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, proposita, exhibita, allegata, probata pariter & Confessata, articulataq; Capitulata partis, Responsa testium, depositiones & dicta instrumenta, munimenta, literas, Scripturas, censuras, conclusiones Magistrales, Opiniones, consilia, assertiones, affirmationes, tractatus & foedera Pacis, processus, res alias & Cætera præmissa coram nobis in dicta Causa respective habita, gesta, facta, exhibita & producta. Necnon ex eisdem & diversis aliis ex causis ac considerationibus, argumentisq; & probationum generibus Variis et multiplicibus validis quidem et efficacibus quibus animum nostrum in hac parte ad plenum informavimus plene et evidenter invenimus et comperimus dictum matrimonium inter præfatos illustrissimum Principem et Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, ut præmittitur contractum et consummatum, nullum omnino et invalidum fuisse et esse, ac divino Jure prohibente, contractum et consummatum extitisse. Idcirco nos Thomas Archiepiscopus Primas et Legatus antedictus Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes, pro nullitate et invaliditate dicti matrimonii pronunciamus decernimus et declaramus, ipsumque prætensum matrimonium fuisse et esse nullum et invalidum, ac divino jure prohibente contractum et consummatum, nulliusq; valoris aut momenti esse, sed viribus et firmitate juris caruisse et carere, præfatisq; illustrissimo et potentissimo Principi Henrico Octavo ac Serenissimæ Dominæ Catharinæ non licere, in eodem prætenso matrimonio remanere etiam pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus, ipsosq; illustrissimum et potentissimum Principem Henricum Octavum, et Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam quatenus de facto et non de Jure dictum prætensum matrimonium ad invicem contraxerunt et consummarunt ab invicem separamus et Divor-

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tiamus, atq; sic separatos et divortiatos necnon ab omni vinculo matrimoniali respectu dicti prætensi matrimonii, liberos et immunes fuisse et esse pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus, per hanc nostram Sententiam diffinitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale Decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus in hiis scriptis.

Maii 23. 1533.

Fox.
July 6.

The King hereupon (according to the Decree of the last Parliament) commands strictly *Katherine* should no more be call'd Queen but Princeesse Dowager, and Widow of Prince *Arthur*, and dispatches Messengers both to *Rome*, and to the Emperour (then in *Spain*) to declare and Justifie the Proceedings, not omitting together to satisfie *Francis* thereof, as shall be told in his place. The Oration made to the Emperour (whether by Doctor *Hawkins* then resident in his Court, or Sir *Thomas Wyat* as *Fox* hath it) did in effect remonstrate, that since his Highnesse did still esteem him to be his friend Confederate and Ally, hee thought good to acquaint him with Actions, and among them, his Divorce, and therein particularly the Justice of the Cause, and order of the Proceffe, In which nothing being omitted, which might satisfie himselfe or others, Hee hath found, at last, that the Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was indispensable, as being against the Law of God, Nature, and Man, yet that herein hee used not his own Judgement alone, or his Subjects (though enough to quiet his Conscience) but requir'd it of forreigne parts and Universities, and among them those of *Bozonia* (though depending of the Popes) and *Padoua* (though menac'd by the Venetians) and hath found them, and many other so consentaneous to his Divines, that (some few partiall places and persons only excepted) they all determined in favour of his Highnesse Cause ; The further Confirmation whereof, by publike disputation and prooffe, Hee should willingly offer his Majesty, were it not too great an Injury to that which is passed in this Realme, to dispute it in any other Country ; especially when it is contrary to the Lawes of the Land : so that hee trusted his prudency would take it as a thing done, and justly done, and not to marvell if the King his master, for the weale of his Soule aswell as benefit and Peace of his Realme, had taken a course which otherwise hee would so little have thought of, as hee wisheth no such Occasion had ever been given him, wherein, hee hopes it will appeare, how much Respect is given both to the Pope and your Selfe, since otherwise his Highnesse should not have sent so many Ambassages to you both, or spent so many years in clearing these points without receiving yet any fruit but delay and insatisfaction. Insomuch, that hee perceived after the cause had depended almost seven years space, hee was in a Labyrinth, out of which he saw no likelihood to get, had he

not

not stept right forth at once to the Mazes end! Yet if this were all, he could better suffer it : for since at last the necessity of clearing his Conscience, and satisfying his People, had made him give a period to his futes, the Pope not content with his former Vexations, Cited him to appeare at *Rome*, and publish'd divers slanderous Breves against him, Requiring the Cause to be determined before him ; though a Generall Council hath long since determined that all matters should be ended, where they began. So that if the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* as Metropolitane of the Realme had at length given Sentence on the Kings part, Hee thought the question should not bee so much, whether it were done according to the common fashion, as whether in it selfe it were right, whereof therefore Hee would Treat with the Pope apart, desiring his Majesty howsoever to take well this Declaration, since his Highnesse reputing him still his friend, thought this accompt due to him, as hoping further, he would not be lesse friendly hereafter, than hee had been heretofore. To which the Emperour answered little more than I can find, than that Hee well knew how matters passed, and that hee would advise with his Counsell, what further was to be done ; giving by this short and sharpe Reply just suspicion of preparing warre against *England*, as hee had more than once threatned. For which purpose, as 1529. hee had practis'd with the Earle of *Desmond* in *Ireland*, so now hee Treated secretly with *James* King of *Scotland*, to whom also hee sent his Order. Our King not ignorant hereof, takes occasion (upon expiration of the late five years Truce) to give eare unto the complaint of the Earle of *Anguis*, (then at *Barwick*) and to permit *Sir Arthur Darcy* to enter the Country and forrage it. Which Hee did in *April* 1533. burning divers Towns, and carrying away much booty. Pretending for cause thereof, the Restitution of the *Douglasses*. But while *James* a valiant Prince (as his many Expeditions in Person against the Out-Lawes did declare) prepared to be Reveng'd, the French King taking notice of this difference compos'd it, though not without some difficulty. Notwithstanding which, the Treaty with the Emperour continued. For whereas the young King being not long since desirous to Match in *France*, found some interruption, Hee hark'ned now to an offer from the Emperour. And his faithfull servants thought it time, as having runne no small hazard in his Night-walkes. And now three *Maries*, all of the Emperours Family, were mention'd to him ; His Sister *Mary Dowager* of *Hungary*, *Mary* of *Portugall* his Neice by his Sister *Leonora*, and *Mary* our Princeesse. Neither will the Reader thinke it so strange, that the Emperour presum'd here so farre with our Kings Daughter, when hee shall consider (as I find in our Records and *Bellayes* History) that hee offer'd her afterwards to the *Daulphin*. The Answer which *James* return'd was, That hee should most desire the Match with *England* if conveniently it could be effected, saving yet that after Her hee would gladliest have a Daughter of his Sister of *Denmarke*. But *Charles* saying Shee was already

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promis'd, the businesse of Marriage ended so, for the present, the Treaty of Friendship neverthelesse being in some kind entertain'd. Whereof our King being advertis'd, labour'd to break it, proposing to his Nephew a Match with *Isabel*, Sister to *Henry* King of *Navarre*. For which purpose he also sent Sir *Henry Knevet* to *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, who gladly entertain'd the motion.

This while, the Duke of *Albany* was sent by *Francis* unto the Pope, to Treat in apparence of a warre against the Turke, but really to conclude the designed Marriage with *Catharina de Medices* to whom the said Duke was neere allyed. Which Match though the Emperour had heretofore oppos'd; yet now considering how expedient it was for his Affairs to divide *Francis* from our King, hee resolv'd privatly to give assent to it, as judging fewer Inconveniencies would follow that way, than if both Kings joyn'd against him. Before yet hee would declare himselfe, he told the Pope hee should require these Conditions from *Francis*. 1. To Innovate nothing in *Italy*. 2. To confirme againe the Treaty of *Madrid* and *Cambray*. 3. To obtain some assurance from him, that hee should consent to the calling of a Generall Councill. 4. That Hee would labour effectually with the King of *England* not to proceed any further in his Divorce. To all which the Pope gave no other answer, but that he would mediate therein, being not able (as hee alleg'd) to dispose otherwise of so puissant a Prince.

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And now because the Reader may expect an account why this Generall Councill, promis'd within a years space to the Germans, formerly by the Emperour, solicited by our King and *Francis*, submitted unto by the Protestant Princes, tooke yet no effect at the time appointed; I thought fit to deliver the chiefe passages thereof: since I dare say no Age ever produc'd a juster occasion for the calling of it. Which therefore also I shall relate with more particularity, that none was more forward herein than our King, only when it might be held in some free Place and manner; as knowing well that nothing either formerly had, or could now more authorise any solemne error, than a factious and Partiall Assembly, under what generall or specious Title soever. Neverthelesse, as it concern'd the Emperour in point of Honour and advantage, chiefly to procure this worke, our King and *Francis* were content awhile to looke on. And three motives I find were presented by the Emperour to the Pope. 1. The settling of the businesse of Religion. 2. Resistance against the Turke. 3. Accommodation of Differences, betwixt Christian Princes. The Pope having received these, replied only, That Hee would commit the businesse to some principall Persons of his Counsell, who making this following Remonstrance, the Pope thought fit to send it to the Emperour. And first concerning Religion, They thought it a dangerous point to admit Protestants or Heretiques to dispute any of the Opinions, which Holy Councills have formerly determin'd. Since thereupon also they might take Occasion to call in question the

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the Articles of Christian Faith : On the other side, when they were forbidden to defend their Doctrines, they might thinke themselves worse us'd than the Arrians, and other Heretiques heretofore, and pretend they were condemn'd unheard, and so return home more obstinate than ever. Secondly, If they have contradicted the Determinations of former Councils, What hope is there that they should stand to this? And what a scandall it would prove to be disobeyed. Besides, how unseasonable and hard would it be for the Pope to compell them to a strict observation of the Decrees establish'd there, when the Emperour and other Christian Princes, had so much to doe both one against another, and against the Turke? Thirdly, That there was small likelihood of convincing the Protestants as long as they wholly adhered to the Letter of the Holy Scripture, without admitting the Interpretation of Fathers or Councils, who by divine Inspiration may be thought to have clear'd many doubtfull Places; So that if once they call'd in question the authority of the Church, there could be no ground for deciding Controversies. Fourthly, That it is probable, their demand of a Council, was not so much with the intention to Obey it, as to avoyd the punishment due from the Magistrate; since their request was to have liberty of Religion, till a Council had determined the Controversies, which could not be suddenly done. Fifthly, That the Protestants might find some excuse to depart before any determination, as they did from the Diet at *Augsburgh*. Besides, if there were difference of Opinions, and some should condescend to an alteration in part, it might cause a Schisme, and consequently a setting up of Council against Council, or of Pope against Pope, as hath formerly hap'ned. And again, that whether the Pope were declared above a Council, or a Council above the Pope, Inconveniencies would follow. Finally, That whether the Authority of convoking this Council were permitted to them, or to the Emperour, it might take up more time and years, than the Emperour could spare to attend it. 2. As for the second motive of calling this Council, being the Invasion of the Turke, It was answer'd, That the Hostile Preparatives being ready, and the Assembly of a Council in all likelihood to slow, it was more fit to thinke of taking Armes, than of entring into Schoole disputations, especially since under this colour, the Protestants might evade, alleging they were not oblig'd to contribute any thing till the businesse of Religion were settled. Moreover, that this would but occasion the Turks comming, as knowing it would tend wholly to his Dammage and hurt, and consequently would but hasten him the more to prevent it. Furthermore, that if the Council gave no content to the Protestants, it might cause them to seeke Protection from the Turke, as the *Voyvod of Transilvania* had lately done, and under pretence of Evangelicall libertie seize on the Goods of the Church. These Motives from the Emperour, together with this Politique answer of the Pope, being brought to *Francis* by the *Seigneur de Praet*, and his Reply requir'd thereunto, *Francis* after

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deliberation said, that notwithstanding there were Inconveniences in calling a Councill, there were farre greater if they omitted it. It being certain there was never any other Lawfull and ordinary way for decision of Controversies in Religion. Infomuch, that all future Ages would condemne not only his Holinesse, but all the Christian Princes of the time when they did not procure it. Wherefore his Opinion was, that they should assemble a Councill without yet neglecting the other point propos'd. And for this end that all Christian Princes by their Letters, and Ambassadors should advise together before the Councill were call'd, and each of them set down what they in their particular thought fit to bee done. Whereupon, also, they should send to *Rome* joyntly to demand a free and secure Place of meeting, where the points projected might bee resolved. In discussion whereof, therefore, such intire and honest liberty should be permitted to all and every one, as they might frankly discover themselves. Only, that they should not interpose any thing concerning their private differences and quarrels. For the better performing whereof, it should be agreed that no decision of former Councills should be urged to the hinderance of an Ingenuous and free communication concerning these points; when yet it should be alleged that the questioning of former Acts would but open the way to frustrate this. Since it would give occasion unto many to withdraw themselves, who otherwise would be present at the Councill. For preventing whereof, therefore, it were expedient that each of them should send their Ambassadors or Deputies with unlimited Commission to treat concerning the points in controversie. Which also should be lay'd down in writing, to the intent that by common Vote and consent they might afterwards be determined. With this caution, yet, that in the mean while all particular Enmities should bee layd aside or quenched. And that till this were done, and the severall Superiours of the said Ambassadors or Deputies acquainted with the proceedings (so that absolute power thereupon might be given them to conclude) it was unseasonable to call a Councill. But if they chose this way, it would follow that either the Inferiour Number would submit to the greater, and consequently conforme themselves to one common way in Religion, or at least they would remaine without excuse or cause of exception, when on so good and indifferent terms the determination of a free Councill had been offer'd them. All which he signified by his Ambassadors.

Feb.

It was now towards the end of *February* 1533. when the Emperour received this Answer, who as Hee was disaffected to *Francis*, did easily mis-interpret his meaning, taking all his advise in a counter-sence. First, because hee thought it unreasonable that the Ambassadors of Christian Princes and Protestants should project the points and Articles to be Treated of in the said Councill, since it could be thought no lesse than an Artifice and Invention to restraine and diminish the Authority of the said Councill, which together with all that could be

be Treated therein ought intirely to depend on the inspiration of the Holy Ghost and not upon the Opinions of Men. Secondly, Because *Francis* had made no particular Answer concerning Contribution for resisting of the Turke, as if He thought the danger of his Neighbours in this kind did not concerne him.

Which Remonstrance being brought (in forme of a Reply or Complaint of the Emperour) to *Francis*; He answer'd; That he Could not but marvaile how the Emperour should so much mistake him, since together with an ample Declaration of his Opinion concerning the Affaire of Religion, He had declar'd likewise that the Ambassadors and Deputies should not neglect the other point, whose Resolutions also concerning resistance of the Turke, he thought not only more effectually and proper than those of a Councill, but of a quicker dispatch. And for the other point concerning the restraint or diminution of the Councill, it was sinisterly and malignly interpreted. For when they should send Ambassadors from all parts with so pure and sincere affection, and zeale for the good of the Church, and defence of Christendome, he could doe no lesse than beleve that the Holy Ghost will assist and direct their Assembly. And howsoever that any thing Concluded in this kind should be esteemed no more than as a beginning or preamble to the Councill. Neverthelesse for the giving more intire satisfaction to the Emperour, he thought fit to declare, that if the Emperour did not approve the said Assembly of Ambassadors, He for his part would mention it no further; Only when the Emperour would but please to take notice that himself made the first Overture thereof, as by the Articles brought by *Du Praet* might appeare. For the rest He wish'd it might be a true Universal Councill and not a Nationall or Provinciall as it must bee term'd, when all Christian Nations did not assist therein. And as for War against the Turke though He had already paid 1200000. Crowns, and must pay 800000. more, Yet if the Turke in Person should assaile Christendome, He would not only hazard his owne blood and his Subjects to oppose him, but hope the Emperour would doe the like. But neither was the Emperour satisfied herewith. For as He thought *Francis* would make use of this Assembly for Contriving some Designe or Enterprize against him; so he secretly declin'd it. *Francis* likewise as he was wholly wonne to the Pope, and intensive to the busineses of *Italy*, labourd not much to advance a businesse, so suspected and dangerous to the Roman See. So that the diffidence and Jealousie betwixt these Princes broke off the Councill at this time, when it seem'd so necessary for the Peace and welfare of Christendome. Howbeit the Emperour (who departed from *Genova* April 8. and was now in *Spaine*) lest He should be thought not to comply with his promise, obtained from the Pope, that these following Conditions should be offer'd to *John Frederic* Elector of *Saxony* in the roome of his Father, lately deceased. That it should be free and open to all as in times past: That assurance should be given on both

sides

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Bellay.

April. 8.

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Scid. l. 8.

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June 30.

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Bell. l. 4.

sides to stand to whatsoever should be decreed there. That they who could not be present, should send their Deputies. That in the meane while, nothing should be Innovated. That the Place should be *Piacenza*, *Bononia*, or *Mantoua*, at their choice. That if any Princes neither came themselves, nor sent, they should yet be concluded by the Decrees of the Councill, and if they disobeyed, that the Emperour and other Princes should see Justice done. That if these Conditions were accepted the Councill should be summon'd within six Moneths following the Date hereof (being towards the end of *March*, or beginning of *April* 1633.) and held within a yeare after. For more authorising of which Propositions, the Emperour commanded His Ambassadors to second the Legate. The Duke of *Saxony* hereupon, after deliberation with the other Protestant Princes and States at *Smalcald*, returned this Answer; That the Councill could not bee free as long as the Pope who was a Partie should sit as Judge. That the cause of Religion as being grounded on the Scriptures should be determined by them, and not by Schoole Opinions. That the Place ought to be (as the Emperour had promis'd) in *Germany*, if it should be free and open unto all. Our Historians say, also, that the Pope sent (in *May*) to our King to be present at the Councill, or at least to send thither. But when the Messenger (being requir'd to it) shew'd a Commission, which had neither Place nor time exprest, hee was dismiss.

While these things past, our King by a Dispatch to *Francis* requires him to send hither some trusty Person to whom he might with all confidence communicate such things as could not fitly be committed to paper, intreating also that the said Person might be instructed in all the passages of Affaires (wheresoever) since the Interview. For though the King by Message, sent formerly by the Lord *Rochfort* had acquainted *Francis* that Hee was privatly Married, yet as Hee had many particularities to speak of, and might besides have use of the Assistance which *Francis* had offer'd, so Hee desir'd one on that part to whom Hee might freely open Himselfe. Hereupon *Francis* sends *Guillaume du Bellay Seigneur de Langey* with these Instructions. That he should perswade our King to be at the Interview betwixt the Pope and him, as being better able than any else to justifie and defend His proper Cause, Assuring him, that he should be as safe, both in his passage to, and stay there, as in his own Kingdome. Nevertheless if he thought not fit to come, that at least he should send one in whom he might repose intire confidence. Hee was charged also to informe our King how *Francis* had made those Ordinances concerning Horse and Foot, and Sea-busineses, which were agreed betwixt them. Lastly, he was commanded to desire our Kings Advice concerning the Affaires of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, who instantly crav'd their joynt assistance.

When *Monsieur de Langey* was come, and had expos'd these particularities; Our King answer'd. That since the Bishop of *Rome* (for

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so he now tearm'd the Pope) after many dissimulations, and delays would not decide the businesse of the Divorce; Hee had for discharge of his Conscience, Referr'd it to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, as being not able to support any longer the continuall vexations where-with his mind was afflicted. And that the said Arch-Bishop and divers Bishops and principall Persons of the Clergy having sentenced a nullity in his former Marriage, and declared the Dispensation for it voyd, as given in a Case which being *ex Jure Divino*, could not bee dispenced with; Hee had thereupon privately Married the Marchionesse without yet that he had intention to disclose it before *May* next. About which time hee hoped also that the Interview betwixt his Master and the said Bishop would be, and that the said Bishop therefore would doe him Justice. If not, that he would publish his Marriage, and withdraw himselfe totally from the Yoke and Dominion of the Bishops Church. Concerning the Tyranny and Usurpation whereof, hee had compos'd a large and ample Treatise; The Title whereof was, *De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis, contra Pontificis Tyrannidem & horribilem Impietatem* as *Beutherus* hath it; though (for my part) having seen no such Book, I conceive it was that *De vera differentia Regia Potestatis & Ecclesiastica, & quæ sit ipsa Virtus & Veritas utriusq;* made about this time, which neverthelesse he said he would not publish, untill he saw what Right the Bishop would doe him; desiring the said King in the mean time, not to abandon him, since the Bishop had vaunted, hee would set all Christendome against him, which the Emperour also, in his discourse with the Pope had averred, discovering how by the means of *Scotland* he would Revenge his Aunts quarrell. Some Intelligence whereof was brought our King by the said *Seigneur de Langey*, who crossing the Seas from *Boulogne* to *Dover* was assaulted by some Scotchmen of warre, who hovering in our Seas to espy their advantage, set upon the Gallion that *Langey* went in, so that had he not made use both of Sayles and Oares, he had been overtaken or sunke; their number being superior, and Ordnance playing continually on him. They overtook yet a Ship of his consort, which having Sayles only, and not Oars, could not escape them. *Monsieur de Langey* being now dismiss'd, acquainted *Francis* with our Kings resolution, Whereupon, also, hee hastned his Interview with the Pope, which after variety of Places propos'd, was finally resolv'd at *Marseilles*, the Emperours Ambassadors at *Rome* in vain opposing it.

And now the Newes of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterburies* Sentence, and open Marriage of Mistris *Anne Bolen* being come to the Popes eares, and together with it an information concerning the Booke our King had compos'd against the Popes Authority (which also more than any thing else offended him) the whole College of Cardinalls, especially such as were for the Emperour, became humble suppliants to the Pope, that hee would proceed rigorously against our King; which also the Pope accorded, though not in that peremptory

*Beuth. hist. lib. 4.**June.*

and

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Concil. Trid.
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and publique manner as was afterwards done; For I find that this Sentence was not definitive in the principall cause (as the Imperials desir'd, and *Sanders* mistakes it) but only declarative in the point of Attemptats (as they call it) in that King *Henry* (the cause yet depending) had Divorced Himselfe without the leave and Authority of the Pope. Therefore it was declar'd that all his Actions herein were subject to a Nullity, and Himselfe to Excommunication, unlesse He restored things *in integrum*, for which time was allowed him, till the end of *September* following. These Proceedings being reserved, and the Censures thus suspended, argued that the Pope was willing before he went any further to see the successe of his Interview with *Francis*. For as the Pope knew well that the Emperour was already sufficiently incens'd against our King, so it was easie for him to collect, that if he could gain *Francis*, nothing afterwards could hinder him to fulminate. And hee had reason to choose this way of Treaty; for I find all his Interviews succeeded well with him. Neverthelesse, the Emperour as hee knew not how farre this new Treaty might extend, labours by his Ambassadors to retard it. But they failing, he tooke another course, for being advertis'd that the Pope intended to make use of some of his Gallies for this Journey, he sends a Command that they should bee employed against the Turke. But neither could this keep back the Pope, who rather than not goe, resolv'd to commit himselfe to the French Gallies, and so to passe to *Marseilles*. Things being thus advanc'd, our King (in conformity to the Proposition of *Francis*) sends the Duke of *Norfolke* lately made Marshall of *England*, the Lord *Rochefort*, Sir *William Paulet*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Francis Bryan*, followed with some hundred and sixty Horse to repaire to *Francis*, and afterwards attend the Interview.

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This while, our King being confident, that either by the Popes good permission, or his proper Authority, he should be able to Justify a cause which so many Universities had sentenc'd on his side, proceeds to the Coronation of his new Queen, which also was perform'd with much solemnity. And the rather that the murmure of those who objected against the irregularity and deviation of our Kings proceeding herein might be hidden and cover'd in the Pompe. Shortly after which, our Historians say, *Mary* the Dowager of *France* dyed, and was buried at *St. Edmundsbury*.

The Duke of *Norfolke* being now come to *Francis* (who was upon his Journey to *Marseilles*) acquaints him with part of his Instructions, which were to diswade him from the Interview and Marriage propos'd, or, at least, to suspend it, till the Pope hath given our King satisfaction, offering also ayd for a War in *Piemont* if he would suffer no more moneys to goe out of his Realme to *Rome*, and instead of the Pope to erect a Patriarke, which it seems was one of the private Articles treated betwixt them, at the Interview; but hearing, at the same time, of the Declaration past at *Rome* against our King, thought it

too late to expect any favour from the Pope, and therefore demanded leave to returne. Notwithstanding which *Francis* desir'd his stay, promising all the best offices and assistance to our King he could require, as soon as he should come to *Marseilles*, protesting furthermore, that what Offence soever was done to our King, he would take as to himself. But the Duke being informed againe, by our diligent Agents, what had past at *Rome*, would omit no longer to advertize the King. Therefore, he posted away the Lord *Rochefort* to acquaint his Highnesse with what was done, and to know his Gracious pleasure, whereupon, the King upon advice with his Counsell, thought fit to Revoke together with the said Duke, the Duke of *Richmont* then living in the French Court, Commanding also his Ambassadors with the Pope to returne. Neverthelesse as *Francis* insisted still with our King to send some other, if for no other end yet at least to witnesse that earnestnesse and sollicitation wherewith he would pursue the Kings affaire with the Pope; So our King thought fit to send *Stephen Gardiner* not long before made Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Francis Bryan* together with Sir *John Wallop* to attend him at the Interview. And here it is probable, that *Francis* had many Designs whereof also he resolv'd to prevaile himselfe according to the Occasion. For if he Treated with the Pope, he no lesse entertain'd his former Correspondence with the Princes of Germany, who sent to him (then being at *Tholouse*) a Secretary of the Dukes of *Bavaria* to tell him how, upon the Consignation of 100000 Crowns, which the said King by Treaty was oblig'd to pay in ayd, and for the Restitution of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, whose Possessions were withheld by *Ferdinand*, they now all agreed that it should be put into the hands of the said Duke, desiring neverthelesse that it might be done with all secrecie. To which *Francis* Answered: that the Interview being past, hee would send some one to acquaint him with his Intentions.

This while the Duke of *Albany* being departed with the Gallies of *France*, to conduct the Pope to *Marseilles*, newes was brought to *Francis* of the death of one *Merveilles* employed by *Francis* to *Francesco Sforza* (then in possession of the Dutchy of *Milan*, by the Emperours favour, though not as yet of the Daughter of *Denmarke*, formerly destin'd unto him) The occasion whereof also I have thought worthy my Relation. This *Merveilles* being a Milanesse, had served long in the French Court, and was now by the good leave of *Francesca Sforza* Received as a secret Agent or Ambassadour for *Francis*; The terms on which *Sforza* stood with the Emperour not admitting a more ouvert access. The servants of this *Merveilles* having a quarrell with one *Castiglione* concerning some words he had spoken against their Master, did at last kill him in the streets, which was Reveng'd by the Magistrate on *Merveilles* himselfe, whose goods he seized on, and afterwards by order of the Duke privatly cut off his Head. Which being advertis'd to *Francis*, he fell into an extreame passion, Saying, he was his Ambassadour, and that herein the Law of Nations was violated.

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Decem. 5.
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July 3.

July 6.

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Violated. The resentment whereof also, hee thought common to all Princes, so hee acquainted the Pope, Emperour, and other Potentates of Europe therewith in high tearms, not forgetting also to give our King a particular account thereof, together with his Intentions; protesting to them all, he would have Reparation. But when the Emperour had received his Letter, hee return'd no other Answer, but that *Merveilles* had deserv'd death, and was justly punished, hee being no Ambassadour, but a subject of the Duke of *Milans*. Whereupon the French Ambassadour hoping to satisfie the Emperour, shewed him private Dispatches, by which it appear'd, that the Duke acknowledg'd him under that Title. Notwithstanding which, the Emperour made small account of them, as supposing the quality of an Ambassadour not wronged as long as the Person in question (besides, that he was no subject of the French King) did not openly sustaine the dignity of his Place; Whereupon also this Act was so farre from being chastised by him, that it did but hasten the Marriage of *Sforza* with *Christine* the King of *Denmark*'s second Daughter whom the Emperour immediately sent for, and gave much about the time that the Duke of *Orleans* Married *Catherina de Medices*. Notwithstanding which, *Sforza* sent his Chancellour to *Francis*, alleging by way of excuse, that *Merveilles* was no more but a private Person, though authoriz'd sometimes to Treat, neither was he ever acknowledg'd publicly by any other title than his Vassall and subject, so that not to have done Right to another subject kill'd by his procurement, had been to the derogation of Justice and his own Authority. Besides, he sayd *Merveilles* was such an outrageous and mischievous Person, that hee had been told divers times on the Dukes Part, that he did not like of his abode there. As for the secret manner of his being put to death, he said, it was to avoid ignominy, in case *Francis* for delivering some of his Messages (when there was occasion,) should repute him his Ambassadour. But this excuse, (as it implied some contradiction) did but exasperate *Francis*, Who told the Chancellour, that if intire satisfaction were not given, he would in some fitting time and place procure it.

Sept. 6.

Sept. 10.

About this time, the Queen being brought to bed of the Princessse *Elizabeth* (who happily succeeded to this Crown) the Christening followed shortly after, with much solemnity, where the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was Godfather, and the Dutchesse of *Norfolke*, and Marchionesse of *Dorset* Godmothers. Howbeit the Divorced *Katherine*, and her Daughter were not only much grieved, but divers that favour'd her Cause, writ, and spoke against the late Marriage; a Nunne of *Kent* also, pretending to Prophecy thereon, of whom and her feigned Miracles (about this time discovered) wee shall make mention hereafter.

Novemb.

Octob. 6.

It was now in October 1533. when the Pope conducted by the Duke of *Albany* came by Sea to *Marseilles*, where *Montmorency* received him. His publike entrance into the Town (being the next day after his arrivall) was in a rich Chaire, carried on the shoulders of

two men, Himselfe wearing his Pontificall Ornaments (the Tiara or Triple Crown only excepted) before him a white Hackney was led, on which the Sacrament was carried. After him followed all the Cardinalls, and his Neece *Catharina de Medices* (the Dutchesse of *Urbino*) with a great Train of Cavaliers and Ladies. *Francis*, at the same time, that he might seeme to give the Pope entire possession of the Towne, going out thereof, but the next day returning thither, and after many complements to the Pope, comming to businesse, the intended Marriage was concluded, the Pope himselfe Marrying the young couple. Her Portion in money was but little, being only 100000 Crownes, but in expectation and Titles great; Since a pretence to *Urbino* in the Right of her Father *Lorenzo de Medici*, to whom *Leo* the tenth gave the Investiture to the disinherison of *Francesco Maria Conte di Feltri*, (who at this present was in possession thereof) as also the Donation of *Rheggio*, *Modena*, *Rubiera*, *Pisa*, *Ligorno*, *Parma*, and *Piacenza* by the Pope, or something equivalent to them, did make her thought a Match worthy of the Son of *Francis*, especially, when so potent a Prince should undertake her Cause, not without hope of uniting these places to the Rights hee claimed in *Italy*. After which, the Pope was often solicited by *Francis* in the behalfe of our King, that, at least, the time of declaring the Censures against him, might be prorogued. But the Pope answering only, that though the terme prefixt for fulmination were now past, yet he would omit further processe till he came to *Rome*: Our Agents not content herewith, proceed in their Instructions, and *Edmund Boner* (as I find by an Originall of his to our King) getting audience of the Pope, *November 7*, in respectfull tearms, and under protestation that his Majesty intended no contempt of the See Apostolique or Holy-Church, intimated to him King *Henry's* Appeale to the next Generall Council lawfully assembled, exhibiting also the Authentique Instruments thereof (made before the Bishop of *Winchester*) at which the Pope being much incens'd, said, he would referre it to the Consistory, Which being held *November 10*. hee Answer'd *Boner*, That, concerning the Kings Appeale, hee rejected it, as being unlawfull, and against a constitution of Pope *Pius*. Secondly, for the Council, hee would procure it, as belonging to his Authority, and not to King *Henries*. Thirdly, for the Originall Instructions (which *Boner* required back) hee denied them, and so dismiss him; desiring *Francis*, only, that hee would perswade our King to conforme himselfe to his antient Devotion and Obedience to the Roman Church. Shortly after which, being 12th of *November 1533*. the Pope return'd. I find moreover that the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* at this time suspecting the Pope would proceed against him, by the advise of our King made his Appeale also to the Council. Which hee desir'd our Agents to intimate to the Pope. The successe whereof yet doth not appeare in our Records. Here also, at the requisition of *Francis*, he made foure French Cardinalls, which added to six more, who held that Dignity, made the

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Emperour see that the Pope intended to strengthen the French Party in *Rome*. Besides, as the Pope did feare lest *Francis* should usurpe upon the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction in his Kingdome, hee gave him the Nomination of the Heads and Chiefs, not in Monasteries alone, but in all Elective Benefices in his Kingdome, which was politiquely done, for he prevented thereby, that power, which *Francis* might have assumed, especially when he had stood to the Conventions hee made with our King at their last Interview. By which means also, hee disposed *Francis* to oppose the Emperour about calling a Councill, shewing together how inconvenient it would bee to the Roman Church, as Affairs then stood.

Francis not forgetting, this while, to send to *Germany*, both in favour of the Duke of *Wirttemberg*, and to comfort the Protestant Princes, in their perseverance, promised to doe all that he could for them in a Defensive way: Hee omitted not, also, to send *Jehan du Bellay* Bishop of *Paris* to our King, both to acquaint him with all passages at *Marseilles*, and to Induce him to send Ambassadors to *Rome* to treat with the Pope concerning the suspending of this Fulmination, Which hee said highly concern'd him. But our King who was in some part acknowledged already *supremum Caput Ecclesie* in his Dominions replying, hee would advise with his Counsell hereof, one who much favoured the Papall Authority, spake in this manner.

Sir, Your Highnesse is come to a point which needs a strong and firme resolution, it being not only the most important in it selfe, that can be presented, but of that consequence as will comprehend your Kingdome and Posterity. It is, whether, in this businesse of your Divorce, and second Marriage, as well as in all other Ecclesiasticall affaires in your Dominions, you would make use of your own, or of the Papall Authority? for my part, as an English man, and your Highnesse subject, I must wish all Power in your Highnesse: But when I consider the antient practise of this Kingdome, I cannot but thinke any Innovation dangerous: For if in every Temporall estate it be necessary, not only to keep order, but to come to some Supreme Authority, whence all Inferiour Magistracy should bee deriv'd; It seems much more necessary in Religion; both as the body thereof seems more susceptible of a Head, than any else, and as that Head againe must direct so many others. Wee should above all things therefore labour to keep an unity in the parts thereof, as being that sacred bond which knits and holds together not his own alone, but all other Government. But how much Sir, would wee recede from the Dignity thereof, if we (at once) retrenched this his chiefe and mo't eminent part? And who ever liked that body long, whose Head was taken away? Certainly Sir, an Authority Received for many Ages, ought not rashly to be rejected; for is not the Pope *Communis Pater* in the Christian World, and Arbiter of their differences? Doth hee not support the Majesty of Religion, and vindicate it from neglect?

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neglect? Doth not the holding of his Authority from God, keepe men in awe, not of Temporall alone, but Eternall punishments, and therein extend his power beyond death it selfe? And will it be secure to lay aside these potent means of reducing People to their Duty, and trust only to the sword of Justice, and Secular Arme? Besides, who shall mittigate the rigour of Lawes in those cases, which may admit exception, if the Pope be taken away? who shall presume to give Orders, or Administer Sacraments, or grant Pardons, Dispensations, Indulgences, and other Mysteries of the Church? Who shall be Depository of the Oathes, and Leagues of Princes, or Fulminate against the perjur'd Infractors of them? for my part, (as Affairs now stand) I find not, how either a Generall Peace among Princes, or any equall moderation in humane affaires can be well conserv'd without him. For as his Court is a kind of Chancery, to all other Courts of Justice in the Christian world; so if you take it away, you subvert that equity and Conscience which should be the rule and Interpreter of all Lawes and Constitutions whatsoever. I will conclude, that I wish your Highnesse, as my King and Sovereigne, all true greatnesse and happinesse, but thinke it not fit (in this case) that your subjects should either examine by what right Ecclesiasticall Government is Innovated, or inquire how farre they are bound thereby; Since, besides that it might cause division, and hazard the overthrow both of the one and the other Authority; it would give that offence and scandall abroad, as Forreigne Princes would both reprove and disallow all our proceedings in this kind, and together upon any occasion, bee dispos'd easily to joyne against us.

To which was replied by one in this manner.

SIR, If hee who propos'd this question, had resolv'd it aswell, I should not have needed to returne an Answer, But since from Principles wee admit as true, he draweth Consequences which follow not, I shall according to common reason, crave leave to examine his Arguments, without insisting upon any thing urg'd out of either Testament, or controverted by the Theologians of this time. Nothing is more certain, than that there is a necessity of establishing some supreme power in Spirituall as well as Temporall affairs; Only the question will be, whether they be better united in one Person, or divided into two? I am for one, especially while the Precincts of both be of the same extent, and the Magistrate no way obnoxious: For can we suppose a Government without Religion, or a Religion without a Government? will the bare precepts of Theology containe People in their Duties, unlesse the Secular Arme concurre? or the inflicting punishment with a high Hand suffice to teach a good life, or bring men to everlasting happinesse? Besides, can a Kingdome be safe, if the Secular Magistrate command one thing, and the Spirituall another? Must not the subject on these termes be suspended betwixt his Obe-

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diences, or distracted into some Schisme or Rebellion? which Inconveniences as they cannot be denyed, so neither doe examples want thereof, both antiently betwixt Emperours and Popes, and of latter times as well in this Kingdome as divers others, Where not only scandall and dissention, but even Ruines and Desolation followed on this occasion. It being manifest thus, how fitly both Powers are conjoyned; The next question will be, Who is most proper to exercise them in this Kingdome? But it is cleare that Popes are not. For besides that they want Title, Succession, Election, Possession, or whatsoever else may establish Government for the Temporall part, they cannot so much as aptly administer the Spirituall, while the distance betwixt us and them is so great, that they neither can take timely notice of the proceedings and deviations of the Clergy, or give that order and redresse which is fitting; So that although by a frequent admitting of Appeals to *Rome*, they strive to take away this Difficulty, it is rather increased. The Causes brought thither being sometimes undecided for a long space, sometimes wholly frustrated, while People had rather let fall their Sutes, then be at the cost of bringing their Witnesses with them to so remote a Place, as neither their health or means can reach unto. Of which, as also many other Inconveniences in this kind, the Germans in their *Centum Gravamina* have not long since complained, without that the whole Court at *Rome* could devise a due Remedy, as long as the determination of Ecclesiasticall Affairs was so commonly avoked thither. Whereby it follows, that the Pope, as being neither Secular Magistrate in this Kingdome, nor within a Just distance to exercise the Spirituall, cannot lawfully pretend to an absolute power in either Jurisdiction. It remaines, that Princes of this Kingdome successively assume it, both as their Person and office hath in it a mixture of the Temporall and Spirituall Power, and as the Precincts they claime in Ecclesiasticall affaires, are no larger than their swords can reach to, and secure, nor their Interests other, than to conserve at home, a perpetuall Peace of Religion; which also will be with so much advantage to their subjects, as while the same Authority animates and gives life unto all, none of the members can easily prevaricate, or fall away. If any yet will deny this Maxime, hee may be convinc'd by examples of Popes themselves, who practise this mixed power not only in their Territories about *Rome*, the *Patrimonio della Chiesa*, but in their more remote Dominions with that singular benefit to their Vassalls, that they more than any other in *Italy*, are exempt from being drawn into contrary parts. So that, if it be cleare as well by reason as by Precedents, that both powers may subsist together, and be exercised by one and the same Person, I thinke none will deny, but that it will bee so much the more equall, to place them in a Temporall than a Spirituall Monarch, as it imports more to give good Lawes, and exhibite Justice, than to dispute Controversies (where the grounds of Religion are already settled,) and to resist Forreigne Invasions, than to declame against Vice,
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and the Non-payment of Church-duties : out of which therefore may be concluded, That there is no more necessity of a Pope over us, or (if you will) over all Churches in the World (when they could be converted to Christianisme) than to assigne one Universall Monarch over it. There being in the frame of Government aswell as all other bodies, a certaine Symmetrie and proportion, beyond which it cannot conveniently be dilated. These things thus appearing, it may be considered now, whether the Pope have not yet another Incapacity, for swaying all the Ecclesiasticall Affairs of this Kingdome, in his being so obnoxious to other Princes. But this also is evident, since the French and Spaniard so constraining him of either side that hee must submit to the stronger, or suffer such Imprisonment and outrages as hee hath lately done, it will be dangerous to Constitute him our Supream Judge, in these Affaires of Religion, which regard matter of State. For suppose he would be Impartiall between such Princes as may presse him equally ; Shall wee presume he will be so to us, who stand not in the same Relation of neerenesse and Interest unto him ? Neverthelesse, I shall easily grant that hee may wish us well, or bestow his Blessing on us : But where his Person or Estate will be concern'd, I doe believe it would be so unsafe for him to doe us Right, that it would be an unmannerly thing to aske it. But may hee not in some cases yet be retain'd as Judge in Ecclesiasticall affaires, and Arbitrer of the differences of Christendome ? for my part, I shall accord it ; as long as Hee complies with his Place of *Communis Pater*. But if through Interdictions, Censures, Excommunications, Fulminations, and the like, he prescribe, and exterminate those, who otherwise might give him a due respect, doth hee not relinquish his Name ? especially while without regard to the quietnesse of mens Consciences, the Peace of Christendome, or the Unity of Religion, (which might easily follow, when the unnecessary points were layed aside) Hee, (for the conservation of his Authority in this Kingdome only) procures Forreigne Princes to Invade it. Wherein therefore, hee so little exerciseth his Pastorall Charge (Instituted at first for the safeguard and ease of the Secular Magistracy) as hee now disturberth all, whereas he ought so much rather to use a discreet Moderation, as hee sees that Princes can both Reigne without him, and contain their subjects (whether Spirituall or Temporall) in their accustomed Obedience and Devotion, out of which therefore he may collect, that untill these Ecclesiasticall affairs be permitted to Princes, which cannot aptly be determined without them, there will be small hope of an accommodation. And for these reasons also, Wee can as little admit him, Arbitrer of the Temporall Causes betwixt us, and any other Christian Prince, though otherwile the function be so necessary, as (it seems) there is no so good means for avoyding the many Warres, and deciding the Controversies betwixt them. But it is alleged still, That in deserting the Popes Authority some diminution of Religion may follow ; Alas, if Religion stood not on firmer Princi-

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ples than these, it were worse grounded than any other knowledge; For were not the Lawes of Piety and goodnesse so written (at first) in the heart, as Mankind had no other direction for attaining his everlasting happinesse, for about two thousand years, and untill the Decalogue was given? And is that againe any thing else but an Explication of these Lawes? Besides, is there not a Doctrine of Faith deliver'd us in some part of our Beleeve or Creed (and I say in some, for the beginning thereof, aswell as certaine Articles towards the end, are generall Notions both written in our hearts, and Received in all Religions.) And have we not through the Reverend Authority of the Church for many Ages, declaring and confirming this Faith, accepted thereof, and the ten Commandements, and therein submitted our selves to all that is required in either Testaments, and will they yet exact new Beleeves, and obtrude new Articles? When the Lawes of God, only written in Mens hearts, and the Decalogue, for so many Ages were thought to suffice for Salvation? Let them say what they will; I find no reason to believe, that the Divine wisdom imposeth more, or proceedeth by other Rules than those that were delivered to our Fore-Fathers; or that some such obliquation of Religion hath hap'ned as the course of his Providence should be varied too. And therefore, though I shall be content, that the Illustration or Explication of some points, may be worth the Churches labour, I can never agree that the Principles and foundation of this Structure, should be stir'd, or exhibited on other terms. Neither indeed should the Roman Church, in true wisdom procure it, the Majesty of Religion being no wayes so well conserv'd, as by asserting such a perfection, Antiquity, Universality, and Visibility in the more necessary parts thereof, as may argue the care God hath over Mankind in all Ages, without omitting, together, to represent the Doctrines of Faith, and of Gods mercy, in middle times after such manner, as may be for our Instruction. And thus their Auditours, being informed, not only what parts of Religion have been received in all Ages and Countries, but what his particular Providence hath added in sequent times, may Glorifie him for both. Neverthelesse, if Popes shall be so farre from these charitable and temperate wayes, as they will still Intermix and trouble all things; if they shall confound and Joyne together the certaine, and the uncertaine, and compell Men equally to the belief of all they teach, ought not Princes in this case to prevent distractions? ought they not to extinguish Usurpations in Religion, and together, vindicate her from Errour and neglects? While in giving a due Lustre and Protection with the Temporall sword, they make her become more Reverend and Awfull. Which Duty also is so much more requisite in them, as it is not in the power of any else to performe it. Neither should wee feare, lest our Princes should grow too absolute hereby; When it is the most assured way for conserving, not the outward only, but inward Peace of this Kingdome. Nor that this Authority may be at length devolv'd to such as would abuse

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abuse it; there being a possibility of bad Popes, as well as bad Princes. And that *Incommodum non solvit Argumentum*. And thus Sir may all Innovation be taken away in Religion, and all defects restored by your Highnesse in your Dominions, without either suffering Sophistry or Pedantisme to be taught in stead of true Doctrine, or that the Hierarchy of your Kingdome should be devested from their antient Dignities and Rights. Since as your Highnesse pretends not to Create new Articles of Faith, they may continue still, to expound the old, in their severall kinds, and give light to the hard places in the Scripture, Read Divine Service, Administer Sacraments, and the like, and together, exhort men to Piety, Charity, Good life, Repentance, and what ever else may conduce to everlasting happinesse; Whereof also when the Pope would take such notice, as to confirme and approve our proceedings, wee might (if your Highnesse so pleas'd) returne that respect to him, as upon his publike Declaration, that he doth not only Ratifie our Confession of Faith, but relinquish all his preerences, which may Derogate from your Regall Authority, and behave himselfe (for the rest) *tanquam Communis Pater*, such points might be referr'd to him, as your Clergy could not conveniently determine, and his Dignity together, be so farre-forth acknowledged, as he might still retaine a Primacy, according to his antient Patriarchall Right, without Intermeddling yet with that Supremacy, which your Convocation-house hath already Decreed for your Highnesse: And now to come to the present question concerning the Divorce; I must say, I cannot find what the Pope should take ill. For is any thing done by our Arch-Bishop, but what, not only the Pope, himself, but the most famous Universities of Christendome have declared Lawfull? So that, if after six years suspension of the Cause, we have Determined the businesse, as himselfe confessed he would have done, but for feare of the Emperour; What offence can he take? will hee complaine, he is not able to doe us Justice, and yet be scandalized if it be done by others? or shall the Executing of what he thought reasonable, be Judg'd a fault, when the not executing thereof must (in all equity) have made us the greater Criminalls? Let us therefore, send to desire his consent; It hath been already Intimated unto us, that it was not so good to aske a Licence, as a Pardon, we will hope then from him a Confirmation of, the Arch-Bishop's Sentence. And thus both the one and the other Authority may be conserv'd, without that we should need to feare any Forreigne Invasion, as long as the generall Vote of our Kingdome shall establish what (in a sort) it hath agreed unto.

And to this opinion our King inclin'd; and so much the rather, that about this time the Popes Sentence against him, was openly set up at *Dunkirke* in *Flanders*; So that to prevent further Inconveniences, the King (as our Records shew) advised with his Counsell *December 2*. First, to informe his Subjects of his Appeale to the Councill Generall, and the Justice thereof. Secondly, of the unlawfulness

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of the Dowagers Appeal to *Rome*, and the late Statute against it, which sayd Statute was (for that purpose,) to be set upon every Church dore in *England*, as also his Majesties said Provocation or Appeale, whereof Trans-sumpts also were to be sent into *Flanders*.) Thirdly, to command it to be taught, that the Generall Councill is above the Pope, and that he hath no more Authority in *England* by Gods Law than any forraigne Bishop. Lastly, to send into *Germany*, to Confederate with the King of *Poland*, *John King of Hungary*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, of *Baviere*, the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, &c. as likewise the *Hanse-Teutonicke Townes*, being *Lubeck*, *Dansick*, *NoreMBERgh*, &c. These things being resolv'd on; for a finall Answer, hee desir'd the Bishop of *Paris*, to certifie *Francis*, That if the Pope would supersede from Executing his Sentence, untill hee had Indifferent Judges, who might heare the businesse, hee would also supersede of what he was deliberated to doe in withdrawing his Obedience from the Roman See. But the Bishop, who thought this alone not enough to reduce things into good termes, made an offer to Negotiate the businesse at *Rome*. Which our King gladly accepted, assuring him withall, that assoone as he had obtained what was demanded, he would send sufficient power and authority to confirme as much as was accorded on his part, as having intire confidence in his discretion and sufficiency, ever since his two years employment as Ambassadour in this Kingdome. Whereupon the Bishop, though in the Christmas-Holidaies, and an extreame Winter, posted to *Rome*. Where he came before any thing was done, more than what formerly past; And here obtaining a publicke Audience in the Consistory, hee Eloquently Declared our Kings Message, representing both what hee had obtained of our King, and shewing withall how advantageous it would be to the whole Church. Which so prevail'd that they prefixt a Day for receiving from our King, a Confirmation thereof. Infomuch, that a Currier was dispatched to King *Henry*, desiring his Answer within the time limited. But the terme being expired, and no Answer brought, the Pope resolved to proceed to Fulmination of the Sentence, which being advertis'd to *Bellay*, he repair'd to the Pope and Cardinalls (then sitting in full Consistory) desiring them to stay awhile, it being probable that the Currier, either through crosse winds, or other accidents in long Journeys, might be detain'd; concluding his Speech, that if the King of *England* had six years together been patient, they might attend six dayes; which space only, he desir'd them to give him, for the receiving of our Kings Answer; this proposition being put to the question, the plurality of Voyces carried it against our King, and the rather, that in this mean time, Newes came to *Rome* that the King had Printed and published the Book, written against the Popes Authority (which yet was untrue, for it came not forth till afterward, though it was not yet kept so close, but a Copy was now come to the Popes hands,) and that there was a Comedy represented at Court, to the no little defamation of certain Cardinalls. By reason whereof the Sentence

tence was so precipitated, that, what according to their usuall formes could not be done in lesse than three Consistories, was now dispatch'd in one. And so by a finall Determination (the Copy whereof is in Fox) the Marriage with Queen Katherine was Pronounced good, and King Henry commanded to accept her for his Wife, and in case of refusall Censures were fulminated against him. But two dayes of the six were not past, when the Currier arriv'd with ample Commission and Authority from our King to conclude and confirme all that the Bishop had agreed in his Name. Which was this, (as the Writer of the *Concilio Tridentino* hath it) That King Henry was content to accept the Judgement of that Court, upon condition that the suspected and Imperiall Cardinalls should not intervene, and that indifferent Persons should be sent to *Cambray* to be informed of the merits of the Cause; Giving Authority further for his Proctors to appeare in that Court. At which, the more wise and temperate Cardinalls were so astonish'd, that they became humble suppliants to the Pope, that hee would advise how all things might be repair'd; Whereupon the businesse was again discuss'd. But all Remedies being Judged either late, or impossible, the Sentence stood, and the Emperour was made the Executer of it; The Bishop now returning towards *France* met (as I find by our Records) *Edward Karne*, and *William Revet*, who was employ'd by our King for solliciting this important businesse. But as they understood by the Bishop, that the first Marriage was pronounced good, and the issue by it Legitimate, so they judg'd it lost labour to proceed, and advertis'd all to our King, who became so sensible of the Indignity wherewith hee was us'd in this important Affaire, that he separated himselfe from the Obedience of the Roman Church, but not from the Religion thereof (some few Articles only excepted) as shall appeare hereafter. And thus (according to the Relation of *Martin du Bellay*) did our King fall off. Who therefore in this present condition found nothing so fitting to be done, as to cherish the good affection of his subjects, who in a Parliamentary way he found did many wayes advance, and second his Designes. I shall for a conclusion, adde only the Censure of *Thuanus*, concerning our King in this businesse, *Certe in reliqua vita ita se gessit ille Rex, ut eum, si a quiores & prudentiores Pontifices Nactus fuisset, sponte se subiecturum ipsorum potestati fuisse appareret.*

The Emperour (now in *Spaine*,) being much troubled at the Interview at *Marseilles*, yet conniv'd at it, as hoping at least, the Pope would diswade *Francis* from favouring our King, or assisting the Protestant Princes. Therefore he did not much indeavour to hinder it; For as he knew the Pope was passionately affected to the advancement of his Kindred, so he Judged it lost labour to oppose him therein; since by ingrassing his Family now in *France*, as well as by his former Alliance with *Spaine*, he might hold himselfe secure on either hand. Neither did he think that Terrours could prevaile, at a time, when the Pope must know, there would be use of all the Imperiall Forces, against

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against the Turke, who besides that he threatned a generall Invasi^on, had now particularly besieged *Corron*, taken a yeare since by *Andrea Doria*, which a Spanish Garrison held till they were forc'd to leave it again to the Turke about *April 1534*.

I will come now to the businesse of our Parliament, holden this yeare from *Jan. 15*. till 30th of *March* next, wherein the Statutes were Enacted.

That the Prices of Victuals should not be inhanf^d without just ground and reason. If they were, then upon complaint thereof, the Lord Chancellour (and others, who had Authority given them here-in) should tax the said Victuals how they should be sold, either by the Owners or by Victuallers. Also that no Corne or Cattell bee carried beyond Sea without the Kings Lycence, unlesse either to *Calais*, *Guisnes*, *Hammes*, and their Marches, or for Victualling of Ships, &c.

That no Man Indicted of Murder, Burglary, or other Felony, and upon his Arraignment standing mute, to prevent the Proceffe of the Law against himselfe, shall have Benefit of his Clergy; But Law shall proceed against him for the crime whereof hee is Indicted, as if hee had pleaded to the same, and thereupon had been found guilty.

Buggery was made Felony.

Elizabeth Barton (call'd the *Holy-Maid of Kent*) and her Complices were attainted of High-Treason, for conspiring to slander the Divorce between the King and Queen *Katherine*, and the late Marriage between him and Queen *Anne*.

Because by the greedinesse of some, who have gotten into their hands much Cattell, and many Farmes, which they have turned from Tillage to Pasture (especially for Sheep) old Rents are rayfed, prices of things Inhanf^d, and so, much Poverty and Theft ensued; It was Enacted, that no Man should have in his own or Farmed lands above 2000 sheep (yet that every Temporall Person may keep upon his Inheritance as many as he will.) Secondly, that no Man shall take and hold above two Farmes at once, and those to be in the same Parish; upon certain Penalries there set down.

The Statute of *Henry 4th* concerning Heretiques was Repeal'd. And it was Enacted, that Sheriffs in their Turnes, and Stewards in their Leets may make Inquiry and Presentment of Heretiques; Who being by two Lawfull Witnesse accused, may be Cited and Arrested by an Ordinary, and being convict in open Court, shall abjure their Heresies, and refusing so to doe, or relapsing, shall be burnt.

Also the Statute of *Richard the third* permitting free importation of all kind of Bookes, was Repealed. And (for the benefit of our Book-binders) it was Enacted that no Book-seller should buy any Books bound beyond Sea; nor any (though unbound) of any stranger, but by engrosse. And if the Prices of Books chance to be raised above reason, the Lord Chancellour, Lord Treasurer, the chiefe Justice

Justice of either Bench, or any two of them shall moderate the same, upon a certain Penalty.

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Whereas the Clergy have truly acknowledged that the Convocation is alwayes assembled by the Kings Authority, and have promis'd his Majesty, that they will not henceforth make or allege any new Constitutions, without his Highnesse assent and Licence; And whereas divers Constitutions and Canons Provinciaall and Synodall heretofore Enacted, are thought to be Prejudiciall to the Kings Prerogative, and contrary to the Statutes of the Realme, and enormous to the People; and the said Clergy therefore hath humbly besought his Majesty that the said Constitutions and Canons may be committed to the Examination of thirty two men to be named by his Majesty, or 16 of both Houses of Parliament, and sixteen of the Clergy, who may annull or confirme the same, as they find cause; It is enacted that all Convocations shall be henceforth called by the Kings Writt, and that in them nothing shall be promulged or executed without his Highnesse Licence, under pain of Imprisonment of the Authors, and mulct at the Kings will. And that his Highnesse shall at his pleasure (seeing the time of this Parliament is too short) appoint thirty two men as aforesaid to survey the said Cannons and Constitutions, for the Confirmation or Abolition of the same.

And as concerning Appeales, they shall be made (according to the Statutes made the last yeare) from Inferiour Courts, to the Arch-Bishops, and for lack of Justice there, to the Kings Majesty in his Court of Chancery.

As concerning *Annates* used to be payd to *Rome* by Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, and Bulls and Palls to be had from thence, since there hath been heretofore an Act passed, and the Bishop of *Rome*, otherwise called Pope being Informed thereof, hath as yet devis'd no way with the Kings Highnesse for redresse of the same; his Highnesse hath now Confirm'd and Ratified the same Act, and every Article thereof, and the Parliament doth Enact the same, with this Addition, that from henceforth no Bishop shall be commended, presented or nominated by the Bishop of *Rome*, nor shall send thither to procure any Bulls or Palls, &c. but that at every vacarion of a Bishopricke, the King shall send to the Chapter of the Cathedrall a Licence (as of old hath been accustomed) to proceed to Election, which Election being deferr'd above twelve dayes next ensuing shall belong to the King, but being made within the time limited shall be held firme and good, and the Person so Elected, after certification of his Election to the Kings Highnesse, and Oath of fealty taken to him, shall be styled Bishop Elect; and so by his Majesty, bee commended to the Arch-Bishop of the Province, to be Invested and Consecrate. And if the Persons to whom this Election, or Consecration belongeth, neglect or refuse to performe the same, or admit, or execute any Censures, Interdictions, &c. to the contrary, they shall incurre the Penalty of the Law of *Premunire*.

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Whereas the People of this Land hath been much impoverished by the usurped Exactions of the Bishop of *Rome*, under the titles of *Peter-pence*, *Procuracion*, *Expedition of Bulls*, *Delegacies*, *Dispensations*, &c. It is enacted that such Impositions be no more payd; And that neither the Kings Highnesse, nor any subject of his, shall sue for any Dispensation, Faculty, *Delegacy*, &c. to the See of *Rome*, but that any such Dispensation, &c. for Causes not being contrary to the Law of God, which were wont to be had from *Rome*, may be now granted by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, as well to the Kings Highnesse, as to his subjects: but in those things which were not wont to be granted by the See of *Rome*, the said Arch-Bishop shall not meddle, without the Kings Licence. Provided, that all Dispensations, &c. whose Expedition at *Rome* came to foure pounds and upwards, shall be confirmed by the Kings Seale, and enrolled in Chancery, those below foure pounds passing under the Arch-Bishop's Seale only. That the Fees for these Dispensations shall be limited by the sayd Arch-Bishop, and the Lord Chancellour, and a part of the same (bee they great or small) shall alwayes come to the Kings hands. As for all Monasteries, Colleges, Hospitalls heretofore exempt, the King only, and not the Arch-Bishop should have Authority to visit them.

Lastly, upon the sute of the Parliament to the King for the establishing of the Succession to the Crowne (the uncertainty whereof hath caused heretofore great division and bloudshed in this Realme) It was enacted that the Kings Marriage with the Lady *Katherine*, Wife and carnally known to his Brother Prince *Arthur* (as was lawfully proved before *Thomas* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*) as contrary to Gods Law, shall be held voyd: and she stiled no more Queen, but Dowager to Prince *Arthur*, and the Matrimony with Queen *Anne* shall be taken for firme and good; and the Issue thence procreate bee accompted lawfull; the Inheritance of the Crowne to belong to the same in manner following, (*viz.*) First to the eldest Sonne begotten by the King on Queen *Anne*, and to the Heires of the said Son Lawfully begotten; and for default of such Heire, then to the second Son, &c. and if Queene *Anne* Decease without Issue Male, then the Crown to descend to the Sonne and Heire of the Kings Body lawfully begotten, and the Heires of the said Sonne Lawfully begotten, and for a default of such Issue, to the second Sonne in like manner, &c. And for default of Sonnes, that then the Crown shal belong to the Issue Female of the King by Queen *Anne*; and first to the first begotten the Princess *Elizabeth*, and to the Heirs of her body Lawfully begotten. And for default of such Issue, then to the second Daughter in like sort, &c. And for default of all such Issue, to the Right Heires of the Kings Highnesse. It was Ordained that this Act shall be proclam'd before *May* next throughout the Kingdome. And all Persons of age shall sweare to accept and maintain the same. They who refuse the Oath standing guilty of Misprision of High Treason; And they who speake or write against the Marriage or Succession

Succession here established, to bee adjudged Traitors.

Besides all this, the present Statute expressed certain Degrees of prohibited Marriage; (amongst which, that between the Brother and the brothers Wife, was one) which being against Gods Lawes, could not be Dispenced with by Man, and therefore no such Marriages shall hereafter be made; and those that are made already shall bee by the Ordinary dissolved, and those that are already so dissolved, shall bee esteemed justly and Lawfully dissolved, and the Issue thence proceeding Illegitimate.

The Parliament rising, Commissioners were sent abroad to require the Oath of Succession, which neverthelesse *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Sir Thomas More*, late Chancellour, denyed, yet so as they both professed a readinesse to sweare to the Succession, but not to the whole Act, (it containing divers other rhings. First, the indispen- sability of the first Marriage, as being against the Law of God. Se- condly, of the Legall proceeding in the Divorce by *Cranmer*. Thirdly, some touches against the Popes Authority, &c.) But which of these in particular offended them, they would not discover; Therefore though Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* told *Cromwell* it were not amisse to ac- cept the Oath as they offer'd it, both for satisfaction of the People, and the Dowager with her Daughter, and the Emperour, (who much relyed on these Mens Authority,) they yet refusing were sent to the Tower, where they continued till they were brought forth to their tryall and Death, as will appeare hereafter.

The Pope having proceeded in those Rigorous termes with our King (as is formerly mention'd) and for more Authorising his Sen- tence, made the Emperour Executour thereof, hoped now to have his Revenge, but he was deceiv'd. For though the Emperour did gladly accept this Overture, for his Aunt Queen *Katherines* sake, and the hope he had to dispose of the Princeesse *Mary*, as Inheritrix of the Crowne, yet as he had deeper designes, in aspiring to the Conquest of *Italy*, and indeed to an Univerfall Monarchy, Hee was no lesse glad of the occasion to take off our King from the Pope; Howsoever each side prepared for warre. The Emperour's intention was, to give the Prin- cesse *Mary* to some one, who upon her Title might pretend to the Crowne, whom therefore he promis'd to second. Our King and *Fran- cis* not ignorant of the Emperours designes, agreed on the other side, partly to joyn with the Duke of *Gueldres* for invading the adjoyning territories of *France*, and partly to renew the antient Claim to *Na- varre*, and assaile the Emperour in those quarters. Yet neither did that of the Emperour take effect, because there was no means to reco- ver the Person of the Princeesse *Mary*. Nor this of our Kings, because *Francis* employing his thoughts wholly on the Affaires of *Italy*, did not think fit to comply openly with one against whom the Pope had Fulminated. Howbeit, our King for defence of his Authority and se- cond Marriage, neglected not to obtain from the Parliament a confir- mation thereof, and of the Succession in that Line (as is mention'd

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before) sending also to Queen *Katherine* at *Bugden* neere *Huntingdon*, in sequence thereof, *Edward Arch-Bishop* of *Torke*, and *Cuthbert Tonstall*, Bishop of *Duresme*, to signifie unto her, that he tooke it ill that she still claimed the title of Queen, &c. the passages of which Negotiation I have thought fit to transcribe out of the Originall Record, as containing many materiall points concerning the whole frame of the businesse.

Their Letter to the King, was this.

Please it your Highnesse to understand, that this day we repaired to the Princeesse Dowager, and there I the Arch-Bishop of *Tork* for an Introduction to declare to her the effect of our Commission, sayd to her. First, that your Highnesse had often sent to her, divers of your Counsell, and amongst them mee, one, to declare unto her the invalidity of the Marriage, between your Highnesse and her. Secondly, that Carnall knowledge which is the great key of the matter is sufficiently proved in the Law, as also some that were of the Counsell do avow. Thirdly, that upon prooffe so sufficiently made of Carnall knowledge Divorce was made between your Highnesse and her. Fourthly, that upon Divorce made by Lawfull sentence, she was admonished to leave the name of a Queen, and not to account or call her selfe hereafter your Highnesse Wife. Fifthly, how that after your Highnesse was discharged of the Marriage made with her, you contracted new Marriage with your dearest Wife Queen *Anne*. Sixtly, that for so much as (thanked be God) faire Issue is already sprung of this Marriage, and more likely to follow, by Gods Grace, that the whole Body of your Realm gathered together in Parliament, hath for the stablishment of this Issue, by your dearest Wife Queen *Anne*, and the Succession comming of this Marriage, made Acts and Ordinances against all them that would in word or in deed withstand them, and that for these purposes, we were sent to her Grace, to the intent she might understand the true purpose of these Acts, with the paines; lest by Ignorance she should fall in any of them, and so I declar'd the Act. Which thing being thus declared to her, she being therewith in great Choler and Agony, and alwaies interrupting our words to the aforesaid points, made these Answers following. To the first, that she took the Matrimonie between your Highnesse and her for good, and so alwaies would account her selfe to be your Highnesse Lawfull Wife, in which opinion she said she would continually (till Death) persist. To the second, she utterly denied that ever Carnall knowledge was had between her and Prince *Arthur*, and that she would never confesse the contrary, and with lowd voice when mention was made of this point, she said, they Lyed falsly that so say'd. To the third, she answered, that she is not bound to stand to that Divorce made by my Lord of *Canterbury*, whom she called a Shaddow, and that although he had given sentence against her, yet the Pope had given sentence with her, whom she took for Christs Vicar, and therefore would alwaies obey

obey him, as his faithfull Daughter. To the fourth, she answer'd, that she would never leave the name of a Queen, and shee would alwaies take her selfe for your Highness Wife. To the fifth, she sayd, that this Marriage, made after her Appeale, which she made by your Highness leave and consent, is of no value. To the sixth, she answer'd, that she is not bound to the Acts of the Parliament, for so much as she is your Highness Wife, and not subject to your Highness, and also because these Acts were made by your Highness subjects in your favour, your Highness being partie in this matter; with divers other unseeming words. Unto which her Answer I the Bishop of *Duresme* replying, forasmuch as she had said in her communication that both I and the residue of her Counsell had alwaies shewed unto her, that her matter is Just and good; I sayd that all the question whereupon we were consulted at such time as the Legats were here, depended only upon the validity of the Bull and Breve, albeit I sayd, that sith that time divers other questions had risen and been debated by many Universities, the chiefe of Christendome, of which one was *Bononia*, the Popes owne Town; and by them concluded, that after the decease of the Brother, who had had carnall knowledge with his Wife, the Brother living might not Marry the said Wife by any Dispensation of the Pope, because it was forbidden by the Law of God. And forasmuch as the Pope (albeit the sayd conclusions have been by Learned Men sent from your Highness, declared unto him) never made answer to maintain Lawfully his power to the contrary, but rather in confirmation of the opinions of the sayd Universities, at *Marseilles*, that if your Grace would send a *Proxie* thither, hee would give the sentence for your Highness against her, because that he knew that your Cause was good and Just, which his saying was according also to an Epistle Decretall sent hither by the Legat *Campegius*, whereof the effect was, that if Marriage and carnall knowledge were had betwixt Prince *Arthur* and her, the Legates should pronounce for the Divorce, according whereunto proofes were brought in before the Legates, and also since, before the Convocations of this Realme, and the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and by them allowed, and approved as sufficient and Lawfull: whereby it doth plainly appeare, that the Sentence given by the Pope to the contrary was not vailable, because it pronounced the Dispensation, (which he had no power to grant, seeing it was against the Law of God) to be good; therefore I had now changed my former opinion, and exhorted her to do the semblable, and forbear to usurpe any more the Name of a Queen, specially for that the Sentence shee sticketh so greatly unto, was given after your Graces Appeale to the Councell Generall, and intimate to the Pope, so that it could not bee vailable. And that if she should so doe, she might thereby attaine much quietnesse for her selfe, and her friends, and that she being conformable so to doe, I doubted not but your Highness would suffer her to have about her such Persons as should be to her pleasure, and intreat her as your Graces most dearest Sister, with all liberty and pleasure,

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sure, with divers other things, which by her much enterlacing, I was forced to answer unto. The specialties whereof, and of her obstinacy, that she will in no wise, ne for any perill of her life or goods relinquish the name of a Queen, wee do remit for tediousnesse unto the wisedomes and discretions of my Lord of *Chester*, Mr. *Almoner*, and Master *Redell*, who like as they have very substantially, wisely, and effectually, ordered themselves in the Execution of the premisses, so we doubt not, but that they will sincerely report the circumstances of the same unto your Highnes, whom we beseech Almighty God long to preserve in much honour, to his pleasure, and your hearts desire. At *Huntington* the 21th day of *May*.

By your Highnesse most humble Subjects
Servants and Chaplaines.

Edward Ebor.

Cuthbert Duresme.

Notwithstanding which answers of the Princesse Dowager, such was the gentlenesse of our King, as betwixt the memory of his former love and pitty on her present condition, contenting himselfe to have dissolv'd her Family, and remov'd from her, all such as would not serve her as Princesse only; hee pass'd them over with much calmesse. Howbeit he resolved to punish rigorously her adherents, and particularly *Elizabeth Barton* (called the Holy Maid of *Kent*) who had almost stirred up more than one Tragedy; for being suborned long since by Monks, to use some strange gesticulations, and to exhibit divers feigned Miracles, accompanied with some Wisardly Unsoothsayings, she drew much credit and concourse to her, insomuch that no mean Persons, and among others *Warham*, late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas More*, gave some beliefe to her; so that notwithstanding the danger that was to give eare to a Prediction of hers, that *Henry VIII.* should not live one Moneth after his Marriage with Mistris *Bolen*, she was cryed up with many voyces, *Silvester Darius*, and *Antonio Pollioni*, the Popes Agents here, giving credit and countenance thereunto. But the Plot being at last discovered, she was attainted of Treason in the Parliament, and executed with her chiefe Complices shortly after. At which time also she confessed their names who had instigated her to these practises, and whom she had acquainted with her Revelations. Among whom were *More* and *Fisher*; whom yet the King Pardoned upon their severall submissions, not suffering the Bills to passe, which were put into the Parliament against them.

After many bickerings betwixt the English and Scottish, a Truce first, and afterwards a Peace was concluded betwixt our King and King James. On the King of Scots part *March 23.* came to London *William Stuart* Bishop of *Aberden*, *Robert Reid* Abbat of *Kinlos*, and *Adam Otterburne*, a Lawyer. To treat with these on our Kings behalfe, were appointed *T. Audley*, Chancellour; *Cromwell*, Secretary, and *Edward Fox* Almoner.

Dec. 18.
1533.
Hall.

Hall.
More
Apomaxis.
Novemb.

1533.
Jan. 15. 1534.
April 21

More, March 5.
Fisher,
Feb. 27. 1534.

1533.
Sept.
1534.
March 23.

April 12.

The

The Treaty was for perpetuall Peace, which was concluded *May 20.* during their joynt lives, and a yeare after, and sworne by King *Henry Aug. 2.* and by King *James, July 9.* It was also agreed, that King *Henry* shall redeliver to the King of Scots the Fortresse of *Edrington*, lately taken by the English, and the King of Scots shall not impute breach of Peace to King *Henry*, if he entertain *Archibald* Earle of *Angus* his Brother, or his Uncle, and if the said *Daglasses* should chance to Invade *Scotland*, Redresse should be made according to the Lawes of the Marches, and the Peace remain between the two Kings. Which that it might continue during their lives, as was then agreed, Queen *Margaret* by Letters sollicitated Queen *Anne* and *Cromwell* the Secretary. While this Peace was treated, I find by our Records the Lord *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolke*, was sent into *Scotland*, to carry King *James* the Order of *St. George*, whereunto hee was also accepted at *Windsor* the next year *July 28.* he had Instructions also to acquaint him, with an Interview intended betwixt our King and *Francis*, whereat he was intreated to be present, and for this purpose to passe through his Kingdome, that they both together might go to *Calais*; Which favour was acknowledg'd by *James*. But as the Interview in *France* was disappointed, so our King who desired much to conferre with his Nephew, invited him to *Tork*. Whereupon King *James* propos'd the businesse to his Counsell, who judging *New-Castle* to be the fitter place, made an excuse for the present, promising yet the yeare following to meet, if he so thought good. Neverthelesse, as our King well knew upon what ground this meeting was deferr'd, the Lord *William Howard*, and *William Barlow*, Elect Bishop of *St. Asaph*, were sent to make certaine Overtures and Propositions to that King, whereof in its due place.

This yeare *Charles* the Emperour being in *Spain*, intentive chiefly to the proceedings of the Turke; and his Brother *Ferdinand* in *Germany*, desirous to govern without home-opposition, such a Peace was accorded with the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and such favourable usage given the Protestant Princes, that the Pope complained openly of *Ferdinands* Partiality to them. But *Ferdinand* excused all with Reason of State. Which also the Pope accepted the rather, that the Anabaptists (who taught a Doctrine more contrary to Monarchy than the Lutherans) did then prevaile in many places, and particularly held *Munster* in *Westphalia*. So that because the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, promised to contribute some Forces to the besieging of that place, hee said hee had concluded an advantageous Peace. For as no man knew how farre the Innovations of these times might reach, it was thought to be of much importance, that they had drawn one side to oppose the other. In *France* also about this time, the Evangeliques began to take Root, though so covertly, that few durst openly avow it, yet as they found favour and Protection from *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, and *Anne* Dutchesse d'*Estampes*, So the King himself whether for deciding the Cause, or love of these two Ladies (whereof one

1534.
May 20.

July 4.

June 29.
Steid. l. 9.

Flor.
Ramund. l. 7.

1534.

Steid.
Com l. 7.

Novemb.

Dupleix
De Serv.

De Serv.

Sept. 26.

was his Sister, and the other his Favourite) refused not to conferre privatly with divers of the reformed, and to give some such tacite Assent to their Doctrines, as thereupon growing audacious, they adventured to set up Papers in the Court and publish Libels against the Church of *Rome* in such manner, as *Francis* being incensed thereat, caused the Authors to be sought out, and burnt. Not yet but that hee could have been content to have had some points reformed, and the Papall Authority diminished a little, but that hee feared it might cause a division in his Realme, as he saw it had done in the Empire. Therefore, following a violent course, and improper to convince those who are well perswaded of their Religion, hee condemned the Professours thereof to the fire. While yet on the other side (as the French Historians confesse) Hee entred into a League with the Turke, to the no little scandall of his own, and all the Christian Religion. But as this was not without some great Designe, so hee instituted certain Legionary Souldiers, or Regiments of Foot throughout *France*, to the number of 42000 Men, each of the Legions being compos'd of two thousand Harquebusiers, and foure thousand Pikes, and Halberdiers, who were Commanded by twelve Capitaines (having five hundred a piece) under six Collonels ; While to draw the People voluntarily to support this Charge, the King exempted the Gentry from the service they owed the Crown, by reason of their Tenures and Fees, and the Roturier or Pefant from all Impositions, saving twenty Sols apeice. Many good Ordinances also were made for the entertaining and ordering this Militia, Neither did the King misdoubt that the putting of Armes into so many of his Subjects hands would redound to his prejudice, or the People feare that their liberty should be oppressed thereby. So that it gave not only security at home, but reputation abroad ; All which was done, while the Emperour prepared for a Voyage to *Tunis*, the Relation whereof also, I shall set down in its due place.

This yeare upon the 26th of *September*, Pope *Clement* the VII took his end, For as he had been troubled long, with a weaknesse in his Stomack, which his Physitian *Curtio* advis'd him to Remedy by change of Dyet, so being not able in an infirme State to suffer such an alteration, hee funke under his Disease and dyed. This Pope was one, who having prov'd the variety of good and ill Fortune, more than any other of his sort, had learn'd at last to make use of all ; Hee was happy in his Interviews, as returning ever with some advantage, without that the committing himselfe to the power of those puissant Princes whom he met, did diminish his Authotity, in a time when they wanted neither will nor occasion to bring it lower. Hee was a passionate lover of the advancement of his Family, for which purpose also, hee sometimes chang'd the whole face of the Affairs of *Europe*. His Riches were rather in Jewells than money, as being more proper to dispose unto them he affected. Hee was provident enough in conducting all Affairs where Armes did not Intervene, but withall so time-

rous

rous, that it was reproached to him. The Historians of those times besides Note him to have been of little Faith. Both which properties seeme the more credible that he so often varied in his Treaties with our King. Insomuch that he may be thought for more than one Reason to have wilfully lost him. Into this Place succeeded *Alessandro* of the house of the *Farnesi*, as being by a full Conclave immediately Chosen, neither did his Age being 67. exempt him while every one thus might hope in his turne to succeed. Which opinion also hee so cunningly entertain'd, as he was thought to have used some Art to make himselfe thought still more sickly than he was.

Our King who still suspected that the Pope and Emperour had their Designs upon him, did now labour every where to hinder them, and strengthen himselfe. For which purpose also this occasion was given, *Frederic* King of *Denmarke* dying about this time, and leaving the Crown in competition between his Son *Christian* (yet a child) and *Frederic* Count *Palatine*, who had married *Dorothie*, elder Daughter to *Christiern* II, and the Emperours Sister, the *Lubekers* and *Hamburghers* offer'd our King for the summe of 100000 Crowns to make a King in that Country which should be at his devotion, and thereby exclude the Interest which the Emperour or his Neece had to that Crowne. Concerning which our King taking advice with his Counsell, It was thought fit to propose the businesse to *Francis*, both that our King might experiment his affection, (which he had lately found cold) and ease himselfe of the charge, the halfe whereof therefore hee desir'd *Francis* to support. But what answer *Francis* return'd, appears not, only I find by a Dutch-History, that a great summe of money, was lent by our King, whereupon also they proceeded in their warre, which yet at last being compos'd, our King demanded Repayment.

The Lord *Dacres* of the North (on the 9th of *July* as our Historians have it) was Arraigned at *Westminster* of High-Treason, but as the principall Witnesses produced against him by his accusers (*Sir Ralph Fenwick* and one *Musgrave*) were some mean and provoked Scottish men, so his Peeres acquitted him, as believing they not only spoke maliciously, but might be easily suborned against him, who as one (having been Warden of the Marches) by frequent Inroads had done much harme in that Country. And thus escaped that Lord to his no little honour, and his Judges, as giving example thereby how Persons of great quality, brought to their Tryall, are not so necessarily condemn'd, but that they sometimes may scape, when they obtaine an equall Hearing. The 11th of *August*, this yeare, our King, as hee was watchfull over the voice and affection of his People, so for the finding out how they would take his Designe of putting downe Religious Houses, began with the remove of some. And therefore suppressed at *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Richmont*, and other places the Observant Fryars noted to be the most clamorous against Him, and for them substituted the Augustines, placing the Observants again in the Room of the *Gray* Fryars, as some have it, though others mention

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Octob. 12.

Beneth.

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May 25.

July 9.

Holinsb.
Speed.

not

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Regn. 26.
Novemb. 3.

not this latter Exchange; Which passages though of no great moment, in regard of that which followed, our King was glad to find no worse interpreted, since they served to establish his Authority.

I shall come now to the Lawes Enacted in the Parliament held Novemb. 3. this yeare, which were important, and such as testified the great respect and awe born by our Nation unto their King.

The first was to this effect. That albeit the King was Supreme Head of the Church in *England*, and so recognised by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocations, yet for more corroboration thereof, as also for extirping all errors, heresies, and abuses of the same; It was Enacted that the King his Heirs and Successours, Kings of *England*, should be accepted and reputed the Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of *England* (called *Ecclesia Anglicana*) And have and enjoy united and annexed to the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme aswell the Title and Stile thereof, as all Honours, Dignities, Preeminences, Jurisdictions, Privileges, Authorities, Immunities, Profits, and Commodities to the said dignity of Supreme Head of the same Church belonging or appertaining. And that our said Sovereigne Lord his Heirs and Successours, Kings of this Realme, shall have full power and Authority from time to time, to visit and Represse, redresse, reforme, order, correct, restrain and amend, all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of Spirituall Authority or Jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the encrease of Vertue in Christs Religion, and for the conservation of the Peace, Unitie, and tranquillity of this Realme, any usage, custome, forreigne Lawes, forreigne Authority, prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding. Which Act, though much for the manutention of the Regall Authority, seem'd yet not to be suddenly approved by our King, nor before hee had consulted with his Counsell (who shewed him precedents of Kings of *England*, that had used this power) and with his Bishops, who having discussed the Point in their Convocations, Declared, That the Pope had no Jurisdiction warranted to him by Gods word in this Kingdome, Which also was seconded by the Universities, and by the subscriptions of the severall Colleges, and Religious-houses so farre as they bound their Successours thereunto. The particulars whereof are to be seen in our Records. Howsoever, the Businesse was both publicquely controverted in forreigne Countries, and defended here by many at this present, while they produced Arguments for rejecting the Popes Authority, and together maintained it necessary, that such a power should be extant in the Realme for supporting and strengthening of the Religion professed in it, and excluding the Impertinent and ill-grounded Reformations of many Sectaries of those times. The Arguments of all which, may be seen in the Kings Booke *De vera differentia Regia, & Ecclesiastica Potestatis* (which we have formerly

June 1.
Records.June 27.
Sept. 11.

formerly mentioned) as being Printed, and Published on this Occasion ; Whence also the learned Bishop *Andrews* in his *Tortura Torti*, seemes to have drawn divers Assertions of the Regall Authority, to which therefore the curious Reader may have further recourse.

It was also declared Treason to attempt, Imagine or speake evill against the King, Queen, or his Heirs, or to attempt to deprive them of their Dignity or Titles.

Also, that no Traitor shall have benefit of Sanctuary. And though he be out of the Realme, yet upon Commission given by the King for his Tryall, if he be found guilty by the Jury, the Law shall proceed against him, as effectually, as he were present.

An Act also made the last Parliament for an Oath to be taken by all the Kings subjects for the surety of the Succession by Queen *Anne* was now Confirmed, and the Oath prescribed, for the more validating whereof also, it was declared that all former Oaths concerning Succession taken by the Kings subjects, should be reputed thenceforth vain and annihilated.

That towards the Augmentation, maintenance and defence of the Kings Royall Estate and Dignity of Supreme Head, the First-fruits of all Benefices, Dignities, Offices, &c. Spirituall, shall be paid to his Highnesse. As also a yearly Revenue, being the Tenth part of all such Livings (the Prior and the Brethren of *St. Johns of Jerusalem* not excepted.)

Whereas also it was doubted, lest in these troublesome times some Commotion might follow in this Kingdome, and that particularly *wales*, as being a strong and fast Country might be a refuge for ill affected Persons, and the rather that there were so many Lordships Marches in those parts (the severall Lords whereof having ampler power than they now enjoy, did protect Offenders flying from one place to the other) Divers Lawes were enacted against Perjuries, Murders, Felonies in *wales* ; Passage over Severne also at unlawfull times was prohibited, and Clerkes convict in *wales*, not to be released till they found Sureties for their good abearing. Notwithstanding which, the yeare following upon mature deliberation, *wales* was united and incorporated totally unto the Crown of *England*, it being thought better to adopt that People into the same forme of Government with the English, than by keeping them under more severe and strict Lawes than others in the Island were subject unto, to hazard the alienating of their affections.

An Act also was made, declaring by whom, and in what manner Bishops Suffragans should be nominated and appointed, and what their Authority and Privileges should be.

And thus after a free and Generall Pardon from the King, enacted, the Parliament was prorogued. The Act of Supremacy being thus passed, the King proceeded more confidently to abolish by Proclamation, the Popes Authority out of his Kingdome, and establish his own, the Doctrine whereof hee commanded not only to be often Preached

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Preached in the most frequent Auditories, but taught even to little children, injoyning further that the Popes name should be razed out of all books, his Resolution being after this time to treat with him no otherwise than as an ordinary Bishop, In sequence whereof also, hee not only proceeded with an high hand against all the opposers of his Supremacy, (as shall be related in its due place) but accepted a voluntary Oath or promise, under their hands and Seale from his Bishops, declaring their acknowledgement of the same, together with Renunciation of the Popes pretended Authority, and any Oath or promise made to him heretofore. The forme of this Oath or promise given by *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Febr. 10th*, 1535, may be seen in *Fox*, to which we remit the Reader.

Feb. 10.

1535.

1535.

Mar. Bell. 1.4.

Record.

IN the beginning of this yeare *Philip Chabot Seigneur de Bryon*, Admirall of *France*, being sent to our King, acquainted him how the Count of *Nassau* had been on the Emperours part with the King his Master, and among other Overtures of agreement, proposed to him two Marriages; to which yet he would returne no answer without our Kings advice. One, was betwixt the *Dolphin* and the Princeesse *Mary* our Kings Daughter (which also *Bellay* mentions, adding that notwithstanding, the instances which *Francis* made, the Emperour would not declare his further intentions herein;) the other was betwixt the Emperours Sonne and the French Kings youngest Daughter. To which points as also some others here following, our King commanded his Agents in *France* to return this answer. That he marvelld much at the Emperours malice, in meddling with things which belong'd not to him; and therefore desired *Francis* to surcease this Treaty, since hee knew well enough how to keep his Daughter out of the Emperours reach. Secondly, he commanded them to tell *Francis* that the Emperours intention (Notwithstanding all his promises) was to divide him first from his League with *England*, and afterwards disappoint him; for though he had understood by the said *Bryon*, that the Emperour upon some conditions had offer'd to *Francis* (for one of his Sonnes) a Pension of a hundred thousand Crownes, payable yearly out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and *Milan* it selfe after the death of *Sforza*, hee desired him to give no credit to such improbabilities. And, here, I must observe that *Bellay* who speaks of the Pension, saith nothing of the Dutchy it selfe, so that it may be that *Bryon* stretched this point. And whereas the said *Bryon* had told him these things should be Treated of by the two Sisters, Queen *Leonora*, Wife to *Francis*, and *Mary*, the Widow of *Hungary*, (now Regent of the Low-Countries, who, I find by the Spanish History did afterwards meet at *Cambray*) Hee thought hee disparag'd this Businesse, to commit it to Women. After these points, and some others (which as they followed not, I spare to reherse) he commanded them to intreat *Francis* to procure a Revocation of the Censures of *Clement* late Pope against him. And to tell him, that he would send Commissioners shortly to

treat

treat of a Match betwixt the Duke of *Angoulesme* (his third sonne) and the Princeesse *Elizabeth* our Kings Daughter, which should bee more advantageous than the Emperours Offer. Whereupon, this year in *May*, our King who knew there was no so good way, to prevent the danger on the part of *Scotland*, as by taking off the French, and besides would have been glad that the Popes Censures were retracted, sent the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Bishop of *Ely*, *Sir William Fitz-William*, and Doctor *Fox*, to Treat with the French Kings Commissioners, being *Philip Chabot* Admirall, and *Guillaume de Poyet* afterwards Chancellour of *France*, to this effect, as I find by their Instructions.

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May.

To require *Francis* together with his Children, as also his Spirituall and Temporall Nobility, to enter into bond to revoke the Censures given at *Rome*, (which I conceive had his Original from some proposition which *Francis* made of Reconcilement with the Pope.) That hee, his Nobility and Universities should declare the late Marriage to bee good, and bind themselves to maintain the same, which if granted, then to proceed to the Treaty of Marriage, upon certain conditions, whereof these are the Principall.

That all former Treaties shall stand in force. That when the Parties came to sufficient years they should ratifie the Marriage. That *Monsieur de Angoulesme* should be presently sent to our King to bee brought up in *England*. That if hee succeeded to the Crowne, the Dutchy of *Angoulesme* should be free from homage to the French Kings. That he should not change the Lawes of the Realme, and that sufficient security and caution should be given for this purpose. But some of these being thought to be high demands, our King sent shortly after *George Bolen* Lord *Rochford* with power to modifie and allay some points, yet so as Hee insisted still, *Francis* should bind himselfe and his three sons to revoke the Censures. And to declare, that it was enough if the Duke of *Angoulesme* came hither when the Espousalls were to be made. At last by third Instructions our King said, he was content to accept the single Bond of *Francis* for Revocation of the Censures, and that he was pleas'd that the Duke of *Angoulesme* came six Moneths only before the compleat Marriage. To the first of which points the French Commissioners agreed, but the latter they refus'd, affirming that it was sufficient, if the young Duke came to consummate the Marriage. This while *Sir John Vvallop* (Ambassador in *France*) being commanded to propose the same Conditions to *Francis*, was so sharply answer'd, that our Commissioners resented it. Neverthelesse as some Articles were agreed on the part of the French Commissioners: so they again demanded what help our King would give to the King their Master towards the recovery of his Mothers Land in *Savoy*. Whereupon, as also about the Pension usually paid to our King, some wrangling words were interchang'd, while wee demanding that which was in Arreare, they desired to be exonerated of the whole; And thus the Treaty remained imperfect; yet so as I find

June.

June 6.

by

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May 14.

by a Letter of Sir *Gregory Casalis*, how *Francis* had propos'd this Revocation with much earnestnesse, and not a few threats unto the new Pope. Though as *Paulus III.* was by nature slow (as *Casalis* observes) and that the Emperour, besides, had his designs in *Scotland* and *Ireland* at that time against our King, so no effect followed. For which yet none suffer'd so much as the Pope himself, It being certain our King hitherto passionatly desir'd to be, if not reintegrated, yet at least in good termes with the Roman Church, as far as with his dignity he might.

Sandoval.

1533.

1534.

Sand.

Aug 1.

1534.

Aug. 7.

Aug. 22.

1534.

Sand.

Nov. 14.

1534.

Sandoval.

This while, *Haradin Barbaroxa* King of *Argel*, that famous Pyrate (who for commanding in an unbounded and higher Element than the Earth gloried in some sort to be superiour to the Princes thereof) obtained the Kingdome of *Tunis*, so true is the antient Verse, *Ille Crucem pretium Sceleris tulit, hic Diadema*. This man being sent for, by *Solyman*, and constituted Admirall in the Spring 1534, with 100 sayle of all sorts; 8800 souldiers, and 800000 Duckats, began his expedition for Christendome the same day that *Solyman* undertooke his for *Persia*. His principall designe was upon *Genoua*, as being incited thereunto by *Francis*, as the Spanish History hath it; In his way to which, he burnt or took many ships in *Sicily* and *Italy*, sacking divers Towns, and making many Captives; yet as he knew all this would not be such a Prize for *Solyman* as the beautifull *Julia Gonzaga*, Hee commanded two thousand Turks to land by night, and seize on her Person, being then in *Fundi* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, but she halfe naked escaped them. Some difficulties yet appearing about the design of *Genoua*, *Barbaroxa* makes for *Tunis*, which at last between Stratagem and force hee tooke 22 Aug. 1534, and made himselfe King thereof, *Muley Hazem* the true Prince flying for his more security unto the Mountaines. Which being advertis'd to the Emperour, hee thought fit to prevaile himselfe of the occasion. As hoping that *Solymans* being in *Persia*, and the troubles, and confusions, which are incident to unsetled and usurped Governments, would make his designe easie. And as hee was one who knew the use of Spies in any great enterprise, hee descended so low, as to give particular Instructions to one *Luys Presendes* a Genouese well acquainted with *Africa*, which are at large set down by *Sandoval*. The effect of which were, That he should have certain moneys given him, wherewith he should buy a ship and commodities to Traffique with *Tunis*, and by those meanes insinuate himselfe into the acquaintance of the principall Persons both in the Town, and about *Barbaroxa*, and therupon either to make a Party with the discontented Citizens, with whom the Emperor might Joyn, or else to penetrate the designs of *Barbaroxa*; For which purpose also he had liberty, & Letters of Credence to make himself Ambassadour and Negotiate with *Barbaroxa*, when he thought it expedient for the Emperours service to proceed that way; Giving him Authority further, to promise assistance to *Barbaroxa* for the Conquest of *Africa*, when he might be drawn to depend on the Emperour. But whether through want of dexterity to use such different Instructions, or that other-

otherwise another who was privy to his Imployment, did discover him (which some affirme) he was seiz'd on by *Barbaroxa* and put to death. Which being related unto the Emperour did but hasten his Expedition, wherein he resolv'd to goe in Person.

This while, *Francis*, who was intire to the Actions of the Emperour, both as himselfe had his designs in *Italy*, at that time, and that he had entred into a secret League with the Turke, thought fit to acquaint *Barbaroxa* therewith, by the means of one *Monsieur de Forrest* a French-man, who from thence was commanded to go to *Constantinople*, and procure succours for him; the successe whereof wee shall tell hereafter; And now the Emperour being assisted by the Pope, and *John* King of *Portugall*, and attended by *Don Luys*, Son to the said *John*, *Andrea Doria*, and the prime Nobilitie of *Spaine*, set sayle from *Barcelona*, May 13. and come to *Calari* in *Sardinia*, departed thence 13 of June 1535. with twenty five thousand Foot, and about two thousand Horse, besides the Nobilitie and Adventurers, and ten thousand Seamen. All which being carried in two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Sayle, came before *Goleta*, a Fort of sixty paces one way, and sixty five the other, situate on a strait at the Mouth of the Lake or Bay within which *Tuniz* stands. Which place, though defended bravely, was at last taken, together with a great part of the Fleet of *Barbaroxa*. After which, the Emperour leaving the Lake on the left hand, Marched to *Tuniz* (where *Barbaroxa* was) being a City of about ten thousand Houses, and three Leagues South from *Goleta*. But certain Slaves whom the Moores intended to burne with their Prison, escaping out of it and taking Armes at the same time that the Forces which *Barbaroxa* sent to defend the Passage were routed by the Imperialists, *Barbaroxa* with about seven thousand men, and much riches, fled out of the Towne, quitting his Raigne so, after that hee had enjoyed it not a full yeare; some of the Townes-men hereupon comming to the Emperour, and acquainting him Herewith, *Muley Hazem* interceded with the Emperour, that two houres space might be given before he permitted the Army to enter, alleging for this purpose also some probable inducements; When yet the crafty Moore, intended nothing thereby, but the gaining so much time for the Towns-men to hide their most pretious riches, from the rapine of the souldiers; To which purpose also, hee gave them privat warning. The Emperour, at last, entering, and together giving Liberty to many Slaves, restored it to *Muley Hazem* upon these Conditions. That hee should suffer him to retaine *Goleta*, *Bona*, *Vizerta*, and some other places belonging to the Kingdome of *Tunez*. That certaine Churches for Christians should bee allowed. That hee shall no more make Christians Slaves, or protect Pyrats, from whom that King drew a great Revenue, being a fifth of all they tooke. And now *Charles* finding no more to bee done in those parts, the yeare being farre spent, and his men sicke of Calentures, and being not ignorant besides, of the

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designes

1535.

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July 14.

July 20.

July 21.

Aug. 6.

1535.

Aug. 28.

designes of *Francis* in *Italy*, came to *Trapaca* in *Sicily* the twentieth of *August* 1535. from whence hee went shortly to *Naples*.

During this Expedition *Francis* fell sicke, the supposed cause whereof (as I find by our Records) was, a grieve hee tooke, that a servant of *Monsieur de Forrest*, returning with a Dispatch concerning his Negotiation with the Turk, was intercepted by the Duke of *Urbino*, and all the Treaty by this means, discovered to the Emperour; yet, at length taking Heart, and recovering he sent our King word therof, who thereupon commanded a solempne Procession to be made in *London*.

Nov.

While the Emperour was at *Tunez*, *Francis* having provided a great Army under the Command of *Philip Chabot*, Admirall of *France*, sent to his Uncle *Charles*, Duke of *Savoy*, for passage through his Country, giving out that he desired it only, to Revenge the death of his Ambassadour *Merveilles* upon *Francesco Sforza*. But the Duke conscious that he had lent Money heretofore to *Bourbon*, and bought lately the Contado of *Asti* (belonging to the House of *Orleans*) of the Emperour, and besides, had accepted the Emperours Order, when he refused the French, wanted not occasion to suspect the entrance of so potent an Army into his Country. Therefore he denied Passage. Whereupon *Francis* incensed, sends to require of the Duke the Inheritance, falling to him by *Louise* of *Savoy* his Mother. Demanding also restitution of a great part of *Piemont*, and the Marquisat of *Saluzzes* as belonging antiently to the Counties of *Provence* and *Dauphine*, and Seignory of *Arles*. The Duke (as being allied to *Charles*, by his Wife *Beatrix*, Sister to *Isabella* the Empresse) sends to him for Ayde, being now in *Sicily*, and to induce him hereunto, he offer'd to give him all the Lands, he held on this side the Mountaines in exchange for so much in *Italy*. This being reported to *Francis*, inrag'd him so much the more against the Duke, so that hee commanded his Army to enter *Savoy*; whereof in his place.

Dupleix.

G. Bellag.

Charles seeing these preparations of *Francis*, and being unable for the present to resist them (his Army being return'd sick & much weakened from *Tunez*) for gaining of time, thought fit to renew the Propositions of Alliance and Accord, formerly mention'd to *Francis*. Not omitting the while to Leavy Forces in *Germany*. Neither did hee thinke to find any so strong opposition in *Francis*, as long as he hoped that hee had given our King enough to doe in the parts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. But as that of *Scotland* by our Kings industry tooke no effect, so that of *Ireland* was prevented, as by this Narration drawne chiefly out of our Records may appeare.

1530.

campion.

The Earle of *Kildare* being (as is abovesaid) now restor'd again to his Liberty and Pardoned, return'd into *Ireland*, conducted by Sir *William Skiffington*, Master of the Kings Ordnance, who was also made Deputy there about 1530. and *Osborey* displac'd. But some stirs arising, which *Skiffington* was not able to quiet, the King thought fit to reinplace *Kildare*, as a man much esteemed by his Country-men. Thus was Hee made Deputy in *Ireland* again about 1532, where hee pacified

pacified the Country, and *May 19. 1533.* under the Title of Deputy to *Henry Duke of Richmond and Sommerſet*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, held a Parliament at *Dublin*. But the old grudges between his family and *Oſſorei's*, beginning to break out anew, and himſelfe being accused to have invited *ONeale* and others to ſpoile the Countries of *Oſſorey*, not without ſuſpition of further deſigne, he was ſent for by our King, with command to ſubſtitute at his departure ſome able Man, who might govern during his abſence. This charge was committed to *Thomas* his eldeſt ſonne. Who ſhortly after (hearing that his Father was convicted and to be put to death in *England*) roſe up in Armes, and combining with *O Neale, O Carol, &c.* of the Irish Nobility, committed divers outrages, and particularly *July 26. 1534.* Murder'd Doctor *John Allen* Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*, heretofore *woolſey's* Chaplain and Commiſſarie, and forced the Citizens of *Dublin* to take Truce with him till Michaelmas, and in the mean time to admit ſome Bands of his men, into the City, to lay ſiege to the Caſtle; (which was defended againſt Him,) while himſelfe with the reſt of his Army depopulated the Country of *Oſſorey*. The News wherof being brought into *England*, the old Earle then in Priſon, died as is thought of griefe, and the King appointed *Sir William Skeffington* by the name of Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, under the Lieutenant thereof, the Duke of *Richmont*, with a well-provided Army to ſuppreſſe the Rebell. For though ſome of the Irish Nobility ſtood firme to our King, and particularly the Earle of *Oſſorey*, and his ſon *James Lord Butler*, whom *Fitz-gerald* had in vain ſollicited; yet they were not able to make Head againſt him. And here it is remarkable how politiquely that Family ſtrove to preſerve it ſelfe. For though three of five Brothers of the late Earle of *Kildare* were againſt our King, two others offer'd their ſervice to him. Who yet (as it was danger either to receive or reſuſe them) were but coldly welcomm'd. Michaelmas now approaching, (when the Truce with *Kildare* expired) *Francis Herbert* having been ſent from *Dublin* at the beginning of theſe Stirs, to give notice thereof to King *Henry*, returned with a comfortable promiſe of Succours, and a command to defend themſelves; Whereupon the Citizens ſuddenly laying hold on the Rebels, who beſieged the Caſtle, ſhut their gates, and ſtood upon their guard. Which *Fitz-gerald* underſtanding, comes, with an Army of 15000, and aſſailed the City, which yet was ſtoutly maintained, by the Townſmen, and particularly by *Francis Herbert*, who behaved himſelfe ſo well, that as I find by ſeverall Originall Diſpatches of *Finglas*, Chiefe Juſtice of *Ireland* Dated in November 1534, the City by his Politique and manfull defence was preſerved; Inſomuch, that if he had tarry'd three dayes longer, it was ſaid, both it and the Caſtle had been loſt. I find alſo by their Originall Diſpatches, dated in the ſame Moneth, that he ſhot and kill'd twenty foure of the Rebels with his own hand, whereof twenty in one day. For which ſervice alſo, he was afterward made Knight, and one of the Kings Counſell in *Ireland*. Notwithſtanding which, as he was ſingle,

1535.
Irish Stat.
xxv. H. VIII.

June 11.
1534.

August.
Hollins.

Sept. 24.
Hollins.
Records

Records.

1535.
October 14.

October 16.

October.

Dec. 14.

Records.

Dec. 26.

Nov. 30.

and the City much pressed by *Kildare*, who had intercepted all Victuals, Water and Fewell, so at last they were enforced to Treat upon certain Conditions, which were, That the Citizens should set at liberty such of his men, as they had taken, and labour to procure his Pardon of the King, within sixteen weeks; And he on the other side should desist from Hostility, during the said space, and redeliver their Children. Being thus departed from *Dublin*; two daies after, Sir *William Skeffington* arriving on the coast of *Ireland* with his Army, a false Report came, that the City was yeelded, whereupon a Council of Warre being assembled, the resolution was, that *John Salisbury* and Sir *William Brereton* (two of the Captaines newly come over) should be sent to *Dublin* with some Forces being about five hundred men, to relieve it (if it were possible,) and that the Lord Deputy should set sayle for *Waterford*, where, about the same time, Sir *John Saintlo*, and Sir *Rice Mansell*, landed with five hundred Souldiers; who, joyning with the Earle of *Offorey*, spoiled the Country of *Kildare*; While *Brereton* and *Salisbury* comming, during the aforefaid Truce, enter'd the Town without any difficulty, where also they resolved to proceed hostilly against *Kildare*, as having during this respite, destroyed some part of the Country adjoyning, contrary to his Promise. While Affaires passed thus, the Generalls on either side made use of the time. For as *Kildare* sent to the Emperour for obtaining supplies, (in which businesse a servant of the Earle of *Desmond*, in whom the Emperour had a speciall confidence, was employ'd) so the Lord Deputy (being now come to *Dublin*) Treated with the Nobility, to discover their Affection, as not knowing otherwise, how to forme a Party amongst them, on which he might rely. For which purpose also he thought it not amisse to conclude a Truce with *Kildare*, untill the fifth of *January*. *Kildare* in the meane time encouraging his Souldiers with hope of Succours from *Spaine*. The assurance whereof being brought him by the Earle of *Desmond's* servant, He forgot not to write unto the Pope, complaining of our Kings defection from the Roman Catholique faith, and together desiring that he might hold the Kingdome of *Ireland* from that See upon payment of a yearly Tribute. In these uncertainties, Sir *John Allen* Knight, formerly Secretary to the Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, now Master of the Rolls there, a dexterous Person, gave the King this advice; That he should quickly publish, whether he would Pardon *Kildare*, and so save charges, or otherwise prosecute warre against him; since he said, that untill this were declared, the Gentry of *Ireland* durst not oppose *Kildare*; as fearing that when he were restored, hee would Revenge himselfe on all those who oppos'd him. In the meanwhile, the Earle of *Desmond* dying, leaves his Estate Litigious betwixt his Brother and Grand-child. The Truce now expiring, our Army (which took some few places at their first landing, and made some light skirmishes,) lay idle for the most part. Insomuch that having gotten *Kildare* Castle, they suffer'd it to be lost again. At last, being

comman-

commanded to proceed, the Lord Deputie in *March* following, took *Maynoth* or *Mynwoh* Castle onely fortified and defended by a hundred of the chiefeſt ſervants and ſouldiers of *Kildare*. Which place our Records ſay was gotten by Battery & Affault, ſo that *Hollinshed* ſeems to be miſtaken when he writes it was betrayed by one *Pareſe*, Foſter-Brother to *Fitz-gerald*, the Garrifon being by him made drunke, the night preceding, and that for this Treacherie, inſtead of Reward, the Deputie commanded him to be hanged. And further our Records tell us, that one of the ſaid Garrifon depoſed, that the Emperour had promiſ'd to ſend thither 10000 Men, but that the King of Scots had aſſured them of Ayd; Armes in the mean time being brought in a great quantity from *Flanders*, and other places. Some defeats alſo were given to thoſe Troopes of the Rebels which appear'd. Nevertheſſe as they daily increaſed, and *Skeffington* was old, weak and ſlow in all his Enterpriſes, the Lord *Leonard Gray*, Brother to the Marquis *Dorſet*, though allyed to *Kildare*, was (under the Duke of *Richmont*, who dyed ſhortly after) Authorized to execute the Place of Deputy Lieutenant in *Ireland* to the no little grieve and diſcontentment of *Skeffington*. Whereof *Kildare* being advertiſ'd, and for the reſt finding himſelfe reduced to ſome neceſſity, by the delay of the Emperour, and uncertainty he found in ſome of his Complices, thought fit to yeeld himſelfe to the Kings Mercy, yet ſo as the Lord *Gray* together with the other Commanders promiſ'd to intercede effectually with the King in his behalfe. Which I find they perform'd, and particularly the Lord *Gray*, whoſe Siſter the old Earle had Married. And thus *Kildare* was brought by the Lord *Gray* to *London*, and his five Uncles not long after, where, upon examination, the buſineſſe being found to merit puniſhment, they were at laſt Executed. Notwithſtanding the earneſt mediation of the Lord *Gray* and others. And now theſe troubles of *Ireland* being ended, our King commanded the Deputy to make Peace with *O Neale* for a yeare or two, and together to ſummon a Parliament, both for giving order to thoſe grievances whereof the *Irish* complained, and for ſettling the Buſineſſe of Supremacy and Succeſſion, in that forme it was eſtabliſh'd in *England*. Whereupon it was aſſembled *May 1. 1536.* And in it the Acts of Succeſſion, of Supremacy, of Firſt Fruits, Againſt Appeals to *Rome*, &c. as alſo an Act for the Attainder of the late Earle of *Kildare* and his Complices were paſſed. And becauſe the King had ſpent in this Warre forty thouſand pounds, he demanded together with a preſent ſatiſfaction for his charges, a yearly Revenue for the future, which the Lords Spirituall and Temporall accorded in great part, the Clergy particularly giving him a twentieth part of their yearly Rents, firſt for ten years following, and at laſt for ever. And thus the Parliament was prorogued till the year following.

The Supremacy being (as is above-ſaid) Inveſted in the King, by the Approbation of his Parliament. The Universities and Biſhops of this Kingdome did not a little ſecond him; (And particularly

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Stephen

1535.

1535.
March 23.

June 22.

Auguſt.

1537.
Feb. 3.May 1.
1536.
Feb. 28.

Irish Stat.

Nov. 3.
1534.
Fox.

1535.

May 23.
1536.June 14.
1536.July 15.
Records.

1537.

July 26.
1536.

Stephen Gardener, whose Latin Sermon, *De vera Obedientia*, to this purpose, with the Preface of Doctor *Bonner* (Arch-Deacon of *Lichfield*, and about these times Ambassadour with the King of *Denmark*) being yet extant in Print, and by *John Fox* digested to a summe) I shall not mention otherwise; my intention being not (in a History) to discusse Theologicall matters, as holding it sufficient to have pointed at the places where they are controverted, as farre as the notice of them is come to me. Notwithstanding, as our King desir'd to give and receive all satisfaction herein, so knowing that the esteem of *Reginald Poole* was great in forreigne Countries, and especially in *Italy*, where he now lived at *Padoua*; Hee sent unto him, desiring his Opinion of his late Actions freely, and in few words; Whereupon *Poole* Writes, and dispatches to him, his booke *De Unione Ecclesiastica*, inveighing therein against the Kings Supremacy, as also against his new Marriage, and Divorce of Queen *Katherine*; exciting the Emperour to Revenge the injury offer'd her, concluding with an advice to *Henry* to reconcile himselfe to the Catholique Church, and the Pope as head thereof. Our King having perused this, and knowing it could not long lye hid in *Italy*, (though *Poole* had promis'd not to publish it,) sends for him by Post to come into *England*, to explaine some passages thereof. But *Poole* knowing that it was declared Treason there, to deny the King the Title of Supreme head, which he had principally intended in his Booke, refused, desiring the King neverthelesse, as being now freed from her, who had been the occasion of all this, to take hold of the present time, and to reintegrate himselfe with the Pope, and accept the Councill now summon'd, whereby, he might have the honour of being the cause of a Reformation of the Church in Doctrine and Manners, and that otherwise he would be in great danger. Hee wrote also to *Cuthbert Tonstall* Bishop of *Duresme* to incline the King hereunto. But this Bishop (as appears in our Records) reproving him for the bitternesse of his Booke, and counselling him to burn the Originall, denies that King *Henry* hath separated himselfe from the Roman Church, but only freed himselfe from the unjust usurpations of the Bishops of that See. (And to this purpose, another large Letter joyntly written, after, from the Bishops of *Duresme* and *London* may be seen in *Fox*.) But *Poole* being at this time, invited to *Rome* by the Pope, and utterly refusing to burn a Catholique Booke (as hee said) like an Heretique, our King hastned the publishing at home of a Declaration, called the Bishops Booke, signed by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, and Nineteen other Bishops, Wherein is alleged out of Antient Histories and Councils, how many Hundred years had past, before the Pope took on him this superiority over other Bishops, and that it was contrary to the Oath given, when any of them enters the Papacy; Which is, that they shall observe and keepe inviolably the first eight Councils, that Decree a limited power to all Bishops, and particularly the first Council of *Constantinople*, which both excludes forreigne Jurisdiction every where, and allowes

Bishops

Bishops within their severall Diocesses, an absolute power to determine Controversies arising within their Precincts; And together shewes how the Papall Authority was first derived from the Emperours of those times, and not from Christ, whose Kingdome they said was Spirituall and not Carnall; setting forth this doctrine further by Arguments drawn from Holy Scriptures and some Fathers. But to return to 1535. Neither the Example of others which subscribed, nor the Terroure of the Statute could hinder divers Religious Persons to continue in their former Opinions. Infomuch, that they openly spake against the Kings Supremacy. Which being made known, caused him to advise with his Counsell concerning their punishment, Some indeed thought that Imprisonment, Banishment, or the like, was chastisement enough for those, who confessing the Kings Supreme Authority in all Temporall matters, did out of scrupulosity, rather than Malice impugne the rest. But when it was objected, again, both that the Number was too great for either of those punishments, and that the Law having made the Offence to be death, it was not safe to go lesse, especially when some exemplary Justice might contain the rest in Obedience. Our King who needed now no motive to severity, resolved to proceed Legally against them. Therefore some Priors, and other Ecclesiasticall Persons, that were criminall in this kind, being found guilty of the Statute, and this year condemned, as Traitors were executed, being the first that suffered in this kind. This piece of Justice was not yet grown so familiar to our King, but that it troubled him much, for he would have been glad not to be compell'd to such violent courses; Therefore hee not only mourned inwardly, but caused his head to be Polld, and his Beard formerly shaven, to be cut round, though others facetiously interpret it to be nothing else, than the putting upon a new Dignity, a new countenance; But if hee proceeded thus rigorously against the Opposers of his Supremacy, he did no lesse punish the many pretended Reformers or Contradictors of the Roman Catholique Religion. Therefore, as the last yeare hee had condemned *John Frith* a Sacramentary to the fire, so hee now caused divers *Hollanders* in *London*, who had devised some different Opinions by themselves, concerning certain Articles of Christian Religion, to be burnt in *Smithfield*. Shortly after which, again, some others were executed for denying the Supremacy. So that on both sides it grew a bloody time. Only, as our King found the terroures already given, did not suffice to keep the rest in awe, he resolved to make some great Examples.

Therefore, he layd Hand on *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, who having been imprisoned now a years space, for refusing to sweare to the Act of Succession, and attainted therefore by Parliament, was now urged with the Supremacy; Which hee disallowing (as having not given his voluntary Oath or promise thereunto the last yeare, together with other Bishops) incurr'd the danger of the Law. Which also was taken the worse, that in the Convocation 1530. hee had yeelded

1535.

May 4.

Sanders
Schism. Angl.

July 22
1534.

May 25.
June 18.

Apr. 1534.
Nov. 1534.

May 7.

1535.

May 21.

June 22.

yeelded the Title of *Supremum Caput Ecclesie Anglicane quantum per Christi Legem licet*. Yet as the Pope for more confirming him in his Opinion, had declared him Cardinall of St. *Vitale* during his said restraint (though he professed that if the Hat lay at his Feet, he would not stoop to take it up.) So our King understanding thereof was much more incensed, both as the Pope had conferr'd his most eminent honours on a Man kept by him in Prison, and guilty of the highest punishment his Lawes could inflict, and as hee knew of what consequence it would be, if his subjects were thus encourag'd to contemne his Authority : Therefore hee resolved now to deferre his Justice no longer. Whereupon, the said Bishop as publikely convicted and condemned for divers points (the particulars whereof, yet I have not seen) but only that on the seventh of *May* last in the Tower of *London* before divers Persons, Hee had falsly, Maliciously and Traiterously said, That the King is not Supreme head of the Church of *England*, was by the Kings command openly beheaded the 22th of *June* 1535. Thus did the Popes favour but precipitate the Bishops Ruine ; against whom notwithstanding, I find, the King did but unwillingly proceed, as having held him ever in singular esteem, for his learning and good parts. All which cannot make me believe yet, that hee was Author of King *Henry's* Book against *Luther* (as *Sanders* and *Bellarmino* will have it) or Sir *Thomas More* (as others say) though I doubt not but they might both revise it by the Kings favour, and where it was needfull also interpose their Judgement. This while, the Pope, who suspected not perchance that the Bishops end was so neere, had for more Testimony of his favour to him, as disaffection to our King, sent him the Cardinalls Hatt, but unseasonably, his head being off. Neverthelesse, as he had first desired *Francis* to mediate for him, hee omitted not afterwards publikely to Justifie his Actions, calling him by the name of *Santissimus Episcopus*, and *omnium Cardinalium Cardinalis*, and declaring, (in a Breve subscribed by *Blosius* (as I find it, briefly mentioned in our Records, extracted by *Sanders*, and extant in the *Bullarium*.) Of which hereafter) both that he was Innocent, and our King an Heretique, &c. But this again was defended in an Apologie written here in Elegant Latine, Whether by *Stephen Gardiner* (who as I find in our Records wrote a Justification of the King herein) or some other ; Which I should have inserted but for the length, and as some would judge it for the vehemency. Though, as the King retained still all the chiefe Articles of the Roman Church, it cannot be wondred if the Author thereof did the more bitterly inveigh against one that had given his Sovereigne that odious Title.

Our King being thus many wayes exasperated against the Pope, neglected no meanes of extirpating his chiefe Agents and Favourours, and, with them, all his Authority in this Country ; Therefore he proceeded against Sir *Thomas More*, committed at the same time, and for the same cause, with *Fisher*. For though (as *Sanders* saith) he would by the Bishop of *Rochester's* exemplary death have brough *More* to a conformity,

conformity, yet finding that it was impossible, hee commanded his Counsell in the Law to examine him concerning the Supremacy (now enacted) more particularly. But Sir *Thomas More*, (as his Indictment hath it) *malitiose filebat*, saying yet afterwards, I will not meddle with such matters. Hee was accused also for holding secret intelligence by Letter with the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, during their Imprisonment; which appear'd both by the confession of the said Bishop, and that they held the same language. It being observ'd that both of them said, in their Examinations, the Act about the Supremacy was like a two edg'd sword, for if one answer one way, it will confound his Soule, and if the other way, it will confound his Body. Yet *Richard Rich* the Kings Sollicitor (made afterwards Lord *Rich*) comes to him again, and having first protested that hee had no Commission to talke with him of that matter, (as believing perchance his former Answer, or silence had sufficiently convinc'd him,) did, as is in the Record, demand then, if it were enacted by Parliament, that *Richard Rich* should be King, and that it should be Treason for any to deny it, what offence it were to contravene this Act? Sir *Thomas More* answer'd, that he should offend if hee said no, because he was bound by the Act; but that this was *Casus levis*; Whereupon, Sir *Thomas More* said hee would propose a higher Case, suppose by Parliament it were enacted *quod Deus non sit Deus*, and that it were Treason to contravene, whether it were an offence to say according to the said Act; *Richard Rich* replied yea; but said withall, I will propose a middle Case, because yours is too high. The King you know is constitute Supreme head of the Church on Earth, why should not you Master *More* accept him so, as you would mee if I were made King by the supposition aforeſaid. Sir *Thomas More* Answer'd, the case was not the same, because (said hee) a Parliament can make a King and Depose him, and that every Parliament-man may give his consent thereunto, but that a Subject cannot be bound so in the case of Supremacy, *Quia Consensum ab eo ad Parlamentum præbere non potest* (for so it is in my Copy if it be not mistaken) *Et quanquam Rex sic acceptus sit in Anglia, plurimæ tamen partes externa idem non affirmant*. All which being produced together, and added to his refusall of the Oath of Succession, for which in the Parliament of November 1534. Hee was attainted of misprision of Treason, as I find by the Parliament Rolls, was thought sufficient to condemne him. So that notwithstanding many subtill defences made by him, while hee contended to have given no offence but in silence, (unlesse it were in comparing the Statute to a two edged sword, which yet he said, he alleged no otherwise, than to shew how dangerous it was to answer,) and Notwithstanding also his denying utterly the Passage between the Sollicitor and himſelfe in that Sense (perchance hee meant the Latine) which is above related, the Jury in his Tryall July 1. before the Lord Chancellour, the Duke of *Norfolke*, &c. declared him guilty of imagining to deprive the King of his Title and Dignity, which by a Statute

1535.

May 7.

June 28.

June 12.

Jun 12.

1534.

Reg. 26.

Life of Sir
Tho. More,
by T.M.

June 28.

1535.
July 6.

Statute *Regn.* 26. was made high Treason. This great Person here-upon going shortly after, to the place of Execution, met among many friends one only Enemy, who openly revil'd him, for a Sentence heretofore given in Chancery, to which, yet, he made no answer, but that if it were to doe, he would do so again. And, now, being resolv'd to die, he returned to his wonted facetiousnesse. Therefore, being to goe up the Scaffold, he said to one; Friend help me up, and when I go down, again, let me shift for my selfe as I can. Being now mounted, the Executioner (as the custome is) asked him forgiveness, which he granted, but told him withall, hee should never have honesty by cutting off his Head, his Neck was so short. Then laying down his head on the block, he bid the Executioner stay till hee had layd aside his Beard, for (said he) it never committed Treason. After which, comming to some private Devotions, hee received his death. Thus ended Sir *Thomas More*, with so little consternation, as even terrours of death could not take off the pleasure hee had in his conceited and merry Language, which many attributed to his Innocence. For certainly though hee fell into the danger of the Law, they thought his intentions were rather to elude it with ambiguous answers, and an affected Silence, than to declare himselfe any way. Besides, by an Originall of his, (about this time, written to *Cromwell*) it appears that heretofore upon perusing the Kings Book against *Luther*, he dissuaded him to exalt so much the Papall Authority, lest it diminished his own. Professing neverthelesse both out of the reasons urged in that Book, as well as his private study of that question afterwards, hee could not deny the Pope a Primacy, However yet hee could not hold it such, as that the Authority derived to him thereby, was to be preferr'd above a Generall Council.

1534.
March 5.

June 1.

Aug. 30.
Sanders.

This while (as I find in our Records,) our King upon the death of *Clement VII.* hoping better of *Paulus III.* gave Sir *Gregory de Casalis* new Instructions to advise him, to regard the King of *England*, and to consult with some Learned men in his cause, (not imitating *Clement*, who knowing the truth conceal'd it) and these learned men to be chosen out of *France*. To this, also, the Pope seem'd to give some eare, untill Newes came to *Rome*, first, of the Execution of divers Monkes in *England* for denying the Supremacy, and then of the death of *More* and *Rochester*. Whereupon, the Pope resolving to proceed against our King, begins to Minute terrible Bulls, whereof, I find, there were five severall formes. But this which I find in the *Bullarium*, and extracted by *Sanders* (dated *Aug. 30.*) was that which was approved and made use of, being to this effect. First, objecting to him, as well the Divorce of Queen *Katherine*, as the Marrying *Anne*, and making Laws against the Popes Authority, and punishing those who contradicted (as lately the Bishop of *Rochester*.) He warnes the King, to reforme these faults; Or upon refusall Cites him, and all that favour him, to appear at *Rome* within ninety dayes to answer, which if they neglected, he Excommunicates them all, and deprives the King of his Realm, subjects the whole Kingdome

1535.

Kingdome to the Interdict; declares the Issue by *Anne*, illegitimate, forbids Allegiance to his subjects, Commerce with other States; dissolves all Leagues of Princes with him; Commands the Clergie to depart out of *England*, the Nobility to take Armes against him, &c. Having resolv'd this Censure, yet I find, it was not openly denounced, till he saw all hope past of reclaiming King *Henry*, or at least that the Emperour was at leasure to execute it, of which hereafter, 1538. Our King, hearing of this, entertaines friendship with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and the rather that intelligence was brought, how the Pope had declared hee would give away his Kingdome to some Roman Catholique Prince of that Country, as being (it seemes) unwilling to greaten *France* or *Spaine* therewith, lest afterwards himselfe should not be so able to sway the ballance. Which I mention not, yet, as if it were probable to bee effected, or that our King fear'd any such attempt, as long as hee stood upon good termes with his subjects, but that by strengthening himselfe in *Germany*, hee might the better chastise that Person, who upon the Popes Incouragement durst undertake the Enterprise. I doe find also, that the French King, did concurre in this Treaty with the Protestants, both, as upon the death of Pope *Clement*, the chiefe support of the great Designe in *Italy* did fall, and as Hee began to give some eare to the Evangeliques in *Germany*, as appears by his sending for *Melanchton*, and other Passages in *Sleidan*, which I shall hereafter set downe. Howsoever, our King as he found that with no little asperity hee maintained his Authority at home, so hee thought his care should be the greater to Justifie it abroad. Infomuch that hee sent unto all places, (where hee held correspondence) to give, together with an account of his Actions, the reason why he had taken on him the Supremacy. Therefore, Doctor *William Barlow* the Kings Chaplaine, and Elect Brother of *St. Asaph* being Joyn'd in Commission with *Thomas Holcroft* to *James*, labour'd to give him all manner of Impressions, which might bring him to a conformity; Which *Buchanan* also mentions, saying that *James* was intreated to Read over their Arguments, and consider them. Notwithstanding which, as they were referr'd by him to his Clergie, so (as, the same Author hath it) they together with some learned Men, whom our King offered to send, for further Declaration of this point, were for the present rejected. Which againe, being advertis'd to our King, Hee thought fit suddenly to employ the Lord *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the said Bishop, to *James*, to make him divers advantageous Propositions, and withall to draw him to an Interview. Whereunto, therefore, being pressed by them, and the rather that it was in sequence of a former Proposition; *James*, who had no disposition thereunto, sent (as our Ambassadors write) to procure by a private Messenger, a Breve from the Pope, inhibiting this Journey, so that untill the receipt thereof he was forc'd to make other excuses; by which, yet, I find hee denyed not a meeting with

Buch.

our

1535.

our King, but desir'd him, only, it might be in *France*, and the French King present, as hoping, thereby (it seemes) to be lesse constrain'd, then if hee came single into our Kings Dominions; All which, as it did but increase our Kings Jealousie of his Nephewes intentions (for hee expected Warre from many hands, as the Pope had threatned) so hee endeavoured but so much more to draw him on his side, as knowing of what consequence it was, to keepe his Kingdome safe on that part; and therefore, labour'd still, not only to induce him to abrogate the Papall Jurisdiction in his Dominions, but made some other Overtures; both of Creating him for the present, Duke of *Yorke* (as *Buchanan* hath it) and for leaving him Successor in this Kingdome, in case hee conform'd himselfe for the rest. But his Clergie (however Queen *Margaret* had given hope thereof) being utterly averse, dissuaded him; yet some operation I find it seemed to have. For by an Originall Dispatch in *May* following 1536. *James* certified our King, that he had sent to *Rome* to get impetrations for reformation of some enormities, and especially, anent the ordering of great and many possessions, and Temporall Lands given to the Kirke by our noble Predecessours. To which as our King not only gave credit, but a safe conduct to the Messenger, as was desired, so Hee seem'd to receive some satisfaction, and together hope'd, hee would not, at least, so soone bee drawne to assist his enemies, and, therefore, forbore awhile to sollicite this point, pursuing, nevertheless, the proposed Interview, but more slackly then before, but *James* had other Designes, as shall be told the yeare following.

May 2.
1536.

Our King finding thus, that businesse were safe on this part, proceeded more confidently in his Intentions of suppressing, together with the Popes Authority; all those who chiefly supported it. And, because hee thought Monasteries, did furnish more able Men to contest with him in this point, then any part else, hee advised how to proceed with them. Whereupon, one said thus.

SIR,

IF in all Affaires, betwixt your Highnesse, and any else, at home, or abroad, it be the part of a Counsellour to give a free and impartiall advise. I shall, under favour, crave the same liberty in those things that intervene betwixt God and your Highnesse, both because the duty wee owe unto that supreme Majesty is transcendent, and that generall and publike Errours committed against him, are of a more pernicious consequence then any else. In confidence of Pardon, therefore, I shall presume to opine concerning the businesse of Monasteries now in question. SIR, if it were first propos'd now, whether it were fit to erect them, I must confesse I should give my Assent, not yet that I should allow any excessive number, or perchance approve all the rules observed in them. But wholly to exclude so pious a retreat for men unapt for Secular businesse, or otherwise retir'd from the World, were, in my conceit, to leave those unprovided for, who of all

all other were most proper in a devout life to serve and glorifie their Creator. There is in my opinion, therefore, a due place left for Monasteries; yet, when they grow to that multitude, that either the just proportion they should beare in a State, is exceeded, or that, in effect, they should become a Receptacle only for lazie and idle Persons, I should think fit to apply some convenient remedy. But Sir, who shall give it? for if wee referre all unto the Pope, how could we ever hope of a moderation, especially while they are but Retraits for so many servants entertained for him at other Mens costs. And if your Highnesse (especially since you have taken upon you the Supremacy) should suppress them, what a scandall would follow? for who would think Sir, at home or abroad, that your Highnesse exercis'd your new charge therein, as you ought, or complied with your place? Againe Sir, what a wrong would it be to the Founders of them, who had as much right to give some of their lands to that use, as their Heirs have to enjoy the rest? would they not say this were to trench on the publicly right, and to frustrate whatsoever either Divine or Humane Lawes have establish'd? Therefore, Sir, be pleas'd not to thinke so much of their overthrow, as Reformation, Or if there be occasion to suppress some, as being supernumerary, yet since they are houses dedicated to God, be pleas'd, by all means, to convert the profit arising thence, to some other pious use, and howsoever, to reserve a sufficient number in every Shire for either Sex; and so shall your Highnesse both excuse all Obloquie, and together manifest the care you have to keep up those antient Monuments of Devotion.

To which another, who better understood the Kings Mind,

FIRST, Answered thus.

If it be true, that they speak enviously (that I may say nothing else) who would reduce all Reason of State to the sober Principles and Doctrines of Faith, it is no lesse certain, that they speak prophanely who wholly exclude them. In State, there is use of all: Only as it is a Simmetricall Body, nothing in it must passe proportion. Inso-much, as neither the Secular Magistrate or Clergie, on the one side, nor the Souldier, Merchant, Artificer and Husbandman on the other, should exceed a just quantity. The due composition of it, being such as there may be those who may labour and fight, as well as Pray for it. Else, who would not change our Generalls and Captains to Bishops and Deans, and our Shipping and Forts, to Chappels and Religious houses? but what a Proportion Sir doth the Clergie now hold, when the fourth part of the Revenues of the Kingdome is employed that way. For Sir, when the Tenth wee pay them in one kind, and the Lands they hold in another, are estimated, they amount to this rate or more, as I am inform'd. I shall not yet bee hasty to suppress them. I confesse all true which was now said, And doe not only admit the piety of their Institution, but the use that may be made of some few, as two or three in every Shire. Neither, shall I ever consent that more should be suppress'd then were needfull, and yet the money employ'd for your Highnesse most urgent Occasions only. The

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Supernumerary part of them and your Forrests being by me held like Jewels of your State, which though they yeeld not ready coine, may ever be converted to it. I should for this reason (when there were no other) conserve them as much as were possible. But Sir, when I consider again, how the Pope or Bishop of *Rome* (as your Highnesse commands him to be call'd) hath threatned to joyne all Christian Princes against your Highnesse, and that in these Monasteries, he nourishes a Seminary of factious Persons that oppose your Supremacy. And what Instruments they may be of stirring sedition in your Highnesse Kingdome, at the same time that some forreigne Power should invade it, I cannot but wish some good order were given. I should thinke fit therefore they were instantly Visited, and those who were unable to keep the Vowes they made at their entrance, to be permitted to go to some more Active life, and the vices of the rest, not only chastised, but care taken to punish those who henceforth speak or behave themselves licentiously. And, so farre forth, your Highnesse will but make lawfull use of your Supremacy. As for the suppression of any, not I, but some violent and inexcusable necessity must bee the Counsellour. If your Highnesse have any other way to defend your selfe against the threatned Invasions, I shall never advise you to this; And yet that, no further then to bring your Estate to a just temper.

Our King considering the reasons on both sides, said, hee would cause the Monasteries to be severely visited, and the enormous Crimes of them, (having been formerly rather subject to Pecuniary Mulcts, then corrected as they ought) to be exemplarily punished, and a reformation given to all abuses, Protesting neverthelesse, that hee would suppress none, without the consent of his Parliament, among whom, he did politiquely foresee, that some for conscience sake, (the Roman Religion being now, much cryed down) and others for avoyding the Charges of the warre (then menaced) would sooner lay the burden on those Monasteries, then take it on themselves; whereof in its due place. And now *Cromwell* the Secretary, a man so disaffected to those houses, as He was thought a favourer of the Reformers, being made General Visitor, employed *Richard Layton*, *Thomas Legh*, *William Detre*, Doctors of the Law, Doctor *John London*, Deane of *Wallingford*, with others giving them Instructions in 86 Articles, for Visiting Monasteries every where; by which, they were to enquire into the Government, behaviour, and education of the persons of both Sexes. To find out all their Offences, and to this purpose given them encouragements to accuse both their Governours and each other. To command them to exhibite their Mortmain Evidences, and conveyances of their Lands; To produce their Plate and Money, and give an Inventory thereof. Together with which the King gave forth Injunctions to be observed, some tending to the establishing of his Supremacy, some touching the good Government of the houses; As that no Brother go out of the Precinct; That there be but one entrance; That no Woman frequent the Monkes, nor any Man the Nunnes, &c. And some for education, as, That a Divinity Lecture, be every day

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day Read and frequented. That the Abbot daily expound some part of the Rule of their Order, Shewing yet that these Ceremonies, are but Introductions to Religion, which consisteth not in Apparell, shaven heads, &c. but in purity of mind. That none shall professe or weare the habit till twenty foure years of age. That no feigned Reliques nor Miracles be shewed. No offrings to Images, &c.

Upon these and other Injunctions, Joyned to the Inquisition afore-said, the Commissioners found means to make divers Monasteries obnoxious, for upon the Petition of divers Monkes who were weary of their Habit, some alleging for their excuse, that they were professed before they came to the years of discretion; Others, that the late Injunctions were too strict to bee observed; the King seizing on the House, commanded that they who were professed under twenty foure should be set at liberty, as being thought too young to make a Vow as they ought, or indeed to keep it. That they who were above twenty foure, when they made their Vow, might have leave to depart if they would. At which time, the men, if in Orders, should have a Priests Habit given them, and forty shillings in money; the Nunnes should have only a Gown, such as secular Women ware, and liberty to goe whither they would. The condition yet of some, being better, who for surrendering their Houses to the King (to which by threats and faire words they were induced) got small Pensions during their Lives. Others, by paying great summes to the King and *Cromwell*, redeemed their Monasteries from the present calamity; Yet so, as even from these also, divers Jewells and Church-Ornaments were taken away to the Kings use. Which being done, *Legh* and the rest at their return, gave that accompt of their employment, and particularly of their feigned Miracles and Reliques, aswell as sinfull and sluggish life of the Religious Orders, as not only *Cromwell* with much violence said, their houles should be thrown down to the foundation, but the whole body of the Kingdome, when it was published to them (which I find industriously procur'd) became so scandaliz'd thereat, as they resolv'd if the King ever put it into their hands, to give remedy thereunto, yet were not all alike Criminall; For some Societies behav'd themselves so well, as their life being not only exempt from notorious faults, but their spare times bestowed in writing Books, Painting, Carving, Graving, and the like exercises, their Visitors became Intercessors for them. But of those as I find not many mention'd, so they were involv'd at last in the Common Fate, it being thought dangerous to use distinction, both lest the fault of Manners (which might bee corrected) should be taken by the People as the sole cause of their dissolution; and as it was pretended that the Revenues should be employ'd to some better uses. Not long after which, again the King caused all Colleges, Cantries, and Hospitalls to be Visited, not omitting to take a particular survey of all the Revenues and Dignities Ecclesiasticall within his Kingdome, which was return'd to him in a Book, to be kept in the Exchequer.

Our King having thus omitted nothing which might prevent or

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Octob. 4.

Dec. 6.

Sleid. l. 6.

frustrate their designs who were most able to offend him. thought it his part now, to assure those who might be of most use. Therefore he sends *Fox*, Bishop of *Hereford* to the Protestant Princes in *Germany*, assembled at *Smalcald*, to exhort them to an unitie in Doctrine, wherein he offered his best assistance by conference with their Divines, as being the only ground of establishing, either Peace at home, or correspondence abroad; That unlesse this were done, it would bee a great prejudice to them in the Councill now propos'd, which yet he took to be pretended only as an Invention and Artifice of the Popes to entertain time, and in the mean while to sow division among them, as he doth now incite Christian Princes against *England* for rejecting his Tyranny. Therefore, they were not to expect a free Councell how much soever promised, yet if they desired Counsell they should attend till all Christian Princes were at Peace with each other; and that it ought to be held in an indifferent place, it being impossible otherwise, but that it should be partiall and factious. That this being done, as he had expelled the Popes Authority out of his Dominions, so he would Joyn with them to restore Godstrue Worship. And so the Bishop concluded, desiring only some might be appointed to, whom he might speak of these busineses privatly. To which after due thanks, they answer'd, that really there was no difference among them, there being none who would not stand to the *Augustan* Confession: That they tooke well his Highnesse Admonition about the Councill Generall, now promis'd at *Mantoua*. But that, (as they had answered *Vergerius* the Popes Legat) they did not think either that the place was fit, or that the Pope had the sole right of calling or ordering of it, which belong'd as well to the Emperour and other Princes. For the rest, they said, they would appoint some who might communicate privatly with the Bishop, as was required, of which wee shall speake more hereafter.

Decemb. 21.

Sleid. l. 9.

In the mean while *Ferdinand*, who more desired to heare of Peace in the Empire, than Schoole-Arguments how well soever disputed, confirmed the Treaty made 1532. Of which the Duke of *Sax* (who came from him to *Smalcald*) advertis'd the Protestants, who Decemb. 24.) Decreed, That the League betwixt them, made 1530. for mutuall defence in the cause of Religion, now shortly expiring, should continue ten years longer, and that they would take into their Confederation, all who received the *Augustan* Confession. To this Diet *Guillaume du Bellay Seigneur de Langey* (employ'd from *Francis*) came likewise. But his advices, though for the most part conformable to our Kings, were not so acceptable. For as *Francis* by Confederating himselfe with the Turke (that formidable Enemy of *Germany*) had disoblig'd the whole Nation on the one side, so by burning divers Evangeliques in *France*, he had on the other side much incensed them all against him; which displeasure, being fomented many wayes by *Ferdinand*, had intercluded almost all correspondence betwixt them, till by *Monsieur de Langeys* industry it was revived, Who to appease them, alleged not only some Excusatory Letters formerly sent, but said his

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Master could not make any Allyance, nor lend any Ayd to any Prince against them. Nor would burn any for holding the Tenents of the *Augustan* Confession, unlesse they were both Authors of dissention in his Kingdome, and despighted the Antient Ceremonies of the Church. After which in private Conference with their Divines, he declared that the King his Master was not averse to most of their Tenents set down in *Melanchthons Loci Comunes*; And Particularly that hee did not hold the Popes Supremacy to be founded *Jure Divino*, but *humano*; though *Henry VIIIth* (he said) denied it either way. That Purgatory, being the ground of the Masse, and all their gainfull doctrine, Hee had required by what place in the Scripture they proved it: To which all the answer they made, after divers Moneths space, was, that they would not give their Adversaries Weapons which might afterwards be returned or retorted on themselves. As for Monasteries, hee said, that he thought it might be obtained of the Pope, that none who were not of some ripe age, should Vow themselves to that life. Or if they did, they might leave it and Marry if they would. But by no means, that his Master would have them thrown down, or the Revenues taken away, but rather employed towards the bringing up of Youth in Learning and Piety. And for Marriage of Priests, hee thought this the best expedient, that Men already Married, might (notwithstanding their wives) be admitted to Execute the Priesthood; But for others, they should not Marry, or if they would, they should relinquish the Priesthood. As for Communion under both kinds, that the King had heretofore spoken with *Clement VII* at *Marseilles*, and that he thought it might be obtain'd of this Pope, that free use of both might be granted according to the Conscience of him that tooke it, Alleging for this purpose from the King his Master, how he had heard from Antient men, that about 120 years agoe, it was the manner to communicate in both kinds, in the Chappels or Oratories, but not in the Body or middle of the Church. Neverthelesse, that the Kings of *France* received it ever in both kinds. Which when his said Master urged, the Priests did answer him, that Kings were Anointed and therefore might Communicate in both kinds aswell as they. For the Scriptures spake of the Royal Priesthood, but it was not lawful for othersto do so. That in the comon and ordinary Prayers, the King did acknowledge that many things might be cut off, many things should be wholly taken away. And that the care hereof was heretofore committed by *Clement* to the Cardinall *de la Creuz*, though not with any good successe. In conclusion he exhorted them to send some of their chiefe Divines to conferre with those he had in *Paris*; And that he would make such a choyce, as if some that were appointed, were vehement, and eager, he would also joyn others that were mild and temperate Persons to Treat with them, to the intent that all parts being discussed, the truth might appeare. In the mean while he exhorted them by no means to give eare, or agree to any Councill untill they knew his mind and the King of *Englands*, who both were resolv'd to do nothing but by a mutuall consent. As for those who had power to call it, that his Predecessor

Sleidan.

for

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for *Louis* was of opinion, that it belong'd to the Emperours and Kings, and that the King of *Navarre* was of the same mind, but that pope *Julius* Prescribing or Excommunicating them both. *Ferdinand* of *Spain* took that occasion to Conquer *Navarre*. Nevertheless that the King his Master confest no Council was Authentically, unlesse it were both assembled in so safe a Place, and held in so free a manner as no man might suffer for speaking his conscience. After all which, the said *Monsieur de Langey* did sollicite them much, to enter into a strict League with the King his Master. But they, whether out of favour from *Ferdinand* and the Emperour, with whom they had lately made their Peace, or, that otherwise they were not sufficiently satisfied of the French Kings proceedings, formerly mention'd, refused this. So that *Monsieur de Langey*, (though professing on the present Popes part, that if matters were orderly carried, he would be content to comply in many things for a common good and Peace) return'd without effecting any thing. And thus out of I know not what mistaking or obstinacy, this great overture for bringing all the differences in Religion, to a moderate and uniforme accord, was interrupted and broken off; It being probable that *Francis* would have subscribed to the Tenents of Religion which himselfe propos'd, when he had found them conformable for the rest. But as *Monsieur de Langey* told them, they might afterwards repent their neglect of so great an offer, so it prov'd true, as by the sequence will appear. For *Francis* who would have been glad, both that the Power which the Pope usurped over Kings were something diminished, and the abovesaid Articles in Religion established, finding there was now no probability of an Union, thought it safer to rule by his Antient Maximes, then to run the trouble and hazard of a Reformation. Yet I find by an Originall from *Christopher Mount* a German, and Agent of our Kings, then in *France*, that *Monsieur de Langey* did once receive from the Protestants certain Articles concerning Pacification in religion, which he delivered the King his Master, which thereupon being perused, mitigated and changed by the *Sorbon* or *Parisian* Divines were again returned to the Protestants, who likewise advising of them, said they would tolerate this change, *Modo spes Concordia hinc accessura sit*. But this was before *Langey's* Oration above mention'd, and perchance before they knew or had taken particular notice of the French Kings Actions formerly delivered. I find also by the same Originall, that *Mount* was commanded by our King to hasten to *Germany*, and to dehorte *Melanchthon* from going to *France*, whether he was invited by that King, and to perswade him hither. For as about this time the German Protestants desired both friendship and Accommodation in Religion with King *Henry* and *Francis*, into whose hands they put the Arbitrement of their differences, so both Princes sought to make use of *Melanchthon*; especially our King; having, as I find in the Instructions to *Mount*, a great opinion of his Vertue, Learning, Temperance and gravity, and therefore desired his presence here, both for framing an accord with the Germans, and (when that succeeded not) for appeasing the Differences of Religion in his Kingdom, it being

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ing thought a fit work for that Pious & Modest man, how ever he be branded by some, *tanquam de omni Religione securus*. But if *Mounts* Relation of his Conference with *Monsieur de Langey* may be intirely believed, or (if you will) *Monsieur de Langey* himself; One of the points the said Protestants would have agreed to was, *Se ferre posse primatum Episcopi Romani, ad servandam Doctrinæ Consensum in Ecclesia, modo secundum Dei verbum omnia judicet*. *Langey* himselfe confessing *Impossibile esse prollare Primatum Episcopi Romani ex Dei verbo*, And that this point was so far acknowledged by *Clement VIIth*, that he said he was content, *ut Primatus hic positus jure deferatur*, and that the more learn'd Cardinals in *Rome* were of this Opinion. But these things I leave to the credit of *Mount*, the discreet and diligent *Sleidan* not mentioning any such moderation on either side, and *Mount* himself giving indeed no other Authority for this, but *Monsieur de Langey's* word by way of discourse, who yet when he was demanded for a sight of the Articles and Censure above related, excused himselfe.

This year some Letters from *sevil* in *Spain* extant among our Records, advertis'd our King, that a Million of Gold was brought the Emperour from *Peru*, yet that it was thought to be gotten rather out of the spoiles of the Country than otherwise. No rich Mines being then found. Nevertheless, that the Inhabitants of *Andalauzia* flock'd thither in so great numbers, that the Country was almost left empty. Which Intelligence though of great consideration was yet pass'd over; the King being intensive wholly to the settling of Religion, and the right of Succession, which I find he did with all industry procure.

It appears by our Histories that this yeare great Brasse Ordnance, as Cannon and Culverins were first cast in *England*, by one *John Owen*, they having been formerly made only in other Countries, and farre from the perfection of which they are at this present, as may be seen in *Tartaglia*, and some other Antient Authors.

Queen *Katherine*, or, as the King commanded her to be call'd) the Princess Dowager, finding now no assistance but spirituall from the Pope, nor reparation procur'd by the Emperour but incertain and slow, and for the rest grieving at the prosperity and fruitfulness of Queen *Anne* (now with child again, wherof yet she aborted) fell into her last sicknes at *Kimbolton* in *Huntingdon-shire* in the fiftieth year of her age, & the xxxiii since her comming into *England*, during which time, though comforted by the King and *Eustachio Chapuys*, Doct^r of both Laws, and Ambassadour resident from *Charlys*, she fel so desperatly ill, as finding death now comming. She caused a Maid attending on her, to write to the King to this effect.

My most Dear Lord, King and Husband.

THe houre of my death now approaching I cannot choose, but out of the love I beare you, advise you of your Soules health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever. For which yet you have cast me into many Calamities, and your selfe into many troubles. But I forgive you all; and pray God to doe so likewise. For the rest I commend unto you Mary our Daughter, beseeching you to be a good Father to her, as I have heretofore desired. I must intreat you also, to respect my Maids, and give them in Marriage, which is not much, they being but three, and to all my other servants, a years pay besides their due, lest otherwise they should be unprovided for; Lastly: I make this Vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things.

Farewell.

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Besides which Letter she dictated another to *Eustachius*, desiring him to procure that the Emperour might put our King in mind of her request, when otherwise he forgot it.

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The King having received her Letter, became so compassionate, that he wept; But her death being related shortly after: he caused her goods (which I find estimated to 5000 Marks) to be employ'd toward the Funeral chiefly, and after to those that deserved recompence; and her Body to be buried with due solemnity in the Monastery at *Peterborough*, which for the honour of her memory, King *Henry* reserv'd (when all the rest fell) and erected it to a Bishops See. The News wherof, not long after, being brought to the Emperour, troubled him much, as holding his Aunt in singular esteem. But as he considered, that in her death all causes of Hostility were ceased, and that besides, it concern'd him more to defend himself against the Turk then to pursue the Execution of the Popes Banne (though once undertaken by him) he endeavour'd nothing more then to close handsomly with our King; Neverthelesse, as he was discreet and magnanimous, he would not fully discover himself till he had sounded first our Kings disposition. After which (as I find mention'd in the Instructions of our King to Doctor *Richard Pate*) *Charles* (by his Resident Ambassadour here) propos'd a Renovation of the antient Amity, upon these Conditions. First, that our King would be Reconciled to the Pope, wherein he offered his mediation. Secondly, that our King would ayd him against the Turk. Thirdly, that (according to the Treaty 1518) hee would help him against the French, who now threatned *Milan*. To which our King answerd; That the first breach of amity proceeded from the Emperour, which if he will acknowledge, and excuse, King *Henry* is contented to renew it, simply and absolutely; As for the Conditions propos'd. First touching the Bishop of *Rome*, the Proceedings against him have been so just, and so ratified by the Parliament of *England*, that it cannot be revok'd. Therefore, though the Bishop himself hath made means to him for Reconciliation, yet it hath been refused. Secondly for ayd against the Turk, when Christian Princes shall be at Peace, then King *Henry* will do therein as to a Christian Prince belongeth. Thirdly, for ayd against *France*, he cannot resolve on that, till the Amity be renewed with the Emperour, that so being indifferent friend to both, he may freely travaile, either to keep Peace between them, or ayd the Injur'd party. And these answers of the Kings, *Pate* was to signifie to the Emperour then at *Rome*, and to urge him to renew the Amity without any such Conditions; But, as the Emperour hearkned not thereunto, so King *Henry*, thinking of nothing lesse then embracing his friendship on those termes, employed his care chiefly how to defend his Kingdom against the threatned Invasions. And therefore as he had often experimented the Love and Obedience of his subjects, so in his important occasions at this time, he resolved to make use of them, Commanding therupon, the Parliament, which had been prorogued, to sit the fourth of *February*. In which many Acts pass'd, the most materiall whereof, I have set down briefly, not alwayes according to the order observed in the Statute-Book, but rather according to the matters handled, remitting the Reader for the rest to the Statutes themselves. My intention being not to make an abstract of them otherwise then may serve for the illustration of the times, and my History.

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Whereas the tryall and punishment of Pirats was heretofore according to the forms of the Civil Law, It was now ordered, That it should be determined by the Kings Commission, in like form as offences done upon Land, no benefit of Clergy yet being permitted to those who were convicted : Nevertheless, distinction to be made between Pirates, and those who took something at sea out of necessity : As is to be seen in the Statute more largely.

Order also was taken upon penalty, That all they who had Parks, should keep two or more Mares, according to the greatness of the Parks, of thirteen handfuls high, for breed of strong Horses ; and that the Stallions should be fourteen handfuls high at least : and this was much to the increase of good horses.

The Courts of suing forth Gifts and Grants made under the Kings Signet Manuell, and the Clerks of the Signets Fees also was set down.

Also because many men by Will made Feoffements of their Lands to secret uses , whereby the King and the Lords lost their Wards &c. It was ordered, That the possession of Lands shall be adjudged to be in him that hath the use thereof.

Order also was taken, That no Land should passe by bargain and sale, unlesse it be by Writing indented, sealed and inrolled. And this prevented many mistakes, and took away much deceit.

And now because some Statutes following give me occasion to speak of *Wales*, it will not be displeasing to the Reader (I hope) to set down those reasons which, I conceive, were the true motives of them.

Wales and the Marches thereof now having been for a long time so distinguished, as the more Maritime parts thereof were held by the remnant of the ancient *Brittains*, or Natives of this Island, the other by those who had got ground upon them, much diversity of Government was used. For as the Kings of *England* heretofore had many times brought Armies to conquer that Country, defended both by Mountains and a stout People, without yet reducing them to a finall and intire obedience ; so they resolved at last to give all that could be gained there to those who would attempt it. Whereupon many valiant and able Nobles and Gentlemen won much land from the Welsh : which, as gotten by force, was by permission of the Kings then reigning, held for divers Ages in that absolute manner, as *Fura Regalia* were exercised in them by the Conquerors. Yet, in those parts which were gotten at the Kings only charge, (being not a few) a more regular Law was observed. Howsoever, the generall Government was not onely severe, but various in many parts : Insomuch, that in about some 141 Lordships Marchers which were now gotten, many

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strange and discrepant Customes were practised (as will appear hereafter). Howbeit, in the greater part, which was the Kings, and particularly those in the East-, West- and North-Wales, being about this time administred by my great Grand-father Sir *Richard Herbert* (Son of Sir *Richard Herbert*, renowned for that alone he passed and returned twice thorow an hostile Army at the Battell in *Banbury-Field*, 8. *Edm. III.*) such Justice was used, as I finde him in our Records highly commended to the Kings Counsell by *Rowland Lee* President of *Wales*. So that they were governed in generall according to the Laws of *England*; the Lord Marchers (who conquered at their own cost) ruling yet by their own Lawes and Customes, and substituting Officers at their pleasure, who again committed such rapines, as nothing almost was safe or quiet in those parts: whereupon this Statute was made.

C. 5.

Whereas manifold Robberies, Murders, and other Malefacts be daily practised and committed in the County-Palatine of *Chester*, and *Flintshire* in *Wales*, and also in *Anglesea*, *Caernarvan*, *Merioneth*, *Cardigan*, *Carmarthen*, *Pembrook* and *Glamorgan*, because Justice is not ministred there in such form as in other places of this Realm. For remedy whereof, it is enacted, That the Lord Chancellour of *England*, or Keeper of the Great Seal shall nominate and appoint Justices of Peace, Justices of the *Quorum*, and Justices of the Gaole-delivery in the said Counties, and that they shall have like Power and Authority as those in *England*, &c. And by this means one kinde of Justice was established in the said County-Palatine of *Chester*, and the Shires aforesaid: So that offenders now were kept in awe, being not able, as before, to escape and fly from one Lordship Marcher to another. Another Act also was made to this purpose:

C. 7.

Whereas in *Wales* and the Marches, there were divers and many Forrefts belonging either to the King or the Lords Marchers, wherein fundry exactions had been used a long time, contrary to the Law of God and man; Insomuch, that if any entered the said Forrefts without a token given (by some of the Forresters or Walkers of it) to let him passe, or unlesse he were a yeerly Tributer or Chenser, hee was forced to pay a grievous Fine: but if he were found 24 foot out of the Highway, then to forfeit all the gold or money about him, and a joynt of one of his hands, unlesse he fined for it at the discretion of the Forrester, or Farmer of the same. And whereas likewise, if any cattell strayed into the said Forrefts, it was the custome of the Forresters to mark him for their own with the mark of the Forrest; Order was now given, that people should be suffered to passe freely, as in other places, and estrayed cattell within a yeer and a day to be restored again, the owners paying for the herbage.

That

That whereas by the gifts of Kings of *England*, heretofore, divers of the most ancient Prerogatives and Authorities of justice appertaining to the Imperiall Crown of this Realm, have been sever'd and taken from the same, it was now enacted that no person from the first of *July* 1536 should have power and authority to pardon or remit, Treasons, Murthers, Man-slaughters, or any Felonies, or their accessaries in any part of *England*, *Wales*, or the Marches of the same. That likewise none should make Justices of Oyer, Justices of Assize, Justices of Peace, or Justices of Goal delivery, but they should be made by the Kings Letters Patents: And that all originall writs, and judiciall writs, and all manner of Inditements of Treason, Felony, and Trespass, and all manner of Proccesse should be made in the Kings name; and things done against the Kings Peace, should be supposed as done against the Kings Peace, and not against the peace of any other person. Notwithstanding which, divers Priviledges were permitted, as is to be seen in the Statutes. By all which, as the vast power invested anciently in those who had County Palatines, and *jura Regalia* in Lordship Marchers may appear; so we may observe how the restoring of them to the Crown, hath established an uniform justice, and taken away the occasions of many mischiefs done within the jurisdictions and precincts of the said Counties Palatine, and Lordships Marchers, as is before recited; which though a great benefit and ease to the *Welsh*, yet as they were under many constraints, they hoped his Highnesse would further extend his goodness to them: And thus some (as in their name) spake to this effect,

May it please your Highness,

VVE, on the part of your Highness Subjects, inhabiting that portion of the Island which our Invadors first called *Wales*, most humbly prostrate at your Highness feet, do crave to be received and adopted into the same Lawes and Priviledges which your other Subjects enjoy: Neither shall it hinder us (we hope) that we have lived so long under our own. For as they were both enacted by authority of our ancient Lawgivers, and obeyed for many successions of Ages, we trust your Highness will pardon us, if we thought it neither easie nor safe so suddenly to relinquish them. We shall not presume yet to compare them with these now used, and lesse shall we contest how good and equall in themselves they are. Only if the defence of them and our liberty against the *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes*, for so many hundred yeares, and lastly, against the *Normans*, as long as they pretended no Title but the sword, was thought just and honourable; we presume it will not be infamous now; And that all the marks of rebel-

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lion and falshood, which our revilers would fasten on us, will fall on any, sooner then those who fought for so many years, and with so different Nations for our just defence : Which also is so true, that our best Histories affirm the Christian Religion to have been preserved only by us for many yeares, that the *Saxons* (being Heathen) either attempted or possessed this Country. May your Highness then graciously interpret our actions, while we did but that duty which your Highness would have now done by all your Subjects on like occasion ; For when any should invade this Country henceforth, wee know your Highness would have us to behave our selves no otherwise. Besides, had not the Assailers found some to resist, they might have despised a Country, that brought none forth able enough to assert it : So that we crave pardon Sir, if we say it was fit for the honour of your Dominions that some part of it should never be conquered. We then in the name of whatsoever in your Highness possession hath in any age held out against all Invaders, do here voluntarily resign, and humble our selves to that Sovereignty, which we acknowledge so well invested in your Highness. Nor is this the first time; we have alwaies attended an occasion to unite our selves to the greater and better parts of the Island.

But as the Kings of this Realm weary of their attempts in person against us, did formerly give not only our Country to those who could conquer it, but permitted them *jura Regalia*, within their severall Precincts; so it was impossible to come to an agreement, while so many that undertook this work, usurped Martiall and absolute power and jurisdiction in all they acquired, without establishing any equall justice. And that all Offenders, for the rest, flying from one Lordship Marcher (for so they were termed) to another, did both avoid the punishment of the Law, and easily commit those robberies, which have formerly tainted the honour of our parts. So that untill the rigorous Laws not only of the severall Conquerors of *England*, but the attempters on our parts, were brought to an equall moderation, no union, how much soever affected by us, could ensue.

Therefore, and not sooner we submitted our selves to *Edward* the first, a Prince who made both many and equaller Laws then any before him. Therefore we defended his Son *Edward* the second, when not only the *English* forsook him, but our selves might have recovered our former liberty, had we desired it. Therefore we got victories for *Edward* the third, and stood firm during all the dissentions of this Realme to his grand-child and Successor *Richard* the second. Only if some amongst us resisted *Henry* the fourth, your Highness may better suppose the reason then we tell it, though divers forreigners
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openly refusing to treat with him as a Sovereigne and lawfull Prince, have sufficiently published it. Wee did not yet decline a due obedience to *Henry* the Fifth, though in doubtfull times, we cannot deny, but many refractory persons have appear'd: Howsoever, wee never joyned our selves with the English Rebels, or took occasion thereby to recover our Liberty, though in *Richard* the Second's time, and during all the Civil Wars betwixt *Lancaster* and *York* much occasion was given. For adhering to the House of *York*, which we conceived the better Title, we conserved our devotion still to the Crown, untill your Highnesse Fathers time (who bearing his name and blood from us) was the more cheerfully assisted by our Predecessors in his Title to the Crown, which your Highnesse doth presently enjoy. And thus, Sir, if we gave anciently proof of a generous courage in defending our Laws and Country, wee have given no lesse proof of a loyall fidelity since we first rendered our selves. In-
somuch, that wee may truly affirm, That after our acceptance of the conditions given us by *Edward* the First, wee have omitted no occasion of performing the duty of loving Subjects. Neither is there any thing that comforts us more then that all those controversies about Succession (which so long wasted this Land) are determined in your Highnesse Person; in whom we acknowledge both Houses to be happily united. To your Highnesse therefore we offer all obedience, desiring onely that wee may be defended against the insulting of our malignant Censurers: For we are not the off-spring of the *Run-away Brittaines* (as they term us); but Natives of a Country, which, besides defending it self, received all those who came to us for succours. Give us then (Sir) permission to say, That they wrong us much, who pretend our COUNTRY was not inhabited before then, or that it failed in a due Piety, when it was so hospitall to all that fled thither for refuge: which also will be more credible, when it shall be remembred, that even our highest Mountains furnish good Beef and Mutton, not onely to all the Inhabitants, but supply *England* in great quantity. Wee humbly beseech your Highnesse therefore, That this Note may be taken from us. As for our Language, though it seem harsh, it is that yet which was spoken anciently, not onely in this Island, but in *France*: some Dialects whereof therefore remain still amongst the *Bas Brecons* there, and here in *Cornwall*. Neither will any man doubt it, when he shall finde those words of the ancient Gaulish Language repeated by the Latine Authors, to signifie the same thing amongst us at this day: Nor shall it be a disparagement (wee hope) that it is spoken so much in the throat, since the *Florentine* and *Spaniard* affect this kinde of pronunciation, as beleiving words that sound so deep, proceed from the heart. So that if wee have retained this Language longer

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longer then the more Northern inhabitants of this Island (whose Speech appears manifestly to be a kinde of *English*) and consequently introduced by the *Saxons*, wee hope it will be no imputation to us ; your Highnesse will have but the more Tongues to serve you : It shall not hinder us to study *English*, when it were but to learn how wee might the better serve and obey your Highnesse : To whose Laws we most humbly desire again to be adopted ; and doubt not, but if in all Countries the Mountains have afforded as eminent Wits and Spirits as any other part, ours also by your Highnesse good favour and imployment may receive that esteem.

The King now considering that it was but reasonable to unite this part of the Kingdome to the rest, and that their Loyalty besides had deserved as much as they were Suters for, caused an Act to be past for executing justice in *Wales*, in manner as is in *England*, and reduced the Lordship Marchers to their ground. The Statute is to this effect :

C. 25.

That albeit the Dominion, Principality and Country of *Wales* be a member and part of the Temporall Crown of this Realm, whereof therefore the King is Head and Ruler ; yet as it hath divers Rights, Usages, Laws and Customes discrepant from the Laws and Customes of this Realm, and because their Language is different from that which is spoken here, and that many rude people hereupon have made distinction and diversity betwixt his Highnesse other Subjects, and them, to the causing of much discord and sedition ; his Highnesse therefore, out of his love and favour to his Subjects in *Wales*, and for reducing them to his Laws, doth by the advice and consent of his Parliament ordain and enact, That *Wales* should be unite and incorporate henceforth to and with his Realm of *England* ; and that his Subjects should enjoy and inherit all and singular Freedoms, Liberties, Rights, Priviledges and Laws which his Highnesse Subjects elsewhere injoy and inherit. And therefore that Inheritances should descend after the manner of *England*, without division or partition, and not after any Tenure or form of *Welsh* Lawes or Customes. And forasmuch as there are divers Lordships Marchers within the said Country or Dominion in *Wales*, being no parcell of any other Shires where the Laws and due correction is used and had, and that in them and the Countries adjoyning manifold Murders, Robberies, Felonies and the like, have been done, contrary to the Law and Justice, because the offenders, making their refuge from one Lordship Marcher to another, were continued without punishment and correction : Therefore it was enacted that the said Lordships Marchers should be united, annexed and joyned to divers Shires specified in the said Act.

Whereupon four and twenty Lordship Marchers were united

ted to *Monmouth-shire*, and the Lawes of *England* injoynd in in them : Sixteen to *Brecknock-shire*; sixteen to *Radnor-shire*; eleven to *Montgomery-shire*; and ten to *Denbigh-shire*; seven to *Shrop-shire*, which were reduced again to certain hundreds as *Doun* to *Cherbury*, &c. ten to *Hereford-shire*, and they likewise reduced to hundreds three; and all the Lordships &c. betwixt *Chepstow* bridge and *Glocester-shire*, to *Glocester-shire*; and they again reduced to one hundred; seventeen to *Glamorgan-shire*; eight to *Carmarthen-shire*; thirteen to *Pembroke-shire*; four to *Cardigan-shire*; one to *Merioneth-shire*: By which it appears how much of *Wales* is continued intire, and how much was gotten by the Lord Marchers. After this again, many Priviledges were given to the Lords Marchers, in regard of the service their Ancestors rendred the Crown heretofore, in conquering those parts at their own cost, concerning which Histories, Records, &c. may be seen, to which I refer my self.

Also power was given to the King to alter any thing in this Act, within the space of three yeers next ensuing, whereof we shall speak again 34 *Hen. 8.c. 26*. More also is extant hereof 1 *Edw. 6. 10.* and 21. *Jacobi 10.* where through that Kings goodnes all power for altering the Laws in *Wales* is repealed.

I will now come to certain Acts of Parliament concerning Ecclesiasticall matters, of which kind there are found chiefly: The first, having relation to one formerly recited out of 26. *Henry 8. 3.* whereby the First-fruits and Tenths were given for more augmentation of maintenance of the Kings royall dignity, of the supream head of the Church of *England*, doth now declare, That no Tenth shall be exacted that year wherein First-fruits are paid.

Secondly, whereas 25. *Henry 8.* it was enacted, That the Clergy in their Convocations shall make no Constitutions without the Kings assent, as also that the King should have authority to nominate 16 Spirituall, and 16 Temporall persons to examine the Canons and Constitutions aforesaid, the said Acts were now confirmed.

Thirdly, Order was given about Sanctuary men, that they should wear Badges to be known by, and no weapons; That they should not goe abroad but at due houres, and not resist their Governours, &c.

Fourthly, A Court of augmentation was erected, whereby order was taken concerning the Religious houses that were surrendred or suppressed; and how the Kings Revenue should be increased thereby, and Officers for this purpose appointed.

These marks of the Kings Sovereignty being thus premised, I shall come to the Act of suppression of Religious houses under 200 l. yearly. Which though lamented by many, and no waies so excused that I know, as by the Kings necessities,

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sities, had yet these motives. The vitious and incorrigible life of *Monasticall* Persons, confessed by the whole Parliament: The lands not imployed according to the intent of the Donors and Founders; divers Superstitions and forgings of Miracles practized amongst them: That when those under 200^l. yearly were taken away, there remained yet many great & religious houses: That they were the Seminary of those that oppos'd the Regal Authority in Ecclesiastical matters; to which some have thought the reason formerly touched might be added, that the Parliament was willing to lay the burthen of furnishing the Kings necessities from themselves. And the rather, that the King promis'd to imploy some of the Revenues to other Religious uses: As founding of Bishopricks, Deaneries, and Chapiters and the like. Which indeed followed, though not mentioned in the *Statute*. Howsoever, the *Statute* without any formall Preamble in the published Book, begins bluntly thus: His Majestie shall have and enjoy to Him and his Heires for ever, all *Monasteries*, *Priories*, and other Religious houses of *Monks*, *Canons*, and *Nuns* of what Habit, Order, or Rule soever, which have not in lands and Revenue above the cleare yearly value of 200^l. as also all such Religious houses which at any time within one yeers space proceeding, have been given up & granted by any *Abbot*, *Prior*, *Abbesse*, or *Prioresse* under their Covent seal; (reserving yet all Right to others by Lease and otherwise, and particularly the Right of the Heirs and Successours of the Founders, Patrons, or Donors to any Possession, Rent, Fee, or Office according to the true intention :) As also all Ornaments, Jewels, Goods, Chattels, and Debts, belonging to the said Religious houses: Neverthelesse, that Hospitality and Husbandry should be kept by the Farmers of the said Religious houses, and the lands belonging to them; upon the Penalty of paying every moneth six Pound thirteen Shillings and four pence. The King also (as I find in the Parliament Rolls) allowed the Governors of these houses Pensions during their lives, and translated some of the Religious Persons into other great Foundations.

And thus were the lesser *Monasteries* dissolv'd, with care yet that Hospitality should be preserved; for which reason also our King did passe them away at such easie rates. Neverthelesse, as the Penalty being not ordinarily required, due Hospitality was for the most part neglected: so the forfeitures being great, were at the Supplication of the Parl. 21 *Jacobi* 28. wholly abolished, at length, by the indulgence of that King. Notwithstanding, it is probable, that not on this occasion only, the *Abbeylands* were scattered and distributed into so many hands, since *Cromwell* forgot not to tell his King, that the more had interest in them, the more they would be irrevocable. But whatsoever the reasons were, it is certaine, that use was not made of them

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which might have been, while the Revenue of the Crown was so little improv'd thereby. Since it is clear, that if the profits of those which were dissolv'd, had been imployed for a settled entertaining and payment of a Royall Army at land, and a great Fleet at Sea, (which as they were the third or fourth of the Revenues of the land, might have been easily done) our King without having recourse to any other meanes, might (besides securing his Realm) have given the Law in great part to all his Neighbours. And now of these antient Monuments of devotion, 376 being dissolved, a Revenue of about Thirty or Thirty two Thousand pound yeerly, fell into the Kings hand, besides Goods and Chattels; which at low Rates were valued at 100000 pound. The people (especially they that got nothing thereby) in the mean while being grieved to see the Monks and Nunnes wandering abroad, and the Churches and Chappels perverted to secular and prophane uses; so that they began to murmur; which being again fomented by some Religious Persons turned to Rebellion, as shal be told hereafter. The respect also given to the Reliques there, and some pretended Miracles fell; Insomuch as I find by our Records that a piece of St *Andrewes* finger, (cover'd onely with an Ounce of Silver) being laid to pledge by a Monastery for Forty pound, was left unredeem'd at the Dissolution of the said house; the Kings Commissioners (who upon surrender of any Foundation, undertook to pay the debts thereof) refusing to returne the price again.

This fall of Abbeyes yet did but set forward the Kings Designs with the Confederate Princes and Towns in *Germany*; who understanding hereof, and believing now the King would wholly renounce all Papistry, and knowing besides that Queen *Anne* was disaffected to their Adverse Party, as her greatest Enemies, thought fit to make our Kings Orators (yet at *Smalcald*) these Propositions, as our Records shew.

I. That he should approve and embrace the *Augustan* Confession, unless some things shall be altered therein by Common consent according to the Scripture.

II. And Secondly in a free Councell, if any be, shall defend it with them.

III. That neither part should admit any Summons for a Councell, or agree upon a place for the sitting of it without the others Consent; yet that if such a Councell were offered as *Vergetius* the Popes Legat now proposed, that is to say, free and pious, that it should not be refused.

IV. That if the Pope proceeded otherwise, that they should oppose and protest publicly against him.

V. That the King should joyn himself, as to their Doctrine, so to their League; and thereupon accept the Title of Patron and Defender of it.

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VI. That the vulgar opinion *de Primatu Pontificis* should be rejected for ever.

VII. That if either of the *Contrahents* be Invaded for Religion, the other shall give no Aid against him.

VIII. That the King shall pay 100000 Crowns towards the defence of the League, and if the war be long, 200000 Crowns, upon Condition, that what was remaining should be restored when the war was ended.

IX. That when the King hath declared his mind herein, they will send an Ambassage of Learned men to him.

These Propositions being Communicated by *Cromwell* to the Bishop of *Winchester* then in *France*; the Bishop returned this advice: That if the first Article were accorded, the King shall do nothing without their consent, though otherwise he be bound in Conscience to reform his Church. To the rest, that he conceives no good nor honourable League can be made with those Inferior Princes for Religion without the Emperor, whom the King must allow to be Supream head of *Germany*, as His Majesty is of *England*. Again, that they could give King *Henry* no Reciproque, as lying at that distance: Finally, he admonished, that they be moved to approve the Kings Title, since he had understood in *France*, that they would not agree thereto, least they should thereby grant the Emperor the same Authority over their Persons. In sequence whereof, on the twelfth of March following (1536) the Bishop of *Hereford*, and the other Orators now at *Wittemberg* returned the Pretestants this answer: That the King their Sovereign liked their Propositions with some corrections; and that though all were quiet here, and no cause why he should fear any Attempts, or when they were, that it was taken away by the death of the late Queen; yet for restoring as well as retaining the true Doctrine, he was content to disburse the summe required, if once the League were made: Whereof therefore he would Treat at large with their Commissioners, whom they promis'd to send; as for the Honour they did him, in constituting him Patron and Defendor of the League, that he render'd them due thanks, and acknowledg'd their good will. And though he understood well, to how much envy this Charge was expos'd, yet that for the Publique good he would not refuse it, when they could agree among themselves concerning the First and Second Article. For unlesse there were an Union and consent in Doctrine, that he should get no Honour by undertaking it. Therefore that he desir'd their learned men and his should concur; for untill some places of their confession and Apology were mollified by private Conference, that there was small hope of an Agreement. Therefore, that he desired much that they would send some Commissioners for this purpose, and among them, some one eminent for his learning,

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ning who might confer with his Divines of the doctrine and essentiall part of Religion, as well as Ceremonies of the Church. That since he was so liberall to them, he hoped they would not refuse, if any made war against him, to furnish for 4. Moneths, 500 Foot, or ten ships equipped at their cost; and at his cost 2000 Horse, and 5000 Foot, or in lieu of these Foot 12. Ships equipped; which the King shall keep and maintain as long as his occasions require. Lastly, that they should approve the sentence given by the Divines of *Wittenberg* in favour of his Divorce, and second Marriage, and if any Councell Generall were holden, should there defend it.

To all which the Duke of *Saxony* replying, that hee would advise hereof with the other Confederates, this Answer finally at a meeting at *Francfort* on the 24 of *April* 1536 was return'd, That although divers were entred newly into the League, and divers who were at a distance from home, had no Commission for giving any definitive sentence: Notwithstanding, that in this meeting it should be resolv'd concerning an Ambassadour to be sent his Highnesse, and they who could not resolve for the present, should declare themselves within the space of one moneth. And that there was no question but they would conforme themselves to the opinion of the major part. Whereupon Instructions were given for certain Orators to be sent to *England*; in which yet it was (saith *Sleidan*) especially provided, that nothing should be treated of to the prejudice of the Emperour or Empire. And thus in the name of the Confederate Cities *Jacobus Sturmius* was appointed; the Divines being *Melanchthon*, *Bucerus*, and *Georgius Draco*. But as shortly after the death of Queen *Anne* followed: so all their proceeding (as *Sleidan* notes) was stopt, untill upon occasion given, it was revived. As for the approbation of the Divorce proposed to the German Divines, *Luther*, *Jonas*, *Philip* and others, the King was judiciously advised by his Agents from thence, not to require any thing of them which would be too hard to grant; The King having attained his principall intent concerning the Councell and Pope, and the Princes being then in such terms with the Emperour and *Ferdinand*, as they desired not to offend them without an urgent necessity.

April 24.

Sleidan.

James King of *Scotland* having the yeer before been installed of the *Garter*, and in sequence thereof instructed with the causes of those changes which had followed in Religious Government, did not yet altogether incline to our King. For as he had an eye to the troubles that might ensue in *England* concerning Succession, as long as the Issue of both Queens survived; so hee desired to strengthen himself by the advice and assistance of *Francis*: yet being desirous withall to conserve our Kings affection; and knowing also his designs on that part could

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not be long concealed, hee thought fit to advertise our King thereof; discovering himself no farther yet, then that he intended to Match in that Country: who also approving this, rather then that hee should bestow himself in the Emperours Family (which he still suspected) gave his consent thereunto, as I finde by our Records; yet so as he desired the Match might be betwixt him and the Daughter of the Duke of *Vendosme*, rather then of *Francis*; upon condition still that the Interview might proceed. But King *James*, who had no disposition thereunto (though I finde in our Records, the Queen his Mother once periwaded him) resolves to go secretly and in disguised habit to *France*. Whereupon also, commanding some Ships to be made ready, he set sail from *Leeth*, not acquainting any yet with his journey; so that divers thought he purposed to land in some part of our Kings Dominions. But contrary winds arising, he being demanded what course his Pilots should hold, answer'd, To any place but *England*; wherewith falling asleep, he was ere he wakened, by the advice of one of the *Hamiltons* (as *Buchanan* hath it) carried back. But at last, opening his eyes, and finding himself at home, hee was much offended with the Authour of this Counsel, and the rather, that hee was thought secretly to oppose the match: So that hee commanded to set sail again. Coming thus at length to the Duke of *Vendosme's*, and his Daughter not pleasing him (or rather, the Daughter of *Francis* liking him better) he arrives at *Paris*, and posting thence to the *Lionnois*, where *Francis* was raising an Army against the Emperour (as shall be told hereafter) he obtained the consent of *Francis* (though not without some reluctancy on his part, and wholly against our Kings will) for his Daughter *Magdalen*, whom hee married *Jan. 1, 1537.* The news whereof being brought to our King, troubled him so much, that hee writ to *Francis*, (whom he perfectly loved at that time) That his late Interview with the Pope, and Alliance with the Scottish King vexed him no lesse then it would do a perfect Lover. *De veoir sa Dame entretenir son mortel Enemy*: whereof more at large in its due place. But as *Francis* excuse (alleging it was better he match'd there then with his Adversaries) did in some part satisfie our King; so the new married Lady falling to a Hectick Fever, and dying the yeer following, they both soon return'd to some part of their former correspondence.

Our King now, thought by some to be various in his appetite of Wives, by others to be only unfortunate in them, had, or found occasion to cut off Queen *Anne*; I shall not yet determine whether Princes secret actions be beyond any scrutiny. I will onely lay down the particulars, as far as by Records, or otherwise I could gather them, remitting the rest to the equall Reader.

Queen

Of King HENRY the Eighth.

Queen *Anne* being now without competitrix for her Title, thought her self secure. But prosperity is a dangerous estate to those that use it not reverently. Again beauty is not alwaies the best keeper of it self. It may be doubted yet whether either of those did concern her; since she was thought both moderate in her desires, and of discretion enough to make her capable of being trusted with her own perfections, having lived in the French Court first, and after in this, with the reputation of a vertuous Lady; insomuch that the whisperings of her Enemies could not divert the Kings good Opinion of her, though yet he was in his own nature more jealous then to be satisfied easily. I do reject all those, therefore, that would speak against her Honour in those times they staid in *France*; but I shall as little accuse her in this particular of her affairs at this time; it is enough, that the Law hath Condemned her; and that whether She, or any elsewere in fault, is not now to be discussed. This is certain, that the King had cast his Affection already on *Jane Seymour*, (daughter to Sir *John Seymour* Knight) then attending on the Queen. But whether this alone were enough to procure that Tragedy which followed, may be doubted in this Prince; for I do not find him bloody, but where Law, or at least pretexts drawn from thence did countenance his Actions. But suspicion in great and obnoxious minds, is other then in the Milde and Temperate; and therefore is to them like a Tempest, which though it scarce stir low and shallow waters, when it meets a Sea, both vexeth it, and makes it toss all that comes thereon. So that I dare say nothing hath been Author of so much confusion; since aggravating sometimes that which is ill, sometimes misinterpreting that which is good, it perverts all, and finally leaves the Mind without Remedy; how far yet suspicion wrought on our King, is not for me to define.

To come then to the Narration, I find by our Authors, that on May-day there being a solemne Jufts at *Greenwich* (wherein *George Vicount Rochford* the Queens Brother was chief Challenger, and *Henry Norreis* Principall Defendant) the King suddenly departed. This much troubled the whole Company, especially the Queen. No cause hereof is related yet, unlesse (as *Sanders* hath it) she let fall a Handkercheif, wherewith some one (supposed her Favorite) did wipe his Face, and that this was perceived by the King. But our Histories mention not this passage. The Queen finding the King thus gone, retires her self. He again hasting to *Westminster*, takes order to Commit the next morning *George Lord Rochford* and *Henry Norreis* to the Tower: After which, her self comming to *London* in her Barge, was Apprehended by some of the Lords, and carried towards the Tower, who telling her offence, she exclaimed that she was wronged, and that she desired to see the King onely before she went; but

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but in vain, they having no such Commission. When she entred the Tower, she is said to have fallen on her knees, beseeching God so to help her, as she was not guilty of that whereof she was accused. This was about Five in the afternoon on the Second of May. After which, one *William Brereton* Esquire, and Sir *Francis Weston* of the Kings privy Chamber, and one *Mark Smeton* a Musitian were Committed on the same occasion. The Queen being thus in the Charge of Sir *William Kingston*, Constable of the Tower, much speech past betwixt them, as appears by an Originall of his: Yet as her Language was broken and distressed betwixt Tears and Laughter, (for she used both) little can be inferred thence, only, she seem'd to exclaim on *Norreis*, as if he had accus'd her; when yet she said, they both should die together. She named others also, and thereupon confessed, though not enough to Condemn her, yet such Passages as might argue She took the utmost Liberty, that could be honestly allowed her: But whether she extended it to any further Act, is not there declared. For amidst all her Discourses she still protested her self Innocent. By other Originals also of *Kingstons*, it appears that he had made some difficulty to carry a letter from her to Mr Secretary, and that she wish'd her Bishops were there: For they (she said) would go to the King for her, and that the most part of *England* would pray for her; and that if she died, a punishment will fall on the Land; and in effect I find divers Bishops and learned men did much Honour her, and particularly the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who in a Consolatory Letter to the King, (which I have seen) written as much in her behalf as he durst; yet so as he made no Apology for her, but rather confesseth that diverse of the Lords had told him of such Faults as he was sorry to hear of, desiring howsoever, that he would continue his Love to the Gospell, lest it should be thought it was for her sake onely, he had so favoured it. After which another Letter in her name, but no Originall coming to my hand, from more then one good part, I thought fit to Transcribe here, without other Credit yet then that it is said to be found among the Papers of *Cromwell* then Secretary, and for the rest seems antient and consonant to the matter in question.

S I R

May 6.

Y Our Graces displeasure, and my Imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me, (willing me to confesse a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine antient professed Enemy, I no sooner receiv'd this Message by him, then I rightly conceiv'd your meaning; and as if as you say, Confessing a truth indeed, may procure my safety, I shall with all willingnesse and duty perform your Command.

But

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof ever preceded. And to speak a truth, never Prince had wife more loyall in all duty, and in all true affection, then you have ever found in *Anne Bolen*, with which name and place I could willingly have contented my self, if God and your Graces pleasure, had so been pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget my self in my exaltation, or received Queenship, but that I alwaies looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation then your Graces fancy, the least alteration I know was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other Subject. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my desert or desire; if then you found me worthy of such honour; Good your Grace, let not any light fancy, or bad Counsel of mine enemies withdraw your Princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyall heart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutifull Wife, and the Infant Princeesse your daughter: Try me good King, but let me have a lawfull tryall; and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea let me receive an open tryall, for my truth shall fear no open shames. Then shall you see either mine innocency cleared, your suspition and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure, and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithfull Wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your Grace being not ignorant of my suspition therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness: then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies the Instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruell usage of me at his generall judgement Seat, where both you and my self must shortly appear, and in whose judgement I doubt not (whatsoever the world may thinke of me) mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, that my self may only bear the burthen of your Graces displeasure; and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor Gentlemen, whom (as I understand

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stand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of *Anne Bolen* hath been pleasing in your ears, then let mee obtain this request; And I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. *From my dolefull prison in the Tower, this 6 of May.*

Your most Loyall
and ever faithfull Wife,

ANNE BOLEN.

But whether this Letter were elegantly written by her, or any else heretofore, I know as little, as what Answer might be made thereunto: Onely I cannot omit to tell, that the King was so little satisfied with her Actions or Letters, that not content to have gotten proof enough to put her to death, he would further be divorced from her; which also by due Order and Proceffe of Law (as an Act of Parliament hath it, 28. Hen. 8. 7.) was performed by *Cranmer*. The causes being not yet set down otherwise then that they were declared just, true and lawfull impediments of Marriage: I know not how to satisfie the Reader therein; especially, since the Lady *Elisabeth* their Daughter is thereby pronounced illegitimate. For as concerning Precontracts, I finde by an Original Letter of the Earl of *Northumberland* (who it seems, might most be suspected) that hee disavows it on his part. So that unlesse he retracted this Protestation, or that the contrary were proved, I cannot so much as imagine a reason. The Letter is thus to *Cromwel*.

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I Perceive that there is supposed a Precontract between the Queen and me. Whereupon I was not onely heretofore examined upon mine Oath before the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury* and *York*; but also received the blessed Sacrament upon the same, before the Duke of *Norfolk* and others the Kings Council learned in the Spiritual Law; Assuring you (Mr Secretary) by the said Oath and blessed Body, which afore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my damnation, if ever there were any contract or promise of Marriage between her and me. ¶ But if this were not sufficient, I beleeve such other cause was produced for the Divorce, as might satisfie the people, since the Act was publick. Neither is it much materiall which *Hall* saith, that the validity of this Marriage was questioned, because the King married this second Wife before he was divorced from his first: for it seems contrary to the Act of Parliament, which saith, That the impediments

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ments were, till of late, unknown. Shortly after which shee was arraigned the 15 of *May* 1536, before the Duke of *Norfolk* high Steward of *England* for the day, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk* and others of the Peers: And there notwithstanding her discreet Answers, (as our Historians term them) found guilty, and judgement pronounced accordingly. Immediately after which, the Lord *Rochfort* her brother was arraigned and condemned, as also *Henry Norreis* Esquire, *Mark Smeton* Groom of the Kings Privie-Chamber, *William Brereton* Esquire, and Sir *Francis Weston* Knight, Gentlemen of it, (the Lord Mayor and divers Aldermen and Citizens being present) and the 17 of *May* beheaded: The Queen's death yet was respited till the 19 of the same. About which time order being taken that all strangers in the Tower should be removed, *Kingston* in an Originall to *Cromwell* writ these words: viz.

Sir,

IF we have not an hour certain, as it may be known in *London*, I think here will be but few: And I think a reasonable number were best; for I suppose shee will declare her self to be a good woman for all men, but for the King, at the hour of her death: for this morning she sent for me, and protested her innocency; and now again, and said unto me, *M. Kingston*, I heard say, I shall not die afore noon, and I am sorry therefore; for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain. I told her it should be no pain, it was so *sotell* (for so is his word). And then she said she heard say the Executioner was very good, and I have a little neck, and put her hand about it, laughing heartily: I have seen many men and women executed, and they have been in great sorrow; and to my knowledge, this Lady hath much joy and pleasure in death.

The 19 of *May* being thus come, the Queen, according to the expresse order given, was brought to a scaffold erected upon the Green in the Tower of *London*, where our Historians say, she spake before a great company there assembled to this effect.

Good Christian people, I am come hither to die; for according to the Law, and by the Law I am judged to die, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused, and condemned to die. But I pray God save the King, and send him long to reigne over you; for a gentler nor a more mercifull Prince was there never; and to me hee was ever a good, a gentle, and a Soverain Lord. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the World, and of you all; And I heartily desire you all to pray for me. After which coming to her Devotions, her head was stricken off with a sword.

And thus ended the Queen, lamented by many, both as she

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was

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was desirous to advance Learned men, in which number *Hugh Latimer* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Nicholas Saxton* Bishop of *Salisbury* are recounted; and as she was a great Alms-giver; in so much, as she is said in three quarters of a year to have bestowed 14 or fifteen thousand pounds in this kinde, besides moneys intended by her towards raising a Stock for poor Artificers in the Realme. *Sanders* saith her Father died shortly after for grief; but our Heralds affirm, it was not till about two years after 1538. But that we may leave them both to their Grave and silence, I finde by our Records, that the Princeesse *Mary* did about those times much endeavour to be restored to the King her Fathers good favour and opinion, as hoping now that the Princeesse *Elizabeth* was declared illegitimate, shee should be received as Heir to the Crown: Therefore by frequent and earnest Letters written with her owne hand, she both acknowledgeth her fault of obstinacy heretofore, and craveth instantly from the King to write to her, or send some token as a signe of Reconciliation. Upon which submission, our King, by the Duke of *Norfolk* sent certain Articles for her to subscribe; which were,

First, whether she doth Recognize the Kings Highnesse for her Sovereign Lord, and King, and will submit her self unto his Highnesse and all Laws of the Realm.

Secondly, whether she will with all her Power obey and maintain all the Statutes of the Realm.

Thirdly, whether she wil Recognize the Kings Highness to be Supream Head in Earth of the Church of *England*, and utterly refuse the Bishop of *Romes* pretended Power, or any Interest she hath or may have thereby.

Fourthly, whether she doth freely Recognize and knowledge both by Gods Law and mans law the Marriage heretofore had between his Majesty and her Mother, to be unlawfull.

Fiftly, for what causes, and by whose motion and meanes she hath remained in her obstinacy so long.

Sixtly, what is the cause she now at time above all others submitte, and who did move her hereunto.

In satisfaction to which she returned a subscription, signing with her own name the four first Articles, but concerning the other two, she demurr'd; some Persons being Interested therein, whom she would not discover.

What effect followed hereupon appeares not otherwise, then that notwithstanding this and other Submissions, the King proceeded to his intended Marriage, which also he so hastned, as some say, the day following Queen *Anne's* death; others not til three dayes after, he caus'd it to be Solemniz'd; as not thinking it fit to mourn long, or much, for one the Law had declared Criminall; concerning the Ceremony whereof, as well as the

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the opinion held in these times of the different perfections of the King, and his two Queens, I shall out of our Records produce the censure of Sir *John Russell* (afterwards Earl of *Bedford*) who having been at Church, observed the King to be the goodliest Person there; but of the Queens gave this note, that the Richer Queen *Jane* was in Clothes, the fairer she appeared, but that the other, the Richer she was apparel'd, the worse she look'd; but this Queen certainly deserv'd all the Favour done her, as being reputed the Discreetest, Fairest, and Humblest of the Kings wives; though both Queen *Katherine* in her younger dayes, and the late Queen were not easily Parallel'd. But we will leave them a while, and come unto Forraign busineses now a long time intermitted.

Busineses betwixt our King and the Romane See were not so desperate, but that divers overtures on either side were made for an accommodation; for while the Pope feared, lest our King together with renouncing the Roman Churches Authority, would relinquish the Religion, he not only covered his inward and deep Displeasure, but secretly permitted Treaties in divers kinds with our King, and particularly invited him to a war against the Turk; who also gladly entertained the motion, as hoping the Pope would not so soon joyn Christian Princes against him. Insomuch that Sir *Gregory Casalis* now residing Agent at *Rome*, the Pope about May 20th sent for him, and told him that he heard of the Queens Imprisonment; and was glad that God having freed the King from this unequall Matrimony, had offered his Majesty occasion of gaining eternall Honour, by making Peace between the Emperor and French King; which might be now done by joyning with the Roman See. As for himself, that he never did him but good Offices, as having urged *Clement VII.* to right him in his divorce, & at *Benonia*, (being then Cardinall) perswaded the Emperor to suffer it with Patience. As for *Rocheſter*, that he made him Cardinall only to use him in the ensuing Councell; and when his death was related, being solicited and compelled to revenge it, he could not but yeeld for the time to do those things *quæ tamen nunquam in animo habuit ad exitum perducere*. Wherefore that he purposed to send a *Nuntio* into *England* to Treat of a Peace in Christendome, when our King would hearken thereunto, whence shall follow a Generall Councell, and a war against the Turk: And all this he wish'd Sir *Gregory* to write (as of himself) to our King; as appears by the Original May 27. Shortly after which, I find that Cardinall *Campegius* sending hither his Brother *Marco Antonio* about other Businesse, as regaining his Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, and the place of English Protector in the next Councel, attempted to induce our King to a Reconciliation: But as the terms proposed pleased not, so the Pope conceiving now all further Trea-

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Fox. p. 358.

tie, to be vain, laboured to unite all Christian Princes in a War against him, as a detester of all Papal Authority; and an Heretique. Therefore he both gained *Charles* (who had long solicited a Council) by Summoning one to begin at *Mantua* the year following, May 23. and to oblige *James V*, He sent him a rich Consecrated Sword. He found not yet in *France* that disposition he hoped for, the overtures of War being thought unseasonable, in a time when a general Reformation was expected on the Roman Churches part. Therefore I find by an Original dispatch of *Mount's*, how the Bishop of *Chaalons* in *Campagne* told him, upon notice taken in *France* of the Brevy of the Pope, whereby (as aforesaid) he Excommunicated our King, and deprived him of his Kingdome, and absolved his Subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance, unlesse he return to that See, and abrogated those Lawes were made against the Papal Authority, that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* would warn the Pope, and advise him not to be so bold with princes, unless he would become a laughing-stock to the world, (for these are *Mount's* words); yet did not *Francis* fully comply with our King, but held a middle way: For as he approved not the Popes harsh proceeding, so when our King by his Ambassador gave him account of his actions, expecting his Approbation, he returned this answer: That notwithstanding all the Kings Realm should agree and Condescend never so much to the Right and Title of Succession in the Issue of his second Marriage, yet when Forraign parts shall conceive any other, and contrary Opinion thereof, great troubles might ensue. Whereupon *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* then resident in *France*, was commanded by our King to tell *Francis*, that he marvelled much the King his Brother, being a wise Prince, should so long insist upon these points, since it was ever the manner of lawful Kings to pursue their Right without demanding the Approbation of others. For proof whereof, he said he could give particular instances in *Francis* his Predecessours, who had done many things contrary to the advice of the Popes, (when they were beneficiall to the Kingdome,) and that notwithstanding all opposition they had been happily achieved. Our King was not ignorant, yet, how much it concern'd him to keep *Francis* in good Correspondency, as knowing the desire he had to recover *Milan* (for his second Son the Duke of *Orleans*) was so vehement, as it would incline him wholly to the Emperor, when it might be obtained. And in effect I find by *Bellay*, that the Treaty hereof begun the last year, as aforesaid, was still prosecuted; insomuch that *Charles* gave hope of restoring *Milan* now upon *Sforzas* death (who being thought the last of the Line of *Aeneas* and *Mutius Scaevola*, dyed about the end of October precedent) to the Duke of *Angoulesme* the third Son of *Francis*, when he would send the Duke of *Orleans* his

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second Sonne to assist him in an intended expedition against *Algere*, and help to reduce the Protestant Princes in *Germany* and the King of *England* to an union with the Church; but *Francis* replied, that to give *Milan* from his second Son to his third, was to cause a perpetuall War betwixt two Brothers. Therefore that he desired it for the Duke of *Orleans*, in which case also the said Duke should renounce all claim to *Naples*, *Florence*, *Urbino* &c. That to send him to the Emperor, upon what pretence soever, was in effect to do nothing but put an Hostage into his hand: As for the Reformation and Re-union of those who had any way separated themselves from the Church, he should be glad to second him as well in *Germany* as in *England*. And that for *Henry* the 8. in particular, he thought fit the Emperor should summon all Christian Princes and Potentates to assist him, and as *Bellay* hath it *Donner forte* to constrain the said King to obey the sentence and determination of the Church.

During these Treaties, the French Army under the *Comte de S. Paul* advanced so far in *Savoy*, as they had taken all but *Montmélian*, which yet at last yeelded: while those of *Geneve*, thinking the occasion fair, shook off their obedience to the Duke, and by the help of the Protestant *Swisse*, asserted themselves into the liberty they now enjoy: expelling together their Bishop, and changing the form of both their Civil and Ecclesiasticall Policy. Of all which the Emperour being advertised, thought how to gain time, especially till he had reinforced his Army, not yet fully made up since his late voyage to *Tunis*, and assured himself of the Pope: Therefore he promised the Dutchie of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans*, so that the Dutchesse, being the Relict of *Sforza*, might be provided for, intending thereby (as my Authour hath it) that shee might be given the Scottish King: yet in the manner of performing thereof, so much caution and delay was proposed, as their former jealousies did but increase. And indeed, neither was the overture of *Francis* his requiring the Emperour to presse the Pope against our King, more then device to make our King more firm unto him: Nor the Proposition of the Emperour for restoring *Milan* other then an invention to gain time, hee being resolv'd to succour *Savoy* at what price soever: and the rather, that (as is before said) there was a project of giving all that Country to the Emperour for some other Lands in *Italy*; whereby also the Emperour should have wholly invironed *France*: so that all was but dissimulation on either part. For while these things were treating, the Emperour (though injoyning silence to the French, and promising it himself) yet both acquainted the Pope with divers passages, and together made him jealous of the intentions of *Francis* to invade *Italy*, and drew the Venetians to his side, and made sundry Propositions of Allyance and Friendship with

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with our King, (some whereof we have before shewed) and raised great forces by Sea and Land; upon pretence of employing them against Infidels: While *Francis* on the other part, being well inform'd hereof, resolv'd so to proceed in his War, as hee neglected nothing which might strengthen himself, or weaken his enemies. Therefore, having with a choice Army of fifteen or sixteen thousand under the command of *Chabot* Admiral of *France*, taken the chief places in *Savoy*, he commanded it to advance over the *Alps* towards *Turin* in *Piemont*, which was rendred to him, as also divers other places there. And thus it is probable they might have entered and taken *Milan*; for as the Duke was newly dead, and the Government unsettled; so there wanted all things which might serve to defend the Country. Nevertheless, out of I know not what scrupulosity or presumption, *Francis* commanded *Chabot* to stay until he had sent to demand again the investiture thereof from the Emperour in the name of his Son the Duke of *Orleans*. I am not ignorant yet, that some French Writers say, that *Francis* checkt this command by private Instructions: But *Chabot* thought it safer to follow those directions hee had under the hand and seal of *Francis*, then to comply with an intimated and contradictory advice. Howbeit, the overtures of Peace continued still (at *Naples*, where the Emperour then was) betwixt both Princes, the French Ambassadour Monsieur *de Velly* alledging, that the businesse of *Savoy* was but a particular difference betwixt their King and that Duke, and that it should not hinder the Generall Treaty. To which the Emperour seem'd to give ear also; not omitting yet to raise Forces daily, nor to march towards *Rome*, where the Pope attended him: having for the more enlarging his entry to that City, thrown down the Relicks of the Temple of Peace built by the Romans: And indeed, the Pope's desire was hee should never put up his sword, till hee had reduced our King, and the Protestants to their former devotion, and afterwards invaded the Turk. Of which our King being well informed, (for no Prince had better intelligence) commanded *Richard Pate* his Ambassadour, to treat with the Emperour, though not with intention to joyn with him, so much as to discover his designs. For I finde by *Bellay*, that our King had acquainted *Francis* (by means of his Ambassadour then resident here) with a Letter of the Emperours, about this time sent him, wherein the said Emperour advertised, that he meant to go to *Rome*, and what he would say and do there; Requesting our King further to interpose offices with *Francis* for restoring all hee had taken in *Savoy*, and to divert him from attempting *Milan*. For the rest, desiring our King to forget not onely what discontentment soever had past betwixt them by reason of the Divorce with Queen *Katherine* (since she being dead, all cause of offence

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was ceased) but to renew their antient Treaties of Confederation and Amity ; and together to assist him against the Turk. So that by this free communication of the Emperours Letters, as well as by an Advertisement which I finde *Francis* gave our King of certain following passages at *Rome*, one may perceive what strait correspondence was then held betwixt them. Howsoever, *Pate* in his Negotiation found that the Emperour took nothing so ill as the illegitimation of the Princesse *Mary* : for though our King had given Succours in *Denmark* against his Neece, and encouraged the Princes in Germany to take Arms against him ; yet these affronts the Emperour said might be passed over, but not the Princesse *Mary's* Illegitimation ; whom therefore he desired our King to restore, giving hope (as *Pate* writes from *Rome*) on that condition to procure a generall Councell which might give the King contentment in his desires ; or if he would referre all things to the Pope's Authority, to make his peace with him, to validate his last Marriage, and together establish his Succession, Honour and Conscience in all he could wish. These were indeed thought great offers : But our King considering that they were little more then solicitations and discourses of *Granvelle*, and that to legitimate the Princesse *Mary*, was in effect no lesse then to declare her his Heir, what disguise soever the Emperour would put on it, and desiring, for the rest, nothing so much, as to settle the succession in his future Issue, (which he hoped would be masculine) gave no good audience hereunto. The Emperour having now at *Rome* saluted the Pope and Cardinals, and communicated his reasons in private, Monsieur *de Velly* was referred again to them for an Answer concerning his demand of *Milan*. But the Pope gave him no hope thereof; adding, that the Emperour had no such intention ; and when hee should assent, the Venetians would not, who had entered a League defensive for that Dutchy. Whereupon *Velly* goes to the Emperour, requiring performance from him : But the Emperour demanded whether he had Commission to treat thereof : but *Velly* saying he had none, the Emperour would hear him no more. Nevertheless, to shew a desire to come to a solid peace with *Francis*, and avoid effusion of their Subjects blood : The Emperour in the presence of the Pope, the Cardinals & the Ambassadors of *France*, of *Venice* and many great Prelates and Noblemen assembled, made a long Oration in Spanish, his hat in his hand ; declaring first the causes of quarrel and unkindnesse betwixt *Maximilian* and *Lewis XII*, deducing them after to his times, with much particularity ; and shewing still the fault was on the French side : After which, in the presence of this great Assembly, he made three offers to *Francis*, That if a sure Peace might be concluded, he would give the Dutchy of *Milan* to one
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of the Kings children, (but not to the Duke of *Orleans*) since he knew *Francis* did not demand it so much to fix there, as to serve himself thereof as a step to passe further to the State of *Florence*, and *Urbino*, in the right of the said Dukes Wife: neither would hee accept any disclaim thereof, since he knew it would prevail no more, then that *Francis* had already made of the Dutchie of *Burgundy*. Therefore that he would grant it to the Duke of *Angoulesme* his third son, when *Francis* would declare in what manner he would assist him towards the celebration of a Councel, a Reformation of Christendome, and War against Hereticks and Infidels: Which because it would not be done except all offences were removed, hee required first that his Army should be withdrawn out of *Piemont*: secondly, if within twenty days *Francis* did not approve this, he offered to end the businesse in a Duel betwixt their two Persons; not out of bravery yet, but for avoyding the effusion of blood betwixt their Subjects, too much whereof had been shed already. And that he thought there would be no more difficulty in assigning a fit place for this Combat, then for an enterview, and that it might be in some Ile, or on some Bridge or Boat on the River: And for Arms, hee thought them all good, whether they were Sword, or Poignard, in their shirts; onely in this case, that whosoever overcame, should give his Forces to the Pope, for the more strengthening him to summon a Councel, and reduce all disobedient persons to the Church, and resist the Turk: for which purposes he did there ingage himself to the Pope and Apostolick See; requiring besides, that the Dutchy of *Milan* and *Burgundy* should be depositated in some good hands, and the Victor have both. The third offer was Warre; to which yet hee protested not to come without necessity; though yet hee had sufficient cause, *Francis* having taken Arms against him while he talk'd of a Peace by the entremise of one who had no power to treat thereof: Onely if he were constrain'd to this course, nothing should make him leave it, till one of them both remained the poorest Gentleman in their Country. Thus bowing his head to look upon a scroul lapt about his finger, he made a pause: after which the Pope began to speak; but the Emperour interrupting him, said he had not yet concluded, but would, when he had referred all to his Holinesse, whom he desired to bestow his favour on him who had most reason and equity on his side. This being done, the Pope commended the Emperour's Propositions, as tending to a Peace, and hoped the French King would be no lesse inclined thereunto. After which the Bishop of *Mascon* step'd forth, and said, the Protestation being in Spanish, he understood it not well: But for the point concerning Peace, he knew the King his Master would be inclinable to it; reserving the further

further declaration thereof to Monsieur *de Velly*, who drawing neer, and desiring to be heard, the Emperour stopt him, and said he had already spoken to him too often of Peace, and that he desired deeds and not words; and that hee would grant him no other Audience at that time: onely what he had there publickly said, should be given in writing, and therewith arose: So that though *Velly* desired to answer for his Master, yet the Emperour still laid the fault on him; and thus went with the Pope to Masse. But that evening the Pope, who knew of what consequence a War betwixt these Princes was, sent for the French Ambassadors, desiring them to do good offices in their Dispatches to *Francis*, protesting that he was surpriz'd on his part: And that whatsoever he said, he would keep neutrality betwixt them. The Emperour being now ready to take his leave of the Pope, the French Ambassador desired Audience, and thereupon told the Emperour in the Popes presence, That whereas he had spoken of a Combat with his King in case no Peace were made, without declaring other cause then to spare effusion of their Subjects blood; he desired to know whether his Majesty had made a Challenge to fight: and that if it were so, he durst answer on the part of his King, that it should not be refus'd. And that the Emperour might well remember that heretofore there was question hereof, but not now that he knew; the King his Master desiring to have *Milan* by treaty, and having given expresse command to his Generall in *Piedmont*, not to invade any thing in the Emperours possession: As for the Treaty betwixt them, that it was set down in writing, and the Pope might judge of both; and therefore that he would say no more of it, but know onely whether the Emperour would charge the King his Master, as having fail'd in his word or honour, and whether he had defied him. There were not many present when this passed; which the Emperour observing, call'd all those in the *Sala* and Chamber of Audience, and said, as he spake publickly before, so he would again: Many hereupon repairing to him, he said in Italian, That hee indeed did most desire Peace; but if that could not be, he did then think best that they two in person should end the business; which yet he spake by way of advice, and not as a Challenge; especially since it was in the Pope's presence, without whose permission he would do nothing. And therefore that hee propos'd it only to avoyd a greater inconvenience, as thinking it better to do so, then suffer a War in Christendome: which was the reason also why he appointed him twenty dayes time to retire his Army out of *Piedmont*. But these sharp words (at the Pope's request) were not openly advertiz'd to *Francis*, nor some others, whereby he vilified the Commanders and Soldaresque of that Nation in comparison of his, (as *Bellay* hath it); who re-

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lates the business somewhat more in favour of his Nation, and Monsieur *de Velly*, then *Sandovall* doth, or indeed our Records; amongst which I finde divers of these passages certified by *Richard Pate*. But though the French Ambassadors (at the Pope's intreaty) were sparing in their relation of the Emperours words, which (if wee may beleieve *Sandovall*) were very high, yet order was given to his Ambassadors in *France* (as *Sandovall* hath it) to acquaint *Francis* with them; adding only four days more to the term of twenty formerly prefixed: Though *Bellay* doth not acknowledge this particular.

While these things past thus at *Rome*, the Cardinall of *Lorain* was imployed by *Francis* to the Emperour: Who in his way coming to the French Army, charged *Chabot* not to march further, or innovate any thing, (which troubled him, as being inform'd that the Emperour both rais'd great forces, and drew neer him). After which he went to *Antonio de Leyva* and the Spanish Army, requiring the same of them, at least till he had spoken with the Emperour; whom yet when he found ambiguous in his answers, and uncertain, he acquainted the Pope therewith, and afterwards the French King; who having in the mean while understood by the Emperours Ambassadors resident with him, the effect of his Masters Oration at *Rome* (though yet he would give no copy of it) sent to the Pope a Justification, (set down at large in *Bellay*) in the conclusion whereof he returned this Answer to the Emperours offer of a Combat, That if ever they came neer each other (as might well be if they led their Armies in Person) and the Emperor then sent a Challenge, he would fight with him. But the Pope, who had more use of their swords then to imploy them one against the other, endeavoured still to procure all good amity and correspondence betwixt them: Therefore he sent (upon the request of the Cardinall of *Lorain*) the Cardinal *de Carpi*, and the Cardinal *Trivulzio* to mediate an end; for which purpose they were to go joyntly to the Emperour first, and then one of them to the French King, according to the occasion.

June 22.

But nothing now could hinder the Emperour from going into *France*, where in sequence of a Protestation (as *Sandovall* hath it) to attend the French King thirty dayes to see whether he would come in person to fight, he resolved to march. Having gotten together therefore an Army of about sixty thousand men, and an hundred pieces of Artillery, hee came to *Asti* the 22 of *June* 1536: while his Sister *Mary* (Gouvernesse of the Low-Countries) by his order had raised an Army of twenty thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, under the Command of *Henry* Count of *Nassau* to invade *France* on that part: It was yet advised whether in his way he should take the places in *Savoy*, and *Peidmont*, which the French held, or go strait to *France*, *Antonio*

tonio de Leyva said, that wilde Beasts were to be fought in their dens; And therefore wish'd the Emperour not to spend his men in Sieges, but march on; which counsell being followed (and the rather, that the Emperour desired personally to be in France to acquit himself of his promise,) the Army having first taken some Towns, came neer *Marseilles*: where *Andrea Doria* with his Gallies was appointed to meet him. But *Antonio de Leyva* (a valiant, but covetous and cruell Commander) dying there, and about thirty thousand more of sicknesse and disorder, the Emperour, who had now stayed 33 dayes (as *Sandovall* hath it) in the French Kings Dominions, returned to *Genoua*, and (not long after to *Spain*) leaving order yet for War in *Savoy* and *Peidmont*. But whatsoever retarded *Francis*, it was not want of courage: though I finde by *Bellay*, he was resolv'd by his Counsel rather to weary and famish the Emperors Army, then to fight with him; though yet having rais'd a considerable Army in those parts under the command of *Montmorency*, *Grand-Maistre* of France, he was not unprovided to resist him; besides which, he had another under his own command at *Valence*, not far off, which he yet left at last to come to his other Army. But the Emperour, as having (even by the confession of *Bellay*) lost half his Army, was now remov'd, leaving behinde him so many dead souldiers unburied, that they infected the air. Hereupon *Francis* took advice, whether it were better to follow the Emperour into *Italy*, or to return and raise the siege from *Peronne*, being then in some danger; the later pleas'd him, his affairs in *Italy* at that time succeeding well, and Winter besides drawing on: Onely before he return'd, he thought good to visit *Marseilles*, commanding the *Seigneur de Langey* to repair the ruines of *Aix*, where the Emperour had lodg'd. This being done, and he now going home-wards, the glad news was brought him, that the Siege of *Peronne* was rais'd; which (as *Sandovall* hath it) hap'ned the same day the Emperour dislodg'd from *Aix* to return into *Italy*. And thus did those vaste Preparatives of the Emperour come to nothing; (great Armies as well as little ones having their inconveniencies, especially where sicknesse and disorder doth intervene).

Francis being yet upon his way home (as *Bellay* hath it) received Letters from his Ambassadour in *England*, how our King was inform'd by his Agents in the French Court, that the Emperors retreat was out of stratagem, that the French might follow him, and so be taken at an advantage: And that this Rumour of his mens death, was rais'd only to draw them on the sooner; but that in effect he had not lost 2000 men since his coming out of *Italy*. Upon which false advertisements also, our King forbare to comply with *Francis* as he was wont; where he on the other side estranged himself a little from King *Henry*, inso-

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much, as he began to cherish and love the King of *Scotland* more then before; who also had promised him assistance in his Wars, (which our King had neglected contrary to *Francis* his expectation) and was now in *France*; for which reasons he gave him his Daughter *Magdalene* (as is before related:) Neverthelesse, that he might proceed formally, we sent *Gilles de Pommeray* hither, to tell our King, First, the true cause of the Emperors retreat: Secondly, the cause of his accepting the Scottish King for his Son in law: Thirdly, to propose a Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Orleans* (his Son) and the Princess *Mary*. But when the Marriage with King *James*, and the excuse for it was produced, our King was in that passion, that he would not hear him again for four dayes space; though yet he forgot not by his Councell to shew how ill he took it. So that *Pommeray* without almost daring to speak of the Marriage with the Princess *Mary*, return'd; and the rather, that our King knew well that the Emperor had a good while since propos'd it to *Francis*, onely to sow dissention betwixt both Princes. Our King finding this coldness on the French Kings part, began to think how he might fortifie himself by the Emperors friendship; for which purpose also, (as is aforesaid) several overtures had been made; but the Declaration of the Princess *Mary* to be Illegitimate (which though much labour'd by the Emperor, King *Henry* yet could not be perswaded to revoke) hinder'd all; though he professed himself much inclin'd to return to his antient friendship with *Charles*; so that till after the death of Queen *Jane*, being the yeer following, all things remained in suspence. In which terms also, he thought fit they should be continued till he saw the event of the War, renewed now betwixt the Emperor and French King, with more ardor then ever (as shal be told hereafter) of which occasion therefore our King thought fit to prevail himself, for giving order to his businesses at home: Which that he might do by the advice and consent of his Parliament, he Commanded it to sit 8th of *Janu* 1536.

Regn 28.

June 8.

The Principal Act was touching the succession of the Crown, in which after a rehearsal of the Statute 25 *Henry* 8. 22. touching the Kings Marriages, and limitation of succession to the Crown; And another of 26 *Henry* 8 2. It is declared, that whereas a Marriage heretofore was solemnized betwixt the Kings Highnesse and the Lady *Anne Bolen*, that sithence that time, certain just, true and lawful Impediments of Marriage, unknown at the making of the said Acts, were confessed by the said Lady *Anne* before *Thomas* Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; by which it plainly appeareth, that the said Marriage betwixt his Highnesse and the said Lady *Anne* was never good nor consonant to the Lawes: And therefore his Highnesse was lawfully Divorced from the said Lady *Anne*. Moreover, that she and her Complices be-
fore

fore mentioned, were convict by due course of Law, and have suffer'd according to their merits.

And whereas it hath pleas'd his Highnesse notwithstanding the great perils suffer'd by occasion of his first unlawful Marriage betwixt the Lady *Katherine*, and this unlawful Marriage betwixt the Lady *Anne*, at the most humble Petition of his Nobles in this Realm, and for Conservation of the same, to enter into Marriage again with the Lady *Jane*, according to the Lawes of the Church; and that there is hope she may conceive by his Highnesse; That it is the most humble Petition of his Nobles and Commons, that for extinguishments of all Ambiguities and doubts, it may be enacted in manner and form as followeth. And first, that the Marriage betwixt the King and Queen *Katherine* should be void and of no effect, as being grounded on a dispensation, in a case not dispensable by humane Authority; and so determined by the whole Clergy, and both Universities of this Realm; as also by the Universities of *Benonia*, *Padoua*, *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Tholouse*, *Anjou* and divers others, in regard, she being Wife to his elder Brother Prince *Arthur* was carnally known by him, as was sufficiently proved before *Thomas* Arch. Bishop of *Canterbury*, and therefore, that any Dispensation to the contrary hereof should be to all intents void, and of no effect; and the issue procreated under the same unlawful Marriage, betwixt his Highnesse, and the said Lady *Katherine*, to be Illegitimate, and barr'd from claiming any inheritance from his Highnesse by Lineall descent; and that the Marriage also, betwixt his Highnesse and Queen *Anne* is of no value, ne effect; and that the Divorce made between his Highnesse and her, is good and effectually, and the Issue illegitimate and not inheritable to his Highnesse, by Lineall descent; any former Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

And furthermore, sith many inconveniences have fallen by Marrying within degrees prohibited by Gods Law; which Marriages yet have been often dispenced with by some usurped Power; when yet no man hath Power to dispence with Gods Law. Therefore it was enacted, that if any were Married within the said degrees, or took to Wife the Sister or Daughter &c. of her whom he had before carnally known, he might and should be separated by the definitive sentence of the Arch-bishops, and other Ministers of the Church of *England*: And their said sentence to be good and effectually, without suing any appeal to or from the Court of *Rome*.

Further, it was enacted, that the Issue betwixt his Highnesse and Queen *Jane* should be his lawful Children and Heirs, and inherit according to the course of Inheritance of the Lawes of this Realm, the Imperiall Crown of the same, with all Dignities, Honours, Preeminences, Prerogatives, Authorities, and

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Jurisdiccions to the same annexed or belonging.

But if it should happen that Queen *Jane* should decease without Issue-male of the Body of her Highnesse to be begotten, then the same Imperiall Crown and all other the premiffes to be to his Majesty, and to his Heirs Males by any other lawfull Wife, and to the Heirs of the Body of the same Son and Heir Male lawfully begotten; and so from Son and Heir Male to Son and Heir Male, & to the Heirs of every fuch Son and Heir Male lawfully begotten according to the course of inheritance, as is abovesaid. And for default of such Issue Male, then the said Imperiall Crown and premiffes should be to the Issue Female, betwixt his Majesty and Queen *Jane* begotten, and so again to the Issue Female by any other Wife in like manner; that is to say, to the eldest Issue of the Issue Female and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten; and so from Issue Female to Issue Female and to their Heirs of their Bodies, one after another by course of inheritance according to their ages, as the Crown of *England* hath been accustomed and ought to succeed and go, in case when there is Heir Female inheritable to the same. And forasmuch as it stands in the only will and pleasure of Almighty God, whether his Highness shall have Heirs, and that if they fail, and no provision be made in his life who should Govern this Realm, that then this Realm after his transitory life should be destitute of a lawful Governour, or incumbred with such a Person that would covet to aspire to the same, that in this case, his Highnesse might limit the Crown to any Person or Persons in possession and remainder by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal; or else by his last Will assigned with his hand, after such manner as should be expressed in his said Letters Patents; and that such Person and Persons should have and enjoy the same after his decease in as large and ample manner as the lawfull Heirs of his Body should have done.

After which, order was taken to prevent usurpation of the Crown, and the Penalty of High Treason impos'd on usurpers, as on those also who believed either the Marriage of his Highness with the Lady *Katharine*, or the Lady *Anne*, to be good; and did call the Lady *Mary*, or the Lady *Elizabeth* legitimate, and who used certain words and actions tending to this purpose: As is to be seen more largely in the said Statute.

Furthermore, it was enacted that if his Majesty should decease before any Heir Male of his Body inheritable to the Crown of this Realme should be of the age of 18 years, or any Heir Female which should be inheritable as aforesaid, should be Married, or be of the age of 16 years, that then they, or any of them, shal be and remain until they came unto the said severall ages, at and in the Governance of their natural Mother, and such other his Counsellors and Nobles of his Realm, as his High-

Highness should name and appoint by his last Will in writing, signed with his hand, should limit and appoint, or otherwise to be at and in the Governance of such his Counsellors and Nobles of his Realm, as his Highness should name and appoint, by his last Will in writing, and signed with his hand (as is aforesaid) and that an Oath should be administred for performance of this Act, and the Penalty of High Treason inflicted on those that shall refuse it.

Furthermore, It was enacted, that the King should have Power by his Letters Patents or last Will, as aforesaid, to advance any Person or Persons of his most Royal Blood to any Title, Stile, or name of any Estate, Dignity or Honour, and to give to them or any of them any Castles, Honours, Lands &c. in Fee-simple, Fee-tayle, or for terme of lives, or the life of any of them, saving the Rights and Estates of all others, in and to the same.

Finally, it was enacted, that every Clause, Article, and Sentence therein, should be taken and accepted according to the plain words thereof. How yet this Act was altered 35 *Hen: 8. 1.* shall be declared by me, God willing, in this History; referring the Reader to 1 *Mary 1.* when it was repeal'd.

Howsoever, I thought fit to set it down with much particularity, both as it is Relative to many precedent points touched in this History, and as it leads the way to some that follow; by which also it may appear unto the Reader, with how high a hand the King did authorize his Actions, while each part justified the other, and all his Subjects voices being comprehended in his Parliament, no man could accuse him, who did not in some sort first condemn himself; so that if in those two Divorces he had not reason, the chief of his Kingdome seem'd to erre with him: Unlesse ill Arts with the Nobility, and undue election of the Knights and Burgeses be suppos'd; which though possible in many, and (for that I have seen) there be cause to suspect it, in some; yet to believe a Generall corruption in the prime Persons of a Kingdome, or to allow an Argument drawn from thence only, as conclusive, what is it else but to overthrow and subvert the Columnes and Foundations of Laws? And then what Statute can stand? what decree wil be in force? I wil not yet take on me every where to defend the actions of a Prince, whom so many have bitterly censur'd, as it may be doubtful whether he were more extoll'd at home in his first times, or depress'd afterwards abroad. But thus much I cannot but observe of him, that if where he did ill, he made or found many Complices; where he did well, he had almost the Glory alone; as being so active and knowing in all he undertook, that he was capable of both: Only towards his latter time, as he was thought to decline in his singular perfections of Nature, so all things almost fell to the worse;

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worse; while divers of those ill accidents which befel him, were reveng'd sometimes with so severe a justice, as might be called *Summum Jus*; sometimes repaired with furnishing his wants in that large manner and extent, both on the Spirituality and Temporality, as little else remained, either to be demanded or gotten. In procuring whereof, though he lost much of his former love and esteem, yet he kept himself still upon the high steps of Authority, without stooping either to fear or necessity; so that his most irregular actions represented such a Type of greatnesse, as crooked lines drawn every way, which though not so Compendious and direct as the strait, seem yet to have in them somewhat more of the infinite; but as these things are set down by way of description, and not of Apology; so I will leave them to come to my History, which for being free and impartial, will speak him better to the judicious Reader than my Annotations can.

This yeer *Thomas Howard*, youngest son to *Thomas* late Duke of *Norfolk*, and brother to the present Duke (but by an other mother) had so obtain'd the favour of the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, Daughter to the Queen of Scots (then living in the Kings Court) that some affiancing or privie Contract past betwixt them: whereof the King being informed, was much incensed; as conceiving that one so joyned in blood to him and his Nephew the Scottish King, should not be given nor taken without his consent, especially when she lived so neer him: Wherefore he was committed first to the Tower, and shee not long after. The businesse thus being in *July* brought to the Parliament, and certain suspicions and accusations alledged of aspiring to the Crown (some circumstances being drawn thereunto) he was there attainted of high-Treason: and in sequence thereof a Statute made, That none should marry in the next degrees of the Blood Royall, without the Kings licence first had, &c. Which yet being repealed 1 *Edw.* 6. 12. and 1 *Mary* 1. I mention no otherwise. The news hereof being brought with speed to *Margaret* Queen of Scots, afflicted her much: so that it retarded her journey into *England*, whither she was coming; being desirous also to be reconciled to her former Husband *Archibald Dowglas* Earl of *Angus*. Neverthelesse, she thought fit to write to the King, That whereas she heard he was displeased with her Daughter for promising marriage to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, intending to punish her for the same, she desired his Majestie to pardon her; and if he so pleased, to send her into *Scotland*, that she come no more in his presence; and not to be extreme to his own Blood. Notwithstanding which, both shee and the Lord *Thomas Howard* were committed to the Tower, without suffering other punishment; where also she remain'd till the death of the said *Thomas Howard*: but then released

Parl. Rolls.

August 12.

leased to be a Mother of that great Off-spring which after followed.

Besides these two Statutes formerly mentioned, I finde some others concerning State-Government enacted this Session, which therefore I shall insert here.

Whereas in the 19 Hen. 7. 7. a Law was made, That no Masters, Wardens, and Fellowship of Crafts, or Rulers of Guilds & Fraternities should take upon them to make any Acts or Ordinances, ne to execute any heretofore made by them, or hereafter to be made in disheritance or diminution of the Kings Prerogative, nor of other, nor against the common profit of the people, except the same Act were examined or approved by the Chancellor of *England*, or chief Justice of either Bench, or three of them, or before the Justices of Assise in their Circuit or Progresse, in the Shire where such Acts or Ordinances are made, upon pain of forfeiture, &c. Sith which time, divers Acts and Ordinances contrary to the meaning of the said Act have been made; it was now ordered that Apprentises should pay but little fees at their entry, and that no other should be given to restrain them from keeping shops when they were Freemen. And as this was much to the benefit of those who would learn and set up Trades and occupations, so it was thought by some it would be much more, when the mysteries of the said Trades (as far as could be expressed by words) might be Comanded to be published in Print; to the end that all men (who would) might learn them, and an honest emulation (who should do best) might quicken industry, and bring down the prizes of things: Or if this were not permitted, that at least due order were taken, that the Masters in all Trades might be restrained from packing together to inhance Wares and Commodities, but by the approbation of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer &c. as being to that common profit of the Subject, (mentioned in the Statute) which is more to be esteemed then any mans particular gain.

In sequence whereof, also another Act was made concerning the prices of Wine, to this effect; that no French Wine should be sold by retaile above two pence a quart, and no Malmesseys, Ramneys (being Wines of Romania as I take it) Sacks or sweet Wines, should be above three pence the quart. Provided alwaies that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Kings Councell, Lord Privy-Seal, and the two chief Justices of either Bench, or five, four or three of them should have Power and Authority by their directions to set the prices of Wines; the said prices to be publish'd in Chancery, in the Terme time, or in such Cities, Towns and places where Wines are sold in gros; the contents or quantity of Liquor also, to be held in every vessell, was expressed in the said Statute; and Re-

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medy for losse sustain'd in those which wanted measure : ¶ And though this prevented much coufenage, yet order being not taken to punish those who falsified and corrupted Wines, much abuse in this kind followed.

Order also was taken how Pirates at Sea should be punished.

All Bulls, Breves and dispensations also from the Bishop, or See of *Rome* were declared void; nevertheless, that all marriages Solemniz'd before the third of November 26th of the Kings Reign, and not contrary to Gods Lawes, should be good and effectually. And also that Arch-bishops, Bishops, and all Ecclesiasticall Persons and orders of this Realm, might keep and retain their Arch-bishop-ricks Bishop-ricks &c. and exercise all things pertaining to their Dignities, Offices, Orders, Cures &c. And that the effect and contents of all Bulls, Breves, Faculties &c. purchased of the See of *Rome*, which be allowable, and may be lawfully granted by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*: by the Authority of the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, should be confirmed under the great Seal, at the humble suit of the Petitioners for the same.

1534.

Also, for the more confirmation of the Kings Supremacy (enacted two yeeres since) it was now ordained, that every Ecclesiastical and Lay-Officer, shal be sworn to renounce the said Bishop and his Authority, and to resist it to his Power; reputing any Oath (heretofore taken for the maintenance of the same) to be void. And the refusall of this Oath shal be adjudged High Treason.

July 9.

Some Ecclesiasticall Constitutions also were made, during this short Sessions of Parliament, (beginning the eighth of June, and ending the eighteenth of July next following.) But to leave the lesse important to be seen in their places, I shall here briefly set down the Resultance of certain Articles concluded in the Convocation concerning Religion. These Articles (as I gather out of our Records) were devised by the King himself, and recommended afterwards to the Convocation house by *Cromwell*, who was lately made Baron, and Lord Privy-Seal, and then Vicegerent General of the Kings authority in Ecclesiastical affaires, gave much Subject of discourse. For though the King substituted him for due Administration of Justice in all Causes and Cases concerning Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, as well as for Godly Information, and redress of all errors, Heresies and abuses of the Church, as the Act of Parliament hath it, 31 *Henry 8. 10.* yet because there was no example, either of King of *Israel*, they said (though lawfully in their own Person, enjoying this mixt Power of Spiritual and Temporal) or of Popes that derive their whole Ecclesiastical Power immediately on any else, especially a secular Person, they thought it strange: But that I may passe by those things whereof no Publick reason that

I have seen, is extant, I shall in these Articles observe rather the chief variation they had from the former Doctrines, then repeat the Doctrines themselves, as being sufficiently known.

After establishing (therefore) the Bible, and three received Creeds, with the Explication of the Fathers and the four first Councils, as the grounds of Religion. He made, according to his definition of Sacraments, three onely. First, Baptisme for washing away of sins. Secondly, Penance for satisfaction of faults afterwards committed both towards God and our neighbour. Thirdly, the Eucharist, changing in any of them little yet of the ordinary (as I conceive) unlesse Auricular confession seem not there altogether so strictly commanded as before; nor otherwise much then in case of mortall sin. And that Prayer, Fasting, Almes-deeds as being *Fructus digni Penitentiae*, are not to be held as means of our Salvation by way of merit, but of mercy only. For Justification, that it was attained by Contrition or true Repentance and Faith, which was to be accompanied with Hope, Charity, and other inward and Spirituall motions and Graces, and outward good works.

Concerning Images, That they had been used in the Old Testament, and sometimes (for the abuse of them) taken away; and allowed in the New (as good Authors declare), Therefore that the true use of them should be taught by Bishops and Preachers every where, they being permitted to stand in Churches no otherwise then as Representors of Vertue and stirrers of Devotion; And not that rude people should take superstition thence, as in times past, or that Idolatry should ensue; and that the censuring of them, kneeling before them, and all other honours should be done as in the honour of God onely, although they be done before the Images of Christ, the Crosse, or of our Lady, or any Saint besides.

Concerning honouring of Saints; That we should not trust to obtain at their hands that which is to be had onely of God: yet that they were to be honour'd because they reigned in glory, and were examples of vertue, as not fearing to die for Christ; and therefore to be taken (in that they may) to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ, but not to be had in other reverence and honour.

Concerning praying to them; That it is very laudable to use these words, *All holy Angels and Saints in heaven, pray for us, and with us unto the Father, that for his deer Son Iesu Christs sake wee may have grace of him, and remission of sins, with an earnest purpose (not wanting Ghostly strength) to observe and keep his holy Commandments, and never decline from the same again unto our lives end.* And that in this manner we should pray to our blessed Lady, Saint Iohn Baptist, and other Apostles, so that it be done without any vain superstition, as to think that any Saint is more mercifull

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cifull, or will hear us sooner then Christ, or that any Saint doth serve for one thing more then another, or is Patron of the same. And that we should keep Holidayes in memory of him, and his Saints upon such dayes as the Church hath ordain'd, except they be mitigated or moderated by the assent or commandment of the supreme Head; in which case the Subjects ought to obey it.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, as using certain vestments in Gods service, sprinkling of holy water, giving of holy Bread, bearing of Candles on Candle-masse day, giving of ashes on Ashwednesday, bearing of Palms on Palm-sunday, creeping to the Crofs on Good-Fryday, and offering there unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it, setting up of the Sepulchre of Christ, the hallowing of the Font, and other like Benedictions made by the Ministers of Gods Church; As also all other laudable Customes, Rites and Ceremonies, that they were not to be contemn'd and cast away, but to be used and continued to put us in remembrance of those spirituall things that they do signifie, not suffering them to be forgotten, but renewing them in our memory from time to time: but that none of those Ceremonies have power to remit sins; but onely to stir and lift up our mindes unto God, by whom onely our sins be forgiven.

Concerning Purgatory; Forasmuch as according to due order of Charity, and the Book of *Macchabees*, and divers antient Writers, It is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed: And forasmuch as such uses have continued in the Church even from the beginning, That all Bishops and Preachers should instruct and teach the people not to be grieved with the continuance of the same: But forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and the kinde of pains there also be to us uncertain by Scripture; That therefore this and all other such things were to be remitted to God Almighty, unto whose mercy it is meet & convenient to commend them, trusting that God accepteth our prayers for them; referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their state and condition. And therefore that it was necessary that such abuses should be cleerly put away, which under the name of Purgatory have been advanced; As to make men beleewe, That through the Bishop of *Rome's* Pardons Souls might be cleerly delivered out of Purgatory and all the pains of it, or that Masses said at *Scala Cæli*, or otherwhere in any place, or before any Image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them strait to Heaven; and other like abuses. This was subscribed by *Thomas Cromwell*, *Thomas Cantuariensis*, *Johannes London*, and sixteen Bishops more (*Rowland* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* being comprized by his Proxie) and *William* Abbot of *Westminster*, with

May 8.

Records

with 39 Abbots and Priors; and by the Lower House consisting of 50 Arch-deacons and Proctors of the Clergy; among whom, in the Original I find two Italians, *Polidore Virgil* Arch-deacon of *Wals*, and *Peter Vannes* Arch-deacon of *Worcester*, who not long before was made co-adjutor to *Richard Pace* Dean of *Salisbury*, being then thought commonly distracted and out of his wits.

And thus the King having taken on him the title of *Supreme Head* in his Dominions, would shew how capable he was of it: Though yet he published not these Articles without much consultation with his Bishops and Divines, who stood divided in opinion; some leaning to the *Lutheran*, as *Canterbury*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Rochester*, *S. David* and the rest: others cleaving to the old Doctrine and Rites, as *York*, *London*, *Durham*, *Winchester*, *Chichester*, *Norwich*, and *Carlisle*; whose Arguments on either side the King himself took pains to peruse and moderate, adding Animadversions with his own hand, which are to be seen in our Records: Yet was not his Doctrine approved by the Romish Party, because it took away much of their Authority and Revennue: nor by the Lutheran and Zuinglian, (then beginning to appear in these parts) because it differed from theirs. But whatsoever any of the Reformed might say for their onely two Sacraments, it was thought by some, that according to the Kings Instauration, Penance might have been retained still upon some terms as a third; both as there is no other generall way then Aversion from sin, and Conversion to God known to all mankind for making their peace with him, and obtaining pardon. And as the other two Sacraments being particular Rites onely of the Christian Church, are in their explication subject to so much difficulty and disputes, as no lesse then a mans whole age is required to studie them; whenas this other, being an uncontroverted signe of the operation of Gods Spirit in our hearts, produceth such holy effects, as it ought to be acknowledged not onely as a particular Sacrament of grace, but an universall of the reasonable Nature of mankind, wheresoever it be found; and therefore worthy its former Name and Authority, where abuses in Absolution were taken away: for performing whereof, they said the Priest should never pronounce it but in case of such a serious repentance as might totally efface the fault, and make the sinner a new man; without which therefore he should be told, he was as much liable and obnoxious to sin and punishment, as if no such absolution had ever been given. Whereas now the common Absolution of Priests, extending (for the most part) no farther then to require Attrition, or sorrow for their offences past, and to command, for the rest, some formal Prayers, easie Fasts, or ordinary Pilgrimages, not onely made men beleeve

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beleeve they were quit of their sins at so easie a rate, as they feared not much to return to them again, but usurped on the power of God, while they brought the forgivenesse of sins within their own particular Jurisdiction, and together put off heaven and everlasting happinesse at a cheaper price then either they could justly promise, or frail man expect. So that they concluded, that Priests should be allowed indeed to absolve, But so as men might not think their sins past, as much pardoned as if they had not been committed, unlesse they never do the same offence again; lest greater occasion and liberty of sin should thereby be given.

And now, as the Reader hath formerly seen the Reformation *Francis* would have stood to, when it might have been embraced in *Germany*; so here he may perceive what our King required in *England*: Neither of which yet could ever be accepted, as long as contentious Preachers and factious Schoolmen on all sides would have rather disturb'd the peace of the whole World, then relinquished or retracted one particle of those opinions they had publickly taught their Auditours and Disciples. For which obstinacy also, as the Reformers being the weaker, suffered most, they being usually burnt in these times; and among them one *William Tyndall*, who had translated into English a great part of the Bible (a witty, but violent and sometimes railing Disputant) at a Town neer *Brussels*: so on the other side, these cruelties made the Romish party so odious, as their differences grew almost irreconcilable.

Our King having thus begun to rectifie the frame of Religion, endeavoured now to prevent forraign opposition: And because he knew of what consequence the Generall Council now appointed at *Mantona* was, he obtain'd this Decree to be signed by the Bishops while their Synod lasted.

AS concerning Generall Councils, like as we (taught by long experience) do perfectly know that there never was, ne is any thing devised, invented, or instituted by our Fore-fathers more expedient, or more necessary for the establishment of our Faith, for the extirpation of Heresies, and the abolishing of Sects and Schisms; and finally, for the reducing of Christs people unto one perfect unity and concord in his Religion, then by the having of General Councils, so that the same be lawfully had and congregated in *Spiritu Sancto*, and be also conform and agreeable, aswell concerning the surety and indifferency of the places, as all other points requisite and necessary for the same, unto that wholesome and godly Institution and usage for the which they were at first devised and used in the Primitive Church. Even so on the other side, taught by

September.

Record.

by like experience, we esteeme, repute and judge, That there is, ne can be any thing in the world more pestilent and pernicious to the Common-weal of Christendom, or whereby the truth of Gods Word hath in times past, or hereafter may be sooner defaced and subverted, or whereof hath and may ensue more contention, more discord, and other diuvelish effects, then when such General Councils have or shall be assembled nor Christenly, nor charitably; but for and upon private malice and ambition, or other worldly and carnall respects and considerations, according to the saying of Gregory Nazianzenus in his Epistle to one Procopius, wherein he writeth this sentence following: *Sic sentio, si verum scribendum est, omnes Convventus Episcoporum fugiendos esse, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis solationem malorum, quam incrementum. Nam Cupiditates Contentionum, & gloria (sed ne putes me odiosum ista scribentem) vincunt rationem*, that is to say: I think this, if I should write truly, that all general Councils be to be eschewed. For I never saw that they produced any good end or effect, nor that any provision or remedy, but rather increase of mischiefs proceeded of them. For the desire of maintenance of mens opinions and Ambition of Glory, (but reckon not that I write this of malice) hath alwaies in them overcom'd reason. Wherefore we think that Christian Princes especially and above all things ought and must, with all their Wills, Power, and Diligence foresee and provide *Ne sanctissima hac in parte Majorum instituta ad improbissimos Ambitionis aut Malitia effectus explendos diversissimo suo fine & sceleratissimo pervertantur. Neve ad alium pretextum possint valere & longe diversum effectum Orbi producere, quam Sanctissima Rei facies pra se ferat*. That is to say: Lest the most noble wholesome Institutions of our Elders in this behalfe, be perverted to a most contrary and most wicked end and effect. That is to say, to fulfil and satisfie the wicked affections of mens Ambition and Malice; or lest they might prevail for any other colour or bring forth any other effect, then their most vertuous & laudable countenance doth outwardly to the world shew or pretend. And first of all, we think that they ought Principally to consider who hath the authority to cal together a general Council. Secondly, whether the causes alledged be so weighty and so urgent, that necessarily they require a general Council, nor can otherwise be remedied. Thirdly, who ought to be Judges in the general Council. Fourthly, what order of proceeding is to be observed in the same, And how the opinions or Judgements of the Fathers are to be consulted or asked. Fiftly, what Doctrines are to be allowed or defended, with divers other things which in general Councils ought of reason & equity to be observed. And as unto the first point, we think that neither the Bishop of Rome, ne any one Prince of what Estate, Degree, or Preheminence
foever

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soever he be, may by his own Authority call, indite, or summon any general Councel without the expresse Consent, Assent, and Agreement of the residue of Christian Princes; and especially, such as have within their own Realms and Seignories *Imperium verum*, that is to say, of such as have the whole intire and Supream Government and Authority over all their Subjects, without knowledging or Recognizing of any other Supream Power or Authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think by many and sundry, as well examples as great reasons and Authority. The which, forasmuch as it should be overlong, and tedious to expresse here particularly, we have thought good to omit the same for this present. And in witnesse that this is our plain and determinate sentence, opinion, and judgement touching the premises, we the Prelates and Clergy underwritten, being congregate together in the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, and representing the whole Clergy of the same, have to these presents subscribed our names the 20th of *July* in the yeer of our Lord 1536, 28 Hen. 8.

Thomas Cromwell. Thomas Cantuariensis. Iohannes London. with 13 Bishops, and of Abbots, Priors, Arch-deacons, Deanes, Proctors, Clerks and other Ministers, 49.

Fox.

After which, he set forth an injunction to restrain the number of Holy-dayes, now grown to that excesse, that there was scarce time to gather in Harvest, or hold the seats of Justice in Term time; which as it was inconvenient, so again the abuse of Holy-dayes in drinking and other vices and idlenesse was so great, as many Riots and disorders were committed; for which reason, though the number was limited, yet Priests were suffered to do their duties in Churches on these dayes, and all who would to hear them. And now as the poorer sort were at liberty to work for their living on those dayes, so they approved well this Reformation. Whereby it came to passe that the Reverence of supposed Saints (whereupon much of the Romane Religion was built) growing to an excesse, became one of the first degrees to the Ruine thereof in this Kingdome. In sequence of which, the same yeer he commanded (under the name of *Cromwel* his Vice-gerent) these injunctions following to be observed of the Deanes, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and Stipendaries resident, or having care of Souls eachwhere.

Fox.

1. And First, that in all Parishes and places of Preaching, once every Sunday for a quarter of a yeer together, the Doctrine of Supremacy should be taught, and the Laws to that purpose read, and that the Bishop of *Rome's* Authority having no establishment by the Law of God was justly taken away.

2. That in the Kings Articles, lately set forth, the Real Doctrine of Salvation should be distinguish'd from the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and so taught the people as they might

might know, what was necessary in Religion, and what was Instituted for the decent and Politique order of the Church, according to such a Commandment given heretofore in that point.

3. That the late order concerning abrogating of certain Superstitious Holy-dayes should be read to the people, and they perswaded to keep it.

4. That they should not extoll or set forth Images, Reliques, or Miracles, or allure people to Pilgrimages otherwise then as permitted in the late Articles, but rather exhort them to keep Gods Commandements, and provide for their Families, and what they can give, to bestow it rather on the poor, then upon the said Images or Reliques.

5. That in their Sermons, they admonish Fathers to teach their Children the *Pater noster*, Articles of our Faith, and Commandments in their Mother-tongue; which also should be often repeated by the said youth, and to bring them up in learning or some honest Occupation or Trade, whereby to avoid idleness, and get their living.

6. That Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and Reverently administred by the Parsons, Vicars, and Curats; and if any be absent from their Benefices by Licence, that Learned Curats be left in their place.

7. That every Parson or Proprietary of a Church should provide a Bible in Latine and English, and lay the same in the Quire for every man to read, exhorting them thereunto, as being the word of God, teaching them withall to avoid Controversie amongst themselves in the places they understood not, but to refer themselves therein to the better learned.

8. That the said Deans, Parsons, Vicars, and Curats should not haunt Taverns nor Ale-houses, or use Tables, Cards, or any unlawful Games, but rather at their leasure that they should read the Holy Scripture, and be example to others in purity of life.

9. That because the goods of the Church are the goods of the poor, and yet the needy in these dayes not sustained with the same, therefore all Persons, Vicars, and Prebendaries, and other Beneficed men, which may dispend twenty pounds yearly, or above, should distribute amongst the poor Parishioners in the presence of the Church-wardens, the fortieth part of the Revenue of their Benefices, lest they should be noted of Ingratitude, as receiving 39 parts, and yet not vouchsafing to bestow the fortieth.

10. That every Parson, Vicar, Clark, or Beneficed man, being able to dispend in Benefices or Promotions of the Church 100l. yearly, or more, shall for one, or every of the said 100l. yearly, give a competent Exhibition to maintain one Scholler, or more,

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either in Grammer-Schools, or the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, who when they have profited in learning, may be Partners in their Patrons Cure and charge, in Preaching and otherwise, or else profit the Common-wealth with their Council and Wisdome.

II. That all Parsons, Vicars and Clerks having Churches, Chappels, or Mansions shall bestow yeerly upon the said Mansions or Chancels of their Churches (being in decay) the fifth part of their Benefices, till they had fully repaired the same.

That all these Injunctions should be observed, under pain of suspension and Sequestration of the Benefices untill they were done.

Other Injunctions also at divers times were set out, which may be seen in *Fox*. But as the people were not generally satisfied with the Kings alterations, and proceedings in Religion and Lawes: So certain fifteens, granted by Act of Parliament, which were demanded of them (about these times) being more then for their poverty and former Taxes they were well able to pay, made them not a little murmure; but if this were a Crime in them, *Cromwell* was not altogether free from error; since to charge the Purse at the same time, he would make a Reformation plausible, could be no safe Counsell; And in effect, it proved so. For the people did rise in many places, though as they agreed not alike in the causes of their discontentments, they neither took Armes at once, nor altogether for the same Pretexts. The *Lincoln-shire* men set on by one Doctor *Mackrell* (Prior of *Barlings* in the said County, but calling himself Captain Cobler) began first, though the moderatest in their demands, as hoping, perchance, the sooner to have them granted. But as this was not the way, so neither could they long subsist, when no such necessary motive united them.

The Grievances they sent the King in the quality of most humble Suppliants, were, the suppression of so many Religious houses: The Act of Uses, as restraining the Subjects liberty in the Declaration of their wils: The fifteenth for which yet poverty is only pleaded: That his Grace had ill Counsellours, and of mean Birth about him, (among which *Cromwell* was no forgotten;) That divers Bishops had subverted the Faith, and that they feared the Jewels and Plate of their Parish Churches should be taken from thence, as lately from the Religious houses. For Reformation of which, yet, they, as his poor and true Subjects, humbly desired his Gracious Majesty to call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and to see such order and directions concerning the premisses given, as they might accept his Grace to be their Governour and Supream Head of the Church of *England*, which they did acknowledge to be his Graces true inheritance and Right: And that his Grace should have the tenth,
and

and First-fruits of spirituall Promotion of the value of twenty pound and above, and of all other under the said value, which do not keep Residence and Hospitality.

And now these Articles being published in the Neighbourhood, and thence voyced abroad, drew many to them; while yet for more colouring their Actions, they swore to be true to God, the King, and Common-weal. Neverthelesse, as they reserv'd the interpretation of the Oath to themselves, they began a dangerous Rebellion. All which being advertised to our vigilant King, caused him immediately to dispatch *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* against them about the 7 of *October* (as I finde by an Originall) with Commission to raise Forces: together with which he writ a Letter to them in such a stile, as though he might promise justice, he yet required many things, and particularly that two of the chief Rebels should be delivered to him. Whereupon the Knights and Gentlemen who were associated with these Rebels, wrote to the Duke of *Suffolk*, how ill the people were satisfied with the Kings Reply; and that upon reading of it, they cryed they would march on, and make the Gentlemen go along, or else destroy them. And that for this cause they had taken on them to be their Heads and Captains; as also that by policy they might the better stay them: which yet they thought would be hard to do, in regard the people rose in so many other parts. Adding further, that if they had not found means to keep them back, and perswaded them to petition the King, they had before then been at *Huntington*; and that there was no wayes to appease them but a generall Pardon. This Letter made it self considerable; for when it were a true Allegation, it had its pretext, though not sufficient to excuse the Gentlemen: and when not, it was cunningly remonstrated; for it served both ways. Howbeit, the Duke of *Suffolk* finding that the end thereof, at worst, was to obtain a generall Pardon; and that the Commotion might end thereby, solicited on their behalf: yet so as he offered withall to go against the Rebels with the Forces he had there assembled, if the King gave him leave. In the mean while, he ordered the businesse in that manner, that he obtain'd of them not to proceed till the Kings Answer were returned. But the King, who was informed already from divers parts (but chiefly from *Yorkshire*) that the people began there also to take Arms; and knowing of what great consequence it might be, if the great persons in those parts (though the Rumour were false) should be said to joyn with him, had commanded *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Thomas Mannors* Earl of *Rutland*, and *George Hastings* Earl of *Huntington* to make a Proclamation to the *Lincolnshire* men, summoning and commanding them under their Allegiance and perill of their lives to return: Which

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as it much disheartned them; so many stole away, while the rest (being assured from the Duke, that as long as they were in Arms, it was in vain for him to mediate their Pardon) scattered themselves to divers parts; the more stubborn and poorer sort yet retiring to the *York-shire* men. Besides, they had heard, that (notwithstanding the foul ways of this Country, and the Winter season approaching) the great Ordnance was coming on, and the King in person following: All which considerations, together with the danger that divers of the principall Ring-leaders found themselves in, as being men of good Fortunes, and sure to suffer most, caused them to perswade those who remained, to make their submission as the King required; which was, That they should acknowledge their fault, deliver up their Armour; and approve and maintain all the Acts of Parliament made since the Kings Reign.

And so this business ended: though not that of *York-shire*, which passed in this manner: While the *Lincoln-shire* commotion was on foot, the *York-shire* men made an Insurrection under the command of one *Robert Aske*; They would have it call'd yet only a Pilgrimage of Grace; while, for giving it reputation, certain Priests with Crosses led the way, the Army following with Banners, wherein were painted the Crucifix, the five wounds, and the Chalice. And because they desired to draw in as many good Persons as they could, they attempted first *William Lord Dacres of Gillestland*, advising him (as being of late wrongfully accused, and in danger, had not his Peers acquitted him) to joyn with them, but he refused: Then they sent to invite divers others, using threats, where perswasions served not; inso-much, that at last they made sundry persons of quality swear to be faithfull to them: for they pretended onely the good of the King and Common-wealth, the Church and Religion, and the depressing of Hereticks.

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July.

They being now assembled in great number, the dispossessed and discontented Monks every where made Petitions to *Aske* for remedy; who I finde also re-established them in divers places, wishing them to pray for the King, and to take up victuals of the Farmours of the said Monasteries upon Bill, till their suit were granted. Which being advertised to the King on the one side, and (presently after) that the Commons of *Richmont, Lanca-shire, Durham, Westmerland, &c.* were up in another place, and had fired the Beacons, made him think what hee had to do: Yet was not his service neglected by some of the Nobility there, especially *George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury*, who raising many men before he received the Kings Commission for it, did by this dangerous discretion much advance his service. For though his zeal for the welfare of the State were above scruples, and that some learned men in the Law besides had

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told him, That his intention being good, his action could not be construed ill : He yet said, he knew his danger so well, as he had sent to the King for a Pardon ; while for deterring the Rebels, as well as the satisfying many, who otherwise might have suspected him, hee gave an Oath to his men to be true unto the King ; protesting further, that according to the ancient Loyalty of the *Talbots* to the Crown, when it had been upon a stake, he would have liv'd and dyed in defence of it. And now the first order the King gave was to command the Duke of *Suffolk's* stay in *Lincoln-shire*, lest they should rise again. Then he appointed the Earl of *Shrewsbury* as his Lieutenant, to march with a great Army and the Canon, against the Northern men : he writ also to *Edward Stanley* Earl of *Derby* to raise what Forces he could, promising to repay his Charges. *Henry Courtney* also Marquesse of *Exceter* Cousin-german to the King, and the Earls of *Huntington* and *Rutland* offered themselves to the Kings service. And because now divers Monks in those parts were restored to their Monasteries by the Rebels (as I finde particularly those of *Sally*, *Whally*, *Norton* and *Hexam*) hee commanded them to be taken out, and Martiall Law to be used against them. Yet as the noyse of this Insurrection was by continuall Courriers augmented, *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* about the twentieth of *October* was dispatch'd with Forces to assist the Earl of *Shrewsbury* : who writ to the King, That the *York-shire* men, as being used to Arms, were more considerable then those of *Lincoln-shire* ; yet that they could not long continue together, both for lack of means to provide victuals otherwise then by rapine ; and the season of the yeer : And that the best way was to perswade them to lay down their Arms, or sow sedition among them.

Octob. 17.

This while *Aske* and his Company advancing forward, forced *Edward Lee* Arch-Bishop of *York*, and *Thomas* Lord *Darcy* to surrender to them *Pomfret* Castle, and take the Oath ; which was, That they should enter into this Pilgrimage of Grace for the love of God, the preservation of the Kings Person and Issue, the purifying of the Nobility, and expulsiing all Villan blood, and evill Counsellours ; and for no particular profit for themselves, nor to do displeasure to any, nor to slay nor murder any for envie ; but to put away all fears, and take afore them the Crosse of Christ, his Faith, and the restitution of the Church, the suppression of Hereticks and their opinions. But as this Castle was strong, the Arch-Bishop and Lord *Darcy* (though pretending want of furniture and provision to hold out) were suspected to have render'd it in favour of the Rebels. They stayd not yet so, but took the City of *York* and *Hull* ; and betwixt force and intreaty drew most of the great Persons in those parts unto them. While not content to have
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a pretext of Religion, they by false tales got many Partizans : therefore they gave out as before they had done in *Lincolnshire*, That all the gold in *England* should be brought to the Tower to be touch'd ; and that the King claim'd all the Cattel unmark'd as his : as also all the goods and ornaments of Parish Churches ; that they should pay fines for Christenings, Weddings and Buryings, and for Licences to eat white bread, and the daintier sorts of meats, &c. and this again stirred rancor in the peoples hearts.

Octob. 20.

Aske and his followers being now in *Pomfret*, *Lancaster* the Herald came with a Proclamation from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, requiring it to be read. But *Aske* sitting in state, and having the Arch-Bishop on the one hand, and the Lord *Darcy* on the other, desired first to know the contents ; which being told, he said it should not be proclaimed. Neverthelesse, he gave the Herald a safe conduct, as long as he ware his coat.

Octob. 26.

But the Rebels not contented thus, required *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland* (being then in his Castle of *Skipton*) to joyn with them : But he by Letter assures the King, that though 500 Gentlemen (retain'd at his cost) had forsaken him, he would yet continue the Kings true Subject, and defend his Castle (in which he had great Ordnance) against them all. Sir *Ralf Evers* also kept *Scarborough* Castle with no lesse courage against the Rebels ; he and his company having no sustenance but bread and water for the space of twenty dayes that they besieged him.

Octob. 22.

The King being now in *Windsor*, intends in person to go against the Rebels, commanding his Nobles for this purpose to meet him at *Northampton* *Novemb. 7.* And it was time to take some good order, for they were now grown to be thirty thousand men ; in which number (being divided into three Battels) they presented themselves before *Doncaster* : neer which, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Marquesse of *Exceter* were encamped with an Army, though little in number (as being but five thousand) yet better furnished. And two wayes they had to passe the River *Don* to the Town ; a Bridge, and a Foord : The Bridge the Duke took on him to defend ; not neglecting yet to entertain them with a Treaty, as expecting daily more Forces : The Foord was undertaken by the rest of the Army. This alone yet could not have stayd the Rebels ; but a great Rain falling that night, so increased the water, that it was not passable the next day : Besides, by the coming of some shot, the Bridge was so fortified, that it was now defensible. This hindered not the Treaty ; for the Duke of *Norfolk* and the rest knowing of what importance it was to gain time till all the Kings Forces were assembled ; and having intelligence besides among the Rebels, got a Petition from them

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to be delivered to the King, which Sir *Ralph Elesker* and *Robert Bowes* should carry, (who though manfully defending *Hull* against the Rebels, were at last forced to joyn and take the Oath.) The Duke himself also promised to go with them, upon condition that there might be a cessation from hostility in the meantime; which was condescended to. Coming thus to Court, and the Duke being first heard (who acquainted the King with the State of all things) the aforesaid Commissioners presented the intrusted Petition with many excuses on their own part. But the King, who desir'd still to gain more time, would return no present answer; and the rather, because he was informed by the Duke that the Rebels began to disband; for the Treaty disheartned and divided them, while Rumours were dispersed every where, that some of the Chiefs would Compound for themselves, and leave the rest to the Gallows. Insomuch that daily and nightly they ran away, especially the poorer sort, who had neither meanes to subsist, nor might have leave from their Captain to take any thing by force; which being advertis'd to the King, made him both give private order to discharge those Troops he had appointed to meet him at *Northampton*, and to detain *Elecker* and *Bowes*, upon pretext that some Innovation had been attempted by the *York-shire* men since their coming up: Neverthelesse, at last for clearing all suspicion (since the Commons took this detention of their Messengers so ill, that they encourag'd one another to be in Armes again at an hours warning) the King thought fit to send his answer; yet not by them, but by the Duke of *Norfolk*, together with a safe conduct (under the Great Seal) for three hundred Persons to meet in the Town of *Doncaster* for concluding all things; neither did the King doubt to admit this great number, as being confident they would not only lesse agree among themselvs, but that some would be wonne to his Party. After which the said *Elecker* and *Bowes* had their dispatch too, as being commanded to say, that his Majesty took it marvelous unkindly at their hands, that knowing his Benignity, they would rather rise in Armes then Petition his Majesty, and that they had left their Countrey open to the Scots, who prepared to invade them: Referring the rest to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who brought (as I gather out of those Originals I have seen) the offer of a Pardon to all except six named, and four unnamed, when the rest would submit. But as the four unnamed concern'd every body, so it was declined. Neverthelesse, certain Books the King sent down, which were, as I take it, the Articles of Religion, devised by himself, being received by them, took much misunderstanding and ill impression which their discontented Priests had given, while for accompanying hereof, expresse order was sent to the Bishops in their severall Diocesses, not to neglect the usuall Ceremonies of the Church.

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Kings Letter,
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Hereupon the Clergy of those parts met at *Pomfret*, and agreed on certain Articles of Religion, to be propos'd in the following Treaty. The Arch-bishop of *York* being present, and taking occasion to tell them, that though Pilgrimages were good, yet an Armed Pilgrimage could not be lawfull. After this, a day of meeting at *Doncaster* was appointed, in which *John* Lord *Scroope*, Lord *Latimer*, *John* Lord *Lumley*, and *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Thomas* *Percy*, *Robert* *Aske*, and about 300 persons, were to Treat with the Duke of *Norfolk*, Sir *William* *Fitz-william* Admirall of *England* and the rest: But concerning *Aske*, there was some difficulty, the Rebels demanding Hostages for his safe return. But the King inform'd hereof, answered, that he knew no Gentleman or other, whom he esteemed so little, as to put him in pledge for such a villain; therefore he wished the Duke of *Norfolk* and the rest, to assure the passages over the River *Don*, and to secure *Doncaster*: And whereas the Rebels had demanded an abstinence from War for fourteen dayes, in case no agreement should be made, not to grant it, as being time given them to fortifie themselves, whereas he should rather win it from them by Policy for his own advantage. But the Duke of *Norfolk* supposing that a generall Pardon and a Parliament in those parts (which they required) might quiet all, had by Letter to our King perswaded him to accord it, or else to March towards the Rebels with an Army of Gentlemen and household servants, and not to trust the Commons; since the Rebels though they had laid down Armes, they had yet (upon firing of Beacons and other Signals) agreed among themselves to resume them again on all occasions. And now on December the 6. the 300 on the part of the Commons came to *Doncaster* to the Kings Lieutenants, where their first demand was a generall Pardon, then a Parliament to be held in those parts, and a Court of justice, that none beyond *Trent* might be cited to *London* in Law Suits. After which, they desir'd a repeal of the Act of Parliament for the last Subsidy, for Uses, for Mis-prizion of Treason for words, for Tenths and first fruits; then that the Lady *Mary* might be restored to her Legitimation, the Pope to his wonted Jurisdiction, and the late expulsed Monks to their houses; The Lutherans to be punished, the Lord Privy-seal and Lord Chancellor to be excluded from the next Parliament, and the Doctors, *Leigh* and *Layton* to be imprison'd for Bribery and Extortion. But as these demands were more insolent then those of the *Lincoln shire* men, and howsoever such as the King would not accord, the Lords rejected them; whereupon the Rebels assembled in great numbers, divers others also, desirous to know the successe, appearing among them. Which caused the Duke of *Norfolk* to write again to the King what a multitude was gotten together, and if no agreement followed, his Highnesse Army

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was in ill estate to resist. Therefore, he and his Associates desired his Grace to send them instructions for divers degrees of proceeding with the Rebels, and that the last might be for gaining of time, in case they came to no agreement.

The King finding these difficulties, and suspecting besides that the Emperor had or would have a hand therein, and that the Rebels might have assistance from *Scotland*; And for the rest, believing that all was but mis-understanding in the simpler sort, which yet he hoped his Book of Articles, and other good orders would in time Rectifie, sent to the Duke of *Norfolk* a generall Pardon for the Rebels, and promise of a Parliament, with directions yet to the Duke that he should not make use thereof, but in case of extremity. But the Duke and the other Lords finding so many gathered together, as their number was very great; and being not able to distinguish those who came on the Rebels part, from such as curiosity onely brought thither; and considering that the first deniall of their demands had so inflamed them, that they intended to have fallen upon the Town of *Doncaster*, (had not the River this second time swelling by rain, the night preceding prevented their attempt) made use of the Kings generall Pardon and promise of a Parliament, which they all gladly accepted, and returned home. The contents of this Pardon, dated December 9. at *Richmont*, and sealed with the Great Seal, was as our Records shew, that the King granted them all a generall and free Pardon of all Rebellion, Treasons, Fellowies, and Trespasses, unto the day of the date thereof; provided that they make their submission to the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Shrewsbury* (the Kings Lieutenant,) and that they Rebell no more. I find also by our Records, that to the Petition (formerly mentioned) sent by *Ellesker* and *Bowes*, the King sent a reply pen'd by himself; which I doubt not gave much satisfaction (as another had before done to this effect sent to the *Lincoln-shire* men.) It was this:

First as touching the maintenance of the Faith, the termes be so generall, that it would be very hard to make certain answer to the same; but if they mean the Faith of Christ, to the which, all Christian men be only bound, we declare and protest our self to be that Prince that doth intend, and hath alwaies minded to live and die in the maintenance, defence and observation of the purity of the same. And that no man can or dare set his foot by ours, in proving of the contrary. Marveling therefore much, that ignorant people would go about to take upon them to instruct and teach us (which hath been noted something learned) what the Faith should be. And also, that they being ignorant people, be so presumptuous (seeing that we and our whole Clergy in Convocation, hath in Articles declared it) as to take upon them to correct us all therein. Or that they would be so

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ingrate and unnaturall towards their most Rightfull King, and Naturall Sovereign Lord, without any our desert, upon false reports or surmises to suspect us of the same, and give rather credence to forged light tales, then to the very Truth by us these 28 years used, and by our deeds approved.

The second which toucheth the maintenance of the Church, and the liberties of the same; we say it is so generall a Proposition, that without distinctions no man with troth can answer; neither by Gods Laws nor by the lawes of the Realm. For first, the Church which they mean, must be known. Secondly, whether those things which they call Liberties, and say they would maintain, be things lawfull and beneficiall to the Prince and Common-wealth, or otherwise. And these known, we doubt not but they shall be answered according to Gods Law, Equity, and Justice. Neverthelesse, for all their generality this we dare affirm, that (meaning what Church they list) we have done nothing that may not be abiden by, both by Gods Lawes and mans Lawes, or that is prejudiciall to our Common-wealth, if our proceedings may be indifferently considered. And in our Church of *England*, whereof we be the Supream Head on Earth, we have done nothing so onerous and chargable to them, as many of our Predecessours have done upon much lesser grounds. Wherefore, sithence this Article pertaineth nothing to any of our Commons, nor that they bear any thing therein, we cannot but reckon a great unkindnesse and unnaturallnesse in them, which had leaver a Churl or twain should enjoy those profits of their Monasteries for the supportation and maintenance of abominable life, then that we their Prince should receive the same, towards our extream Charges done, and dayly sustain'd for their defence against forraign Enemies.

The third Article toucheth three things, the First is the Lawes, the Second is the Common-wealth, the Third the directors of the Lawes under us. Touching the Lawes, as it becometh not blind men to judge any Colours, ne to take upon them to be Judges of the same; so we dare expressly and boldly affirme, as a thing that may be easily and duly proved; that there were never in any one of our Predecessors dayes, so many wholesome commodious and beneficiall Acts made for the Common-wealth, as have been made in our time; and sithence some of them had credit and doing in our affaires, that would now perchance pick them thank without desert; for our Lord forbid that both we and our Councell should have lost so much time, as not to know better now, then we did in the beginning of our Reign, what were a Common-wealth, and what were against the good and commodity of the same, seeing we have been a King these twenty eight years, and by experience learned the perfectnesse thereof. And although the folly and unkindnesse of
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some will not perchance let them so knowledg it, yet we trust and doubt not but the most part of our loving Subjects, especially, those which be not seduced by false report, do both think it, accept it, and find it so. Now touching the Common-wealth, what King hath kept his so long in Wealth and Peace, so long without taking or doing wrong one to another, so indifferently ministred justice to all Estates both high and low, so defended them from all outward Enemies, so fortified the Frontier of his Realm to his no little, and in manner inestimable Charges, and all for their wealths and suerties? What King hath given among his Subjects more generall and freer pardons? What King hath been loather to punish his Subjects, or shewed more mercy among them? These things being so true as no true man can deny them; it is an unnaturall and an unkind demeanour of you our Subjects, to believe or deem the contrary of it, by whose report soever it should be set forth against us. And the beginning of our Reign where it is said, that so many Noble-men were Counsellors; we do not forget who were then Counsellors, for of the Temporalty, there were but two worthy to be called Noble, the one the Treasurer of *England*, the other the high Steward of our household. Others, as the Lord *Marney* and *Darcy* but mean born Gentlemen, nor yet of no great lands, till they were promoted by us, and so made Knights and Lords; the rest were Lawyers and Priests; saving the two Bishops of *Canterbury*, and *Winchester*. If these be then the great number of Noble men that is spoken of, and that our Subjects seemed then contented withall, why then be they not much better contented with us which have so many Nobles indeed, both of Birth and condition of our Councell. For first of the Temporalty in our Privy Councell, we have the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquesse of *Exceter*, the Lord *Steward*, (when he is present) the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Sussex*, the Lord *Sands* our Chamberlaine, the Lord Admirall Treasurer of our House, Sir *William Paulet*, Comptroller of our House. And of the Spirituality, the Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Hereford*, and *Chichester*; and for because it is more then necessary to have some in our Privy Councell learned in our Lawes and Pactes of the World: We by the advice of our whole Councell aforementioned, did elect and chuse into our Privy Councell, and also in their Rooms, our Chancellor and Privy Seal; thinking them men in all our opinion most meet for the same Rooms; and we with our whole Councell think it right strange, that yee which be but Brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to appoint us who be meet for our Councell and who be not. Mark therefore now, how these seditious persons, which thus wrongfully have borne you thus in hand, have falsly abused you; that reckon there were then more Noble men in our Privy Councell then

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be now : But yet though of our great clemency and Princely goodnesse we declare now the truth to pull our Subjects from that error and blindnesse they were led and trained to by false and untrue surmise and report ; we would again that every of them knew, that it appertaineth not to any Subject to presume to take upon him the appointment of his King and Sovereign Lord's Councell, ne for our part will wee take any such thing at any of our Subjects hands. Wherefore, we would that from henceforth they should better remember the duties of good subjects to their naturall Liege Lord, and meddle no further with those or such like things as they have nothing to doe withall.

To the fourth Article, where the Commons do name certain of our Councell to be subverters both of Gods Law, and the Laws of this Realm, we do take and repute them as just, and true Executors both of Gods Lawes and ours, as far as their Commission under us doth extend. And if any of our Subjects can duly prove the contrary, we shall proceed against them, and all other offenders therein, according to Justice, as to our estate and dignity Royall doth appertain. And in case it be but a false and an untrue report, as we verily thinke it is, then it were as meet, and standeth as well with justice, that they should have the self-same punishment which wrongfully have objected this to them, that they should have had if they had deserved it. And one thing among others causeth us to think that this slander should be untrue, because it proceedeth from that place which is both far distant from that where they inhabit, and also from those people which never heard them preach, nor yet know any part of their conversation. Wherefore we exhort all ye our Commons to be no more so light of credit in the beleiving of evill things spoke of us your naturall Prince and Sovereign Lord ; nor of any of our Prelats and Counsellors ; but to think that your King, having so long reigned over you with the advice of his Councell, hath as good discretion to elect and chuse his Counsellors, as those, whosoever they be that have put this in your heads, or ye either, being but ignorant people, and out of all experience of Princes Affairs.

Here in this finall point, which ye our Commons of *Yorkshire, Westmerland, Cumberland, the Bishoprick of Durham, Richmond-shire, Craven, Dent, Sedbane,* and all other places that have been seduced to this Insurrection do desire, and also in the matter of the whole discourse of your Petitions ; we verily think that the rest of all our whole Commons of many Countries, to whom you be in manner but an handfull, will greatly disdain, and not bear it, that you take upon you to set order to Us and them, and especially to Us, being Sovereign Lord to
you

you both. And that (you being Rebels) you would make them as bearers and partakers of your mischief, willing them to take pardon for Insurrections, which verily we think and doubt not, they never minded; but like true Subjects to the contrary, have both with heart and deed been ready at our call to defend both Us and themselves. And now for our part, as to your demands, We let you wit, that pardon of such things as you demand, lyeth onely in the will and pleasure of the Prince: But it seemeth by your lewd Proclamations and safe Conduicts, that there be among you which take upon them both the parts of Kings and Counsellors, which neither by Us, nor by the generall consent of our Realm hath been admitted to any such room. What arrogance is then in those wretches, being also of none experience, to presume to raise you our Subjects without Commission or Authority; yea and against Us, under a cloaked colour of your wealth, and in our name, and as the success and end would declare, if we should not be more merciful unto you, then you have deserved, to your own utter confusions? Wherefore, we let all your our said Subjects again wit, That were it not that our Princely heart cannot reckon this your shamefull Insurrection, and most ingrate and unnaturall Rebellion to be done of malice or rancor, but rather by a lightnesse given in manner by a naughty Nature to a Communalty, and a wondrous sudden surreption of Gentlemen: Wee must needs have executed another manner of punishment, then if you will humbly knowledge your fault, and submit your selves to our mercy, we intend to do (as by our Proclamations we doubt not ye be informed.)

And now this great Company being disperfed, began to take Books of controversies in hand, and inform themselves concerning the Kings Articles of Religion. But the Clergy of the North in generall wholly opposing the Kings Reformation, kept the Rebellion still on foot, though outwardly smothered for a while (as will appear in his place).

I shall come now to forrain History.

Barbareffa being driven from *Tunis* repairs to the Turk, newly return'd from the Expedition to *Persia*; and perswades him to take Arms against the Emperour; who wanted (hee said) onely *Algiers* to command intirely all that Coast of *Affrica*. The counsell pleas'd him; and the rather that *Monsieur de Forrest* the French Ambassadour concurred therein, and one *Pignaselo* a Renegado of *Naples*. Assembling thus an Army of 200000 men, and 400 Gallies and Ships, (in which were 3000 Pieces of Ordnance) under the command of *Lusi Bassa*, He appointed them to be ready at *Velona*, being not above 15 Leagues distant from *Otranto* in *Italy*; From whence a small part of the Fleet being

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sent to enter that Continent, they chose rather to fall on *Castro*, then *Otranto*, or *Brindisi*, being stronger then that they could be gotten easily. This great Preparative; yet at last, came to nothing: for those of *Apuglia* not rising in favour of the French (which was hoped) nor *Francis* having any Army neer to second him, and *Doria* (besides that) having taken some of their Gallies from them, the *Bassa* having gotten *Castro*, and gotten store of Captives, neglected the enterprize, and return'd; while *Forrest* the French Ambassador died at *Velona*.

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June 6.
Sandovall.

About this time *Alexandro de Medicis* first Duke of *Florence* was betray'd by his kinsman *Lorenzo de Medicis*, who promising to help him to a Lady much desired by the Duke, entised him to his house in the night: but in stead of the Lady, *Lorenzo* with two Assassins came in and kill'd him; which yet was revenged by *Cozimo de Medicis* his Successor.

Though the Emperour were now retir'd to *Spain*, (as is told before,) he yet continued his Wars against the French in the Low-Countries (and the rather, that our King had promised to be Neuter betwixt them) giving order thereupon for to besiege *Therouenne*; which being advertised to *Francis*, caused him to raise an Army of 25000 men under *Anne Montmorancy* his Lieutenant, wherewith (the King being present) *Hesdin*, *S. Paul*, and divers other places were taken: while by a publick Act in *Paris* the Emperour was declared a Rebel and Felon, and that he had forfeited all the Estate he held of the French Crown, being *Artois*, *Flanders*, *Charolois*, and some others. But some considerable Forces being raised on the Emperours part, and half the French Army being diminished by reason of Garisons put into the Towns won, and other occasions, *Francis* with the rest of his Army returned. The Emperiall Army hereupon, commanded by the *Count de Bures*, took * back *S. Paul*, † surprised *Monstreul*, and defeated *Claude de Annebault* Marechal of *France*, though bravely defending himself after his victualling of *Therouenne*. Things being brought to these extremities, *Mary* Queen of *Hungary* Regent of the Low-Countries, mediated and effected a Truce on those parts between the two Princes for three months: while in *Savoy* some Towns revolting, the *Count de S. Paul* was sent thither by *Francis*, who recovered all again, and freed *Turin* then besieged by the Imperials. Yet *Alonso de Avalos* Marquesse of *Guaſto* won back the greatest part of the Marquesate of *Saluces* in the behalf of *Francois* Marquesse thereof; who for falling away to the Emperour, was by the French King not long since deprived of his Possessions. But the Marquesse enjoyed not this Restitution; being kill'd soon after with a small shot, while he play'd the part of a Canoneer at the siege of the Castle of *Carmaniola*. *Francis* understanding now the progresse of the Spaniard in those parts, commands the

May.

* June 15.

† June 19.

July.

Septemb. 5.

the *Seigneur de Humieres* with some German Foot to passe to *Peidmont*, both to defend the places hee had gotten there, and take others; who thereupon besieged *Asti*, but in vain, it being well defended; so that raising the siege, he went to *Albe*, which was rendred him without resistance.

Businesse passing thus with various successe on both sides, *Francis* thought fit to send *Henry* the new *Daulphin* (his Elder Brother *Francis* after four dayes sicknesse, being the last yeer dead of a surfit of drinking cold water after Tennis-play, rather then poyson by the Emperors procurement, though one suffer'd for it) and *Antoine de Bourton* Duke of *Vendosme*, and *Montmorancy* who made their way over the Alps, by force took divers towns and perform'd many brave exploits, which being advertis'd to the King, made him resolve to go thither in Person, where advising with the *Daulphin*, and *Montmorancy* what was further to be done, News was brought of a general abstinence of War concluded by the mediation of the Queen of *Hungary*, from that time being 28 of November 1537. till the 22th of February following; for as upon a Truce made a little before in *Picardie* for three months (as abovesaid) Commissioners were sent to the Emperor to Treat of a Peace, or at least a generall Truce, and that for a longer time, so this Cessation was accorded: And the rather, that the Pope had now long while mediated it. And by this means, as the siege was raised from *Theroienne*, so the French remain'd in possession of all they had in *Piedmont*. This Truce being published, the Marques of *Guaſto* demanded leave to kisse the hands of *Francis*; which being granted, he with many Spaniards in good equipage came towards the Army at *Carmagnola*, while *Francis* for more honouring of *Montmorancy*, (as a man who for his rare merits, he thought deserved that esteem) took him in the middle, betwixt himself and the *Daulphin*, and so expected the Marquesse, who having first done his due respects, and after Treated of an agreement concerning the Soldatesque in the places taken on either part, departed with much satisfaction of the reception which *Francis* had given.

The Emperor this while not unmindfull of the Princeſſe *Mary*, us'd all meanes for restoring her to her legitimation and possibility of inheritance. Therefore, desiring of the Pope that *Reginald Pool* (who a little before had written his Books *de unione Ecclesiastica*) should be made Cardinall, the Pope both easily granted it, and in the beginning of 1537. imploy'd him as Legat to *Flanders*, that by this meanes he might confirm the Romane Catholiques in *England*, and advance his designes, being to stir up Enemies to our King. Though as *Pool* was of the Blood-Royall (his mother *Margeret* Countesse of *Salisbury*, being daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the IV.) many wanted not, who believed that his zeal was complicate with

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July 6.

Octob. 10.

1536
August 10.

Novemb. 28.

Decemb. 22.
1536.

1537

March.

with some Ambition to intitle his Line to the Crown, when our King might be depofed, and his posterity efpecially by Queen *Anne*, declared illegitimate. Being now on his way, our King who was inform'd hereof, writ to *Francis* to deny him paffage through his Kingdom, or to deliver him up as a Rebel, or at leaft not to treat with him as a Legat, who thereupon difmiff'd him. Coming thus to the Low-Countries, his fervant *Michael Throgmorton* was very inquisitive (as our Records tell us) whether the Queen (being now great) were thought by the Phyficians to bear a Man-child or Female: which, as it made the intentions of the Cardinall more fufpected, fo it gave occafion to *John Hutton* the Kings Agent in the Low-Countries to gain *Throgmorton*. He was alfo commanded by our King to charge the Queen-Regent there with breach of Treaty, if ſhe received the Cardinall, being (as he called him) a Traitor; which hee ſeconded alfo in that manner, that though at firſt ſhe ſaid it was not fit for her to refuſe the Pope's Legat: yet being now urged again, at a time when ſhee was (as is before related) in war with *Francis*, ſhe forbade the Cardinall to enter; telling him, that ſince he was an Engliſh-man of that quality, his negotiation could not be hidden, and that it might be to her prejudice. Howſoever, the Cardinal ſent a Letter to the Lord *Cromwell*, to clear himſelf of all ill deſigne againſt our King, and diſpatch'd *John Matthei* Biſhop of *Verona* to the Regent, both to charge her with diſobedience to the Apoſtolick See, and to proteſt that Legat was never ſo uſed: adding, that his buſineſſe was chiefly to diſpute the errors of our Kings Reformation. But the Lady Regent not liking Diſputations of Religion in her Dominions, again refuſed him: So that hee was forced to hold his correſpondence in *England* by more clandestine means: Whereof, as alſo his other proceedings, his fervant *Throgmorton* and one Frier *Peto* certified ſome part, as I finde by our Records; as alſo his return to *Rome* in *Novemb.* 1537, where he was received with much triumph (as the ſaid *Throgmorton* affirmed). This proceeding of the Pope's on the other ſide made our King cheriſh the Princes of *Germany*: for which hee took this Occaſion.

Novemb.

Febr. 7.

1532.

The Proteſtants finding their late Pacification with the Emperour not obſerved in all points, met again at *Smalcald* *Febr.* 7. 1537, to conſult what was to be done. Hither *Heldus* came on the Emperours part, who exhorted the Princes, firſt To accept the Councell indicted: Secondly, To aid the Emperour with money againſt the Turk; or (if he ſtirr'd not) againſt the French (now uſurping *Savoy*) &c. Thirdly, He objected to them, that they had received into their League new Confederates ſince the Treaty at *Noremberg*. To this the Proteſtnats answer'd, That for the Councell, it was not propoſed in

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in a due manner nor place (the Emperour and Princes having decreed that it should be in *Germany*) therefore they could not admit it. For the Treaty of Peace at *Noremberg*, it was not broken by them, but by the Emperours Officers, who in the *Camera Imperialis*, contrary to the conditions agreed on, had questioned men for causes touching Religion. And as for those entred into their League since the Treaty of *Noremberg*, It was desired that they also might be comprehended in that Peace; upon which condition they promised to furnish the Emperour such moneys as he required. Howbeit, if he offered violence to them, they protested to defend them as their Confederates.

Things standing thus, King *Henry* privately dispatched *William Paget* and *Christopher Mount* to *Smalcald*, with Instructions to take *France* in their way, and acquaint *Stephen Gardiner* his English Ambassadour, and the French King therewith, and by their directions to do all things, and that the voyage was to be performed in disguised habit. In conclusion, the summe of their Instructions was, To dehort the German Princes from according either with the Emperour, or to the Councel indicted; but rather to referre all their differences to him and the French King. And herein as the King pretended to shew his love to the said Princes, (who, if the Emperour made a Peace with them, should (he said) be singly and separately oppress'd) so he had his own ends, as knowing that if a Councel were held, his Actions would receive no favourable censure; so that though not onely the French King, but the Emperour had promis'd (as I finde in our Records) That in the Councell his Affairs should not be questioned; yet he gave them no intire credit. Therefore, after the Protestants had sent him their Recusation of the Councell, He made a publick Protestation against it; shewing, That the Indiction belong'd not to the Bishop of *Rome*, but to the Emperour, and the Princes who should send or come thither. That the time was unfit, War being then betwixt the Emperour and *Francis*; the place inconvenient for the English, as being in *Mantua*; whither they could neither come safely, nor declare themselves freely; That the manner of deciding controversies in Religion was unjust, the Bishop of *Rome* being Judge in his own cause; That therefore the Pope's intention was rather to establish his Authority on this occasion, then to yeeld to a Reformation, and after all to glory that a Councell had damned the contrary opinions. That for his particular therefore, hee would not come there, as having more reason to keep home and provide against the Rebellions and Mischiefs that the said Bishop had now for three yeers space procured or raised in his Kingdom, then run new dangers. In conclusion, That nothing remain'd to be done, but

Febr.

March 25.

H h h

that

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Cone. Trid.

Cone. Trid.
Sleid.1535
June.Sleid. Com.
lib. 12.

that every Prince should reform in his own Kingdom; all other wayes being suspect, perillous, and unequall; yet if any could shew a better Expedient, he would give ear to it. The French King would not declare himself yet so far; and indeed he had use of the Pope at this time. Neverthelesse, he publickly protested again to the Princes, That he would never consent to a Councell which was not assembled in a safe place, and free manner: and that his Son-in-law the King of Scots was of the same minde.

May now approaching, *Frederic* Duke of *Mantua* required money of the Pope to maintain a Guard for the security of his City during the Councell. But the Pope denying this, or at least requiring, that if he paid this Guard, it might be at his command, found the Duke averse; so that he deferred the Councel from *May* to *November*, and then to *May* next, and lastly, transferred it to *Vicenza*, being in the Venetian Territory. And because (by reason of these delays) many doubted whether the Pope really intended a redresse to the enormities then generally complained of, he resolved privately to proceed in a Reformation a yeer since proposed. And this was a singular ingenuity: yet as he referred the busineses to the Cardinals *Contarino*, *Theatino*, *Sadolet*, and *Reginald Poole*, and some others who were passionate on their own side, they produced, after many Conferences, no more then a Remonstrance of divers abuses in the Government and Administration of Ecclesiasticall Persons and Affairs; for in the Church-Doctrine they would not admit an error. But there were few Princes then living who would not have been glad that something more had been done; both as their Subjects were so much at the Pope's dispose (when he would use his Authority), and as no little sums were drawn out of their Kingdoms; that I may say nothing of Theological points vexed on either side. Howbeit, this Reformation (being extant in *Sleidan lib. 12.*) is worth the seeing: for certainly it was the occasion of rectifying divers abuses in that Church; so that it hath been better, or at least warier ever since: Whereby it appears, that controversies in Religion, though they produce many pernicious effects, have yet this one good, that they make both sides more carefull not to offend; while fear lest personall faults should redound to the detriment of the Religion they professe, becomes a caution for vertue and good example; so can God draw good out of evill; and so can man pervert all again: For though indeed there was hope at this time that a further Reformation might have followed, (and certainly it had been the safest way to begin there) yet as *Luther*, *Sturmius*, and others hearing what was done by the Delegates at *Rome*, both irrided it publickly, and rejected all Reformations but their own; so all hope of Reconciliation

ciliation in this kinde was precluded: while the Pope and Cardinals hearing thereof again, found now so little probability of an accord by endeavouring to come nearer the Protestants, that they thought it would rather derogate from the Authority of their Church (as if it might erre) then establish a generall Peace.

It is time I turn now to those home Affairs which passed while those forreign Busineses formerly related were in action.

The Insurrection of the North was not yet so quieted, but that the King thought fit to hold a hand over them: therefore he commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* to stay there, and together with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to compose all things: Who thereupon took the submission of the Commons; which was, First, To revoke all Oathes and Promises made in the former Insurrection, asking the King forgiveness on their knees. Secondly, to be true to the King, his Heirs and Successors. Thirdly, To observe & maintain all Acts of Parliament since the first yeer of the Kings Reign. Fourthly, Not to take Arms again, but by his Highnesse Authority. Fifthly, To apprehend all seditious persons. And sixthly, To remove all the Monks, Friers and Nuns they had reinplaced in the late dissolved Monasteries. Together with which these Lords had private Instructions to bring in the Lord *Thomas Darcy* and *Robert Aske*; and for *Aske*, I finde by our History and Records, That he came to our King, and that upon the submission aforesaid, and oath not to depart for any long season without the Kings leave, being well received for the present, hee was dismiss'd again. But the Lord *Darcy*, suspecting he should be questioned, excused himself to *Crumwell*; saying, That all he did was onely for retaining so much credit among the Commons, as might better enable him to do his Highnesse service: adding thereunto a note of the Services he had done the King and his Father for fifty yeers. But this did not avail; for he was sent for to *London*, and imprisoned, that so he might no more run such hazards, the King foreseeing the Rebellion would break out again, as indeed it happened: For *Nicholas Musgrave*, *Thomas Tilby*, and others besieged *Carlile* with 8000 men, but were repulsed by the City; and in their return encountred by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who caused all the Captains (save *Musgrave*, who escaped) and about seventy persons by Law-Martiall to be hanged on *Carlile* Walls.

Sir *Francis Bigot* and one *Halam* attempted also to surprize the Town of *Hull*; but were prevented, and they both taken and executed. For which Insurrections, and some lesser which followed, I finde yet no reason delivered, but that the People were unsatisfied because a Parliament was not held at *Tork*, ac-

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Febr.

March 18.

1537

Febr.

cording to their expectation; and that they imagin'd the Duke of *Norfolk* had order secretly (notwithstanding the Pardon) to chastise the principal offenders. But our King on the other side, alledged, That since they had not restored all the Religious Houses, in which they had reinplaced the Monks, he was not bound strictly to hold promise with them. Howsoever, these new Revolts ended quickly: And now the Duke having this occasion, proceeded severely; for having by the King's commandment spread his Royall Banner, he thereupon executed Martiall-Law where he thought it needfull. In conclusion, so many were found to be complices in Treason, or the conspiracy of it, That the Lord *Darcy*, *Robert Aske*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *John Bulmer* and his Wife (or Paramour,) Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempest*, and *William Lumley* were taken and brought prisoners to *London*; and in *June* following, the Lord *Hussy* for the *Lincoln-shire* businesse, and the Lord *Darcy* were arraigned at *Westminster* before the Marquesse of *Exceter* then High Steward, and found guilty of high Treason. The Lord *Darcy* was beheaded at *Tower-hill*, and the Lord *Hussy* at *Lincoln*: others were hang'd at *Hull*, and at *York*, some else-where, among whom were divers religious persons: The news whereof being certified by the Duke of *Norfolk* to Court, the King by Letter to him, said, he would close this Tragedy: For he sent now a generall Pardon; which was received with great joy, many being terrified with the Dukes proceedings. All this great Service of the Duke of *Norfolk* yet could not exempt him from calumny: For the Lord *Darcy* during his imprisonment, had accus'd him, as favouring the Rebels Articles when they first met at *Doncaster*: But the Duke denyed it, offering the Duel; saying, that *Aske* (who suffered at *York* before the said Lord) told him the said Lords intentions; who (he said) bare him ill will ever since the Duke had solicited the said Lord to deliver *Aske* into his hands, when he was in chief credit with the Rebels; which *Darcy* denying, some expostulation had pass'd betwixt them. Neverthelesse, I finde the King was so well satisfied of the Duke, that those things were pass'd over without further questioning.

Novemb. 14.
1536.

Records.

Of all which proceedings (from the beginning) though *James* the Scottish King (now in *France*) were advertiz'd; yet he stir'd not. And it was happy for our State; for had hee joyn'd, he might have endangered the Northern parts, as People stood then affected. Howsoever, our King who thought his absence was not security enough, had employed Sir *Ralph Sadler* thither, with command to reside, till *James* return'd (which was about *Whirfontide* 1537.) and to inform him of all occurrents. Howbeit, I find that *James* in his way touching on the coast of *England*, divers English cast themselves at his feet, and

and desired him to assist them, saying, he should have all (for so the Originall hath it.) But the King would not suddenly discover himself. Coming thus to *Edenburgh* with his new married Queen, (who was brought up under the Queen of *Navar*, and not disaffected to the Reformation of Religion) he was received with much joy, which yet continued not long, she dying shortly after of an Hectique Fever : (as hath been formerly related.) Whereupon Cardinall *Beton* and *Robert Maxwell* were sent into *France* to treat of a Marriage betwixt him and *Mary* of the house of *Guise*, and widow of the Duke of *Longueville*, which also followed.

1537

The King having appeased all things in these parts, procures the establishment of his Authority in *Ireland*; but as now the vigorous and many executions done upon all sorts of Persons had made him terrible; so that sweet temper of love and fear, which ought to be equally mix'd in all Subjects hearts was turn'd into that awe and dread as few thought themselves safe; which though it might have caused some apprehension in him, had he been capable thereof, yet without being troubled for any thing, he resolved to hold his way, and where occasion was, to punish severely : Therefore he gave order that *Thomas Fitz-Gerald* son to the Earl of *Kildare*, and five of his Uncles, after a long detention in prison, at this time should suffer death at *Tyburn*; who yet had he not hoped of Pardon by the intercession of the Lord *Grey*, to whom he yeelded himself, (as is formerly mentioned), he would have dyed some other death. All the race yet ended not so, for *Gerald* yonger brother to *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, being sought for, was packt up in a bundle of Clothes, and convey'd to his friends in *Ireland*, and so to *France*, and from thence to the Low-countries, in both which places being required of our King, he did at length fly to Cardinal *Pool* in *Italy*, who being his Kinsman, and finding him a fit Instrument for his purposes, kept, and cherish'd him, untill he obtained in after-times, that he might be restored to his country and place.

June. 1538.

This being done, our King devised certain Acts to passe in the Parliament of *Ireland*; being for the avoiding of all Bulls, Breves, Dispensations, &c. granted by the Pope; and that the People should use the English tongue. That Marchers should dwell upon their March lands : That certain Religious Houses there should be suppress : Against alliance with Rebels ; For establishing Succession ; For the First-fruits and twentieth part of spiritual promotions ; That those who took part with *Kildare* might be pardoned, when they fined for it, &c. Of which more may be seen in the Irish Statutes.

Febr. 3.
1538.

This year at *Hampton Court* Prince *Edward* was born, October 12. 1537. who (to use *Polydore's* words) was *Princeps natus ad Imperium*;

Octob. 12.

1537

Novemb. 8.

Hollingsb.

Octob. 18.

May 1536.

Aug. 16.

1536.

October 31.

Sandoval.

1538

March.

May 12.

Imperium; yet was not the happiness entire; for Queen *Jane* two dayes after her delivery died, and was buried in the Quire at *Windsor*, whose losse much afflicted the King, as having found Her alwaies discreet, humble, and loyall; for which reason also, he was not so forward to match again. Insomuch that notwithstanding some good offers made him, he continued a widower more then two yeares; which in his declining age and corpulence (for He grew now very unweildy) was a long space. The Prince yet not being above six daies old, was made Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*: Sir *Edward Seymor* also Brother to the Queen, lately made Lord *Beauchamp*, was created Earl of *Hertford*. And Sir *William Fitz-William* (made Admirall of *England* lately) Earl of *Southampton*. And in *March* following Sir *William Paulet*, Treasurer of the Kings House, was made Lord *St. John*; and Sir *John Russell* Comptroller, Lord *Russell*.

And now (as I find by our Records) Queen *Margaret* hearing of this Princes birth, congratulates it, and together complains of some unkindness in her son, desiring she might end her dayes (being now about 49.) in quietnesse; but if our King could give no remedy thereunto, it comforted her yet, that she understood how (upon the death of the Lord *Thomas Howard*) her daughter was at this time released out of the Tower.

I shall conclude this year with a prodigious effect of Mount *Aetna*, the flames whereof lifting up a huge mass of burning sulphure, by slow degrees, to a great height, sustained it there, till at length it scattered over all the Country, and killed (as my Author *Sandoval* hath it) innumerable Men and Beasts.

In *March* 1538. the Protestants meeting at *Brunswick*, our King sent thither *Christopher Mount* with Instructions. First, to see who were the Confederats. Secondly, whether their league was for Generall defence, or limited to matter of Religion only. Thirdly, to require a finall Answer, whether they would the great Legation with *Melancthon* as they had promised. But they desiring King *Henry* should first declare, what points he disliked in their Confession, least the Ambassador should after so great expectation return without effect, excused themselves in this last point, pretending that they had present use of their learned men, &c. And as to the other two Articles, they declared, That their League was onely in the Cause of Religion, and sent the names of their Confederates, being (as the Record shews) XXVI Cities, and XXIII Princes; among whom the King of *Denmark* was newly admitted. Nevertheless, to ripen matters for a further Treaty, they gave Commission to their Agents now sent (being *Francis Burgrat*, and two other men not unlearned) to dispute with the English Divines about

about Religion, which they did, till being recall'd home, they craved dismission of the King, leaving with them their Remonstrance touching divers abuses in *England*: as 1. The Administrations of the Eucharist in one kinde onely. 2. Private Masse. 3. Celibate of Priests: against which they urged Scripture, and the ancient Fathers; adding, that their Princes would never admit the same; and that it belongs to his Majesty to restore the purity of Religion, as did the Kings, *David, Josias, Jehoshaphat, Ezekias, &c.* This, though commended to the King and *Cromwell* by Arch-bishop *Cranmer*, was yet opposed by divers others, and particularly by *Cuthbert* Bishop of *Duresme*, (who extracted the said Declaration for the King, and gave him Arguments against it). So that the King for all Answer to the said Orators, defended the points they would have reformed. Inſomuch, that they return'd unsatisfied and frustrate. King *Henry* the while proceeding in his own Reformation, as hoping the Protestants in *Germany* would be drawn to him. And because he had been often importuned to authorize a Translation of the Bible, He committed the care thereof to *Cromwell*, and the Printing to *Richard Grafton*; who pretending the want of good Paper here, got our Kings and *Francis* Licence to print it at *Paris* both in Latine and English in a large Volume: which therefore by *Cromwell* the Vicegerents Injunctions this year (1538) was to be set in every Church for the people to read: Yet so, as the King by Proclamation gave them to understand, that this was not his duty, but his goodnesse and liberality to them; who therefore should use it moderately, for the increaſe of vertue, not of strife. And therefore no man should read it aloud to disturbe the Priest while he sang Masse, nor presume to expound doubtful places without advice from the learned.

The King having Issue Male, proceeded more confidently in his designs: And because he knew that the pretended and false Miracles of Priests had seduced many ignorant people to a superstitious obedience to the Romish See, and reverence of Monasteries, he resolv'd to detect them, at least, as many as he could; for divers were so cunningly represented, as they had kept their credit for some ages; the manner of these times being, if a man were restored to his health upon a Pilgrimage, or obtain'd any thing he desired upon a vow to some Saint, never to study other cause.

And here out of our Records I shall mention some of the Images and Relicks to which the Pilgrimages of those times brought Devotion and Offerings; as our Ladie's girdle, shewed in eleven severall places, and her Milk in eight: the Bell of *S. Guthlac*, and the Fel: of *S. Thomas of Lancaster*, both remedies for the Head-ach: the Pen-knife and Boots of *S. Thomas of Canterbury*,

1538
August 5.

Septemb.

Fox.

1538

Febr. 24.

Will. Thomas.
Novemb. 24.

May 22.

terbury, and a piece of his *Shirt*, much revered by great-belied women: the *Coals* that roasted *S. Laurence*; two or three *Heads* of *S. Ursula*; *Malchus* his *Ear*; and the paring of *S. Edmunds* nails; the image of an Angel with one wing which brought hither the *Spears* head that pierced *Christs* side; an Image of our Lady with a *Taper* in her hand, which burnt nine yeers together without wasting, till one forswearing himself thereon, it went out; and was now found to be but a piece of wood: our Lady of *Worcester*, from which certain veils and dressings being taken, there appeared the Statue of a Bishop ten foot high. These and others were now brought forth, and with great ostentation shewed to the people: Among which were two notable Trumperies I cannot omit; One was the *Rood of Grace* at *Boxley* in *Kent*; which being made with divers vices to turn the eyes and move the lips, was shewed publicly at *Pauls* Crosse by *John* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and there broken and pull'd in pieces. The other was at *Hales* in *Gloucester-shire*, where the *Blood of Jeſus Chriſt* brought from *Jeruſalem*, being kept (as was affirmed) for divers Ages, had drawn many great offerings to it from remote places: And it was ſaid to have this property, That if a man were in mortall ſin, and not abſolved, he could not ſee it; otherwiſe, very well: Therefore every man that came to behold this Miracle confeſt himſelf firſt to a *Prieſt* there, and then offering ſomething to the *Altar*, was directed to a *Chappell* where the *Relick* was ſhewed; the *Prieſt* who confeſt him (in the mean while) retiring himſelf to the back part of the ſaid *Chappell*, and putting forth a *Cabinet* or *Tabernacle* of *Cryſtall*, which being thick on the one ſide, that nothing could be ſeen thorow it, but on the other ſide thin and transparent, they uſed diverſly: For if a rich and devout man ent'red, they would ſhew the thick ſide, till he had paid for as many *Maſſes*, and given as large *Alms* as they thought fit; after which (to his great joy) they permitted him to ſee the thin ſide, and the blood. Which yet (as my Authour, a Clerk of the Councell to *Edward VI*, and living in thoſe times, affirms) was proved to be the blood of a *Duck* every week renewed by the *Prieſts*, who kept the ſecret betwixt them. Beſides which, the Images of our Lady of *Walsingham*, of *Ipfwich*, of *Penriſe*, of *Iſlington*, and *S. John* of *Oſulſton* (called otherwiſe *Mr. John Shorne*;) who was ſaid to ſhut up the *Divel* in a *Boot*; and divers others were publicly burnt: Inſomuch, that a huge Image called *Darvel Gadern* being fetch'd out of *Wales* ſerved to burn *Frier Forreſt*, (condemn'd for counſelling people in *Confession* not to beleve the *Kings Supremacy*;) and to elude I know not what old blinde *Propheſie*.

And by this means the *Monasteries* grew infamous where moſt of theſe Images were kept, and divers were undeceived, who

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who before held a reverend opinion of these pretended Relicks and Miracles, yet, as this way, there was danger lest the people should not believe those Miracles which the Church had delivered for true, the King held a hand over his Subjects, and found means to humble them; for they were taught, that howsoever the Miracles of those later times proved counterfeit and false, yet that God hath done, and can again do Miracles, when it is for his glory and service; And that it did not repugn to Faith, that for honouring the memory of his Saints, he permitted them sometimes, where the people were not withdrawn thereby from his worship, to the worship of the creature.

Upon the Cessation of Armes betwixt the Emperour and French King formerly mentioned; the Pope endeavoured a further peace and correspondence, as thinking them capable both of making war with the Turk, and revenging his quarrel on our King, against whom he was much intentive to joyn them. But there are many difficulties in procuring two potent Princes to concur in the same enterprize. Nevertheless, both of them were disaffected to our King at this time, not yet so much for their particular Interests, as that his overthrowing of Religious houses, and many rigorous Executions of his Subjects had given ill impressions of him, which our King understanding procures to hold his Treaty with *Francis*. And therefore recalling from *Spain* *Edmond Bonner* Bishop of *Hereford*, and his Ambassador then with the Emperour, he employed him in *France* in the place of *Stephen Gardiner*, who had soured all things; since, being one who both disliked the Kings late proceedings, and secretly favour'd the Emperour, he did his Master little service in that Court. *Bonner* being now come, was roughly received by *Gardiner*, and coldly by the French King (as I find by an Originall) yet he obtained at first that the Old and New Testament in English might be printed at *Paris* in the largest Volume, whereof yet complaint being made by the Clergy there, the Presse was stayed, and as much as was already printed, publicquely burnt, save some few Copies, that being gotten for waste-paper, were recovered and sent into *England*, whither also the Printers themselves following shortly after, finished their work. Howbeit as *Bonner* had in his other affairs here but little satisfaction, he was repeald at last on this occasion; being commanded by our King to deliver a high message, concerning his Pension, now four years detained, as also touching a Fugitive and Traitor, who was received and favoured by *Francis*: He uttered it in so haughty a manner (as was thought) that *Francis* return'd both to our King and him some harsh language; neverthelesse, as he feared least it should cause warre, He sent to *England* an expresse Messenger both to Interpret and excuse himself, and to desire *Bonner* might be recalled; which the King did, as thinking him

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henceforth an unusefull servant in that place) yet so as he forgot not to bestow the Bishoprick of *London* on him for his reward, and to employ him to the Emperor afterwards. But as *Francis* (having about this time made a ten yeares Truce with the Emperor, as shall be told hereafter, and a Treaty with *Scotland*) talked louder then before; so the Lady Regent in the Low-countries, permitting divers Exactions on our Merchants, shewed disaffection to our State, without that our King in his present condition knew well how to repair himself, since being resolved to take order about his home busineses not yet fully settled, He thought of Forreign Affairs, no otherwise then to attend the occasion, and confederate himself where it might be for his best advantage. For which at last divers Overtures were made. The first it seems came from the Emperour, whose Ambassador here signified to *Cromwell* Lord Privy Seal his Masters desire, that a Match might be had betwixt our King and *Christiana* the Dutchesse of *Milan*, being a beautifull Lady, and at that present lately come into the Low-countries. *Cromwell* answered, that he would first see her picture, and then speak to the King; Which being granted, one *Hans Holin* (or *Holbin* I believe) being the Kings servant was sent over, and in 3. houres space (as *John Hutton* our Agent there hath it) shewed what a Master he was in his Science. Our King hereupon seemed inclinable, giving charge to *Hutton* to treat of the businesse. But the Lady Regent (though said to have sufficient power) referred all to the Emperour, who having appointed an interview with *Francis*, was so slow in returning an Answer, that our King understood it as a delay, and therefore neglected the businesse a while; and he had reason; for a Treaty was now formed betwixt *Francis* and the Emperour, for his Son the Duke of *Orleans* and her, and the place nominated at *Comptean*, where *Francis* (now returned from the Interview, whereof hereafter) met Queen *Mary* Regent of *Flanders*: Whereof our King being advertis'd, sent some privately thither, to inform him of that which passed; but *Milan* being refused as dowry to the Duke, the Treaty was suspended. This made our King proceed again, imploying *Thomas Wriotbesly*, and some others, to the Lady Regent for this purpose; but this Treaty produced others, so that a Match was proposed betwixt *Don Lewis* of *Portugall* and our Princesse *Mary* in the termes she then was, excluded by Act of Parliament from all claim to the succession, except such as the King shall give her: As also a strict confederation and amity. The conditions our King required with the Dutchesse of *Milan* were great; for though she was but the second Daughter of *Denmark*, *Dorothea* the Elder being married to *Frederick*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, yet he demanded with her the whole Kingdome of *Denmark*, (there being no Issue male now alive of *Christierne* the

the II.) desiring for this purpose the Emperors assistance, which also the Emperor seemed to promise, as offering to treat with Duke *Frederick* about renouncing his Title to it; and the rather, that he was more suspected at this time in the German affaires, then that the Emperor desired to greaten Him, by such an Accession. And with *Don Lewis*, the Emperor offered *Milan*, when the King would shew how to defend it, and give only a Dowry of three hundred thousand, or two hundred thousand crowns; Promising further, That if the French King, upon this occasion denyed the Pension usually paid our King, to take no Peace with him till he had paid it; He offered also to endeavour a reconciliation with the Pope if our King so pleased. Nevertheless, divers jealousies and cavils arising, (especially after the Interview) betwixt the Emperour and *Francis*, (whereof presently) the Treaty, though continuing, went on but coldly; the Lady Regent objecting sometimes that our King treated of a Match in *France* with the Daughter of *Guise*; another while saying, that in regard of the Dutcheis nearness of blood to the late Qu. *Katherine*, there needed a Dispensation from the Pope, which she knew the King would hardly accept; but these Answers being taken as illusory, the Treaty at last not only broke off, but a cruell war was intimated betwixt the Emperor and our King; especially after he heard of the Treaty betwixt him and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*, which followed. But *Francis* omitted not likewise to make his Propositions, offering our King what Lady he pleased in his Country, which yet came to nothing, as will appear hereafter, neither ought their motions of alliance to seem strange, both as there were ever causes of jealousy betwixt these great Princes, & as they knew wel, our King had settled his affairs here.

While things past thus, the Truce expiring in *February* betwixt the French King and Emperour, the Pope obtain'd yet that it should be continued for six months; hoping in the interim to conclude a Peace; whereunto as his good intentions might concur; so his particular Interests wanted not; he employing the Cardinal *Carpi* to the Emperour, and Cardinal *Facobaccio* to the French King for concluding two Matches for his Family; one betwixt his Grand-childe *Ottavio Farnese* and *Margarita* Relict of the Duke of *Florence*, naturall Daughter of the Emperour: The other betwixt *Victoria Farnese* and *Antoine de Bourbon* Duke of *Vendosme*; and for bringing them to an Interview, at which himself would be present. All which was accorded, and the time and place of meeting appointed at *Nizza* about the beginning of *June* 1538, where they all came; but so as the Emperour being lodg'd in *Villa-Franca*, and the French King in *Villa-Nova*, they neither saw one another in their severall Courts, nor at the Pope's at *Nizza*: Insomuch, that notwithstanding the Pope's solicitation, their mutuall jealousies of

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the Pope's affection, the number of their Attendants not to be regulated as long as third persons intervened, their late De-fyes, and greatnesse of businesse to be determined permitted no safe terms of meeting. Neverthelesse, the Pope (after he had in vain desired them to send some Bishops to the Council now at *Nicenza*) concluded a Truce betwixt them for ten yeers, and so the meeting dissolv'd. The Pope presently recalling his Legats from *Vicenza*, and deferring the Councell till Easter the next year.

And now the Emperour and *Francis* being neer each other, and for the rest, Princes of so great courage, as they heard with some indignation the difficulties their Counsellors had represented about an Interview, resolved betwixt themselves to meet. *Francis* sent an Invitation to him to repose at *Aiques-mortes* and *Marseilles*, in his way to *Spain*; and *Charles* accepted it; who coming thereupon neer the Shore, *Francis*, attended with *Montmorancy* (now Conneftable) and few others, without all difficulty passed in a Shallop to the Emperours Galley; and after an hours stay, and some complements in French (which Language both spake) *Francis* return'd to land. And now the Emperour was pensative and doubtfull whether he should go on shore; many of his Councell oppos'd it; but the Duke of *Alva* said generously, He should go; which counsel the Emperour followed: and thereupon landing, the French King, and his Queen, the Daulphine, and a huge Train received him with demonstration of joy: and two meales they did eat together, at which the Dutches of *Estampes* (much regarded by *Francis*) was present. But the next day after (being the 16 of *July*) rich gifts having passed on both sides, the Emperour departed for *Spain*.

And now it was disputed at *Rome* whether these two Princes should joyn in a war against the Turk, or bring our King to reason: The former took place; the Turk, as being much animated against the Christians, having made great Preparatives: and when he had not, our King being a person with whom they would not easily have fought in the Popes quarrel: which also is the more probable, that *Francis* would not so much as concur with him in a War against the Turk, though solicited by the Pope, Emperour and Venetians, no more then our King: though (as I finde by our Records) intreated by the said Venetians, as having a particular War with the Turk at this time in *Morea* and *Sclavonia*; so that they above named onely joyned, according to a League made at *Rome* Febr. 8. the Pope furnishing thirty six Gallies, the Emperour eighty two, and the Venetians as many; who yet being led by *Andrea Doria*, and coming to fight with the Turkish Fleet of 130 Vessels under *Barbaroxa*, were on the Coast of *Epiro* towards night Septemb. 24. defeat-

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ed; when such a huge Tempest of Thunder and Lightning arose, as scattered them every way: yet few dayes after they took from the Turk *Castel Novo*, a Fort in the Gulf of *Catara*, and leaving a Garison there, return'd.

All which engagements of War, though in effect they were so many diversions of it from us, could not secure our King from suspicion either of Treachery at home, or Invasion from abroad. Therefore he took especiall care of the Sea-Coasts, and particularly had an eye to the actions of those who might stir in favour of *Cardinall Poole*; who being encouraged by the Pope, had no little intelligence from our kingdom. Notwithstanding all which attention, divers Messages passed betwixt the said Cardinal and his friends and kindred; which cost some of them their lives not long after.

And now the King knowing that while any superstitious worship reigned here, the Friars and Priests would oppose his Reformation, especially as long as such were accounted Saints who had resisted their Prince, Resolved, after he had burned so many Images, to burn the bones of *Thomas Becket*, Arch. Bishop of *Canterbury* in the time of *Henry II*, (though others mention not the burning; And one living in those times, affirms onely, that his bones were scattered amongst so many dead mens, that they could not be found again without some great Miracle.) Together with which, our King seised on that immense Treasure and Jewels which were offered to his Shrine; there being few since *Henry the Second's* time which passed to *Canterbury*, that did not both visit his Tombe, and bring rich Presents to it. Among which, there being one stone eminent, which it was said, *Lewys the Seventh* coming hither on Pilgrimage from *France*, *Anno Dom. 1179* bestowed; our King wore it in a Ring afterwards. For which reasons, as also for being so great an example of contumacie against his King, he was (as *Sanders* hath it) constrain'd *Causam iterum ad Tribunal dicere*; That is to say, his life and actions being examin'd, he was declar'd by our King that he deserved no canonization: and proved besides, that the Scull which the people did so much venerate (and which was now burnt as an imposture) was not his own, (it, together with his bones, being found in his Tombe, and scattered, as aforesaid,) and that there was forgery in divers Miracles there exhibited; with which yet our King, being not content, caus'd his name to be raz'd out of the Kalender, and forbad the keeping of his Holiday. But because it may appear what a kinde of Saint this man was, I will report some part of his life; not out of his Legend, or indeed *Polydore Virgil*, who most fabulously affirms, that certain men in *Kent* for cutting off *Becket's* Horse tail, their Progeny ever after, as long as any of them remained, had tailes like Beasts. But of a Book of the said Clerk

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Will. Thomas
Il. Pel. Ingl.

Aug. 23. 1179

Sand. Sch. Angl.

of

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Will. Thomas
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1165.

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1179.
Aug. 23.

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Aprill 8.
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of the Counsell, formerly mentioned, leaving to every man yet the choice of beleeving what relation he pleaseeth.

This man (as my Author hath it) being born of an English Merchant, and a woman of *Barbary*, having been brought up in learning, and promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, contested with King *Henry* the second for the Popes Authority: Insomuch, that in his *Pontificalibus*, with his Miter upon his head, and gilt Crosse born before him, he publikely excommunicated all those who opposed the Church; wherewith the King being offended, *Becket* fled to the Pope, who cherished him so much, as in contemplation of him, he excommunicated the King and kingdom; so that for about four yeers space, neither Masse, nor other publike Service was used in the Church. But by the Intercession of the French King, *Becket* and the Masse being restored, and our King and Kingdom absolved, all things seemed quiet, till he began new quarrels: At which the King being displeased, said, If he had faithfull servants, he should not be so wronged; Which some Gentlemen that served him hearing, went to *Canterbury*, and taking their time, upon some ill language given, killed him in the Cloister of his Cathedrall Church, and so fled. Whereupon the Monks shut their gates, and perswaded the People that the Bells rung of themselves; nor content herewith, they cast a certain composition into a well adjoyning, and made the People beleeve that it appeared bloody by Miracle, for that holy Martyr, which at last obtained such credit that *Henry* II came in person, together with *Loüys* of *France* to visit the Holy place, and gave many rich possessions to the Monastery; for further testimony of his favour to them, refusing ever to receive again, or pardon the murtherers, yet these wonders ended at last; for our King on some occasion coming to *Canterbury*, discovered the fraud of the well, and abolished the Miracles.

But what pretext soever our King had to proceed thus with *Becket*, nothing was taken to be a greater cruelty and rapine: Insomuch, that upon news hereof, the Pope deferred no longer to publish his Bull of Excommunication (formerly decreed 1535) against our King; wherein he also mentions this fact with much horroure and detestation; sending also his Agents abroad with the said Bull, who set it up in divers places of *Flanders*, *France* and *Scotland*; being such a Bull (saith the Writer of the *Council of Trent*) as neither his Predecessours left him example for, or his Successours ever imitated. But the Pope gained little hereby; or all his rigours were but so many Incentives to King *Henry* to oppose him; therefore as he had sent publike protestations every where against the Council to be assembled at *Vicenza*, affirming the same difficulties would be about holding of it there, which must have been at *Mantua*; so having made

made way by the discovery of the former Impostures, he suppressed more Monasteries, and every day more and more de-vested the Clergy of their former Authority. Howbeit, on the other side, he opposed all Reformation but his own; as appears both by burning two Dutch Anabaptists, and by a Dispute hee publickly held in *Westminster-Hall* with one *Nicholson*, alias *Lambert* a Priest; against whom hee maintained the presence of Christ in the Sacrament after the manner he set down in his Articles; concluding, that he should have mercy if hee recanted; otherwise, that he should be burnt. But *Lambert* despising mercy on those terms, the sentence was executed: so deep a tincture doth Religion give, as being once thoroughly entred, nothing afterward can either change or efface it.

The King having thus made it appear, that howsoever he rejected the Papall Authority, he concurred not every-where with the Reformers, thought he might with more reason now confront the report which Cardinall *Poole* and his Friends had raised, that he had wholly altered his Religion. In which number, because *Henry Courtney* Marquesse of *Exceter* (the King's Cousin-german, as being Son of *Katherine*, Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth) and *Henry Poole* Lord *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Nevil* Brother to the Lord *Abergavenny*, and Sir *Geffery Poole* Knight were eminent; he took occasion (upon secret information given by Sir *Geffery*) to cause them to be indicted, for devising to maintain, promote and advance one *Reginald Poole* late Dean of *Exceter*, enemy to the King beyond the Seas, and to deprive the King; upon which the two Lords, before *Thomas* Lord *Audley* (for the present sitting as his High Steward of *England*) were found guilty: not long after which, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *Geffery Poole*, two Priests and a Mariner were arraign'd, and found guilty also, and judgement given accordingly. The two Lords and *Nevil* were beheaded, the two Priests and Mariner hang'd and quarter'd at *Tiburn*, and Sir *Geffery* pardoned; Sir *Nicholas Carew* also (Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Horse to the King) for being of counsell with the said Marquesse, was beheaded. The particular offences yet of these great persons are not so fully made known to me, that I can say much. Onely I finde among our Records that *Thomas Wriothesley* Secretary (then at *Bruxils*) writing of their apprehension to Sir *Thomas Wyat* (his Highnesse Ambassadour in *Spain*) said, that the Accusations were great, and duly proved. And in another place I read that they sent the Cardinal Money.

I finde little more of this yeer for our parts, save that notwithstanding all these severities, neither was one *Conesby* Groom of the Kings Chamber deterr'd from counterfeiting the Kings Seal Manuall; nor one *Clifford* from counterfeiting his Privie Signet: both which therefore suffered death.

The

Novemb. 19.

Novemb. 22.

Decemb. 31.

Jan. 3.

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Jan. 9.

March 3.

Novemb.

Vinc. Herald.

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Sandov. J. 24.
Novemb. 1.

Febr. 1.

The Emperour now in *Spain*, among his home-businesse, thought none more requisite then to take order for money: Therefore hee assembled at *Toledo* a Cortes or Parliament of both States; so that the Grandees of *Castilla* and *Leon* on the one side, and Cardinal of *Toledo* and Clergy on the other, did enter into it: where the Emperours necessities being represented by occasion of his late Warres, It was declared, that neither his ordinary Revenues, nor the Indies, nor the Cruzades, Tenths and other helps granted by the Pope, did suffice to keep him out of debt. Wherefore the Emperor desired that at their charge all his Estate and Dominions might be preserv'd and secur'd both by Sea and Land; so as hee might have the ordinary Rent of *Castilla*, and the India's for paying his debts and spending money. The Clergy hereupon agreed, That their most ready and equall way for supplying the Emperours wants, was to grant a Sisa or Taxe for a certain time, with a limitation to what it should extend; since lesse corruption and extortion would follow this way then any other: Onely they desired the Emperour, That he would procure a License and Commandment from his Holinesse to this purpose. But the Grandees and Nobles who had immediate power in their hands to consent unto the Emperours Demand, would yet resolve nothing suddenly in their own name or the Peoples, nor before they had committed the businesse to twelve elect persons among them; among which the Conestable being chief, spake much against Impositions; desiring rather to supply the Emperour some other way: And that they might confer with the Burgeses or Procuradores of the chief Cities hereof; beseeching his Majesty withall, that he would stay at home and study peace, as having made eighteen yeers of continuall War both by Sea and Land: Which Answer being brought the Emperour, It was replied on his part, that hee demanded Money, and not Advice. Hereupon, certain amongst them proposed to lay Imposition upon Commodities exported: but the rest agreed not. Whereupon the Cardinall of *Toledo* came and told them in his Majesties name, That he assembled them to the intent he might communicate his owne and his Kingdoms necessities; it seeming reasonable, that as they were generall, so should the Remedy be: But by as much as is done, hee conceiveth there is no cause to detain you any longer, and therefore gives you leave to depart.

The Cortes being thus dissolved, the Emperor upon occasion, told the Conestable he had done ill, and deserved to be thrown out of a Corredor or open Gallery, where they were: To which he answered, Your Majesty will please to advise; for though I am little, I weigh much. But it seems, the Emperor spake neither in earnest, nor the Conestable, as one that resented;

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ed; so that nothing followed. Howsoever, the Grantees and Nobles of *Spain* behaved themselves insolently at this time, to the Emperor; who having commanded a Just or Tourney, wherein all the principal Persons were to meet: it happened as they rode in their equipage and order to the place, an Alguazil stroke the Duke of *Infantados* Horse, on some occasion; whereupon the Duke turning about, demanded, Do you know me? and the Alguazil saying, yea: He with his sword cut him on the head; who with blood about his ears, coming to the Emperor (then on horse-back,) incensed him so much, as he sent presently to apprehend the Duke; But the Conestable being present, said to the Officer, You have no Authority, as long as I am in place; and so forced him thence. The Emperor now much offended, that all these Acrevemientos were done in his presence, sends another Officer to apprehend the Duke; at which the Grantees and others were so displeased, that they all rode away in Troop; so that the Emperor having few or none to attend him in this great Solemnity, was forced to desist and return; both to his own great scandal, and those who came to be spectators. But the Emperor found means afterwards, to let them know how sensible he was of this contempt.

The *German* Protestants, this while, being solicited for ayd against the *Turk*, and denying it, unless the Emperor first granted them such a solid and entire Peace in the Cause of Religion, as might comprehend both the present and future Confederates; the adverse party entered a Counter-league to that of *Smalcald*, calling it Holy, and stipulating mutual defence, if they were molested for the *Roman* Religion. The Emperor notwithstanding, giving Commission to *Heldus* and others, to treat with the said Protestants of an Accommodation; which yet took no effect, though there were a meeting held at *Francfort*, to this purpose. Howsoever, our King omitted not to send His Agents (*Christopher Mount* and *Thomas Payn*) thither, shewing, He took it ill, that they treated of a Pacification without his knowledg, desiring to understand the Conditions thereof, and whether they intended to be constant to their professed Doctrine: To which, *Burgart* and others in their name, April 23. coming to *England*, brought Instructions to this effect, That their manifold troubles, suffered them not hitherto, to signifie the said Pacification, which yet was not likely to take effect, no Conditions being so much as proposed. Neither would they accept any contrary to the *Augustane* Confession; so that there needed be no doubt of their Constancy: But they are informed, that His Majesty had set forth a Proclamation, injoyning rigidly and under heavy Censures, those Points which the last yeer their Ambassadors desired as Abuses might be Reformed; which unless His Majesty pleased to mitigate,

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they could determine nothing of the Legation of learned Men, which he expected. For we have, say they, disputed enough already, and the King is not ignorant of our Opinions touching Private Mass, Communion in one kinde, and Celibate of Priests. And unless we understood that our Doctrine herein were prescribed by God, we would not undergo the dangers we do for maintenance thereof: Neither let the King imagine, that we will now either deny the said Doctrines, or send any of our Divines into *England*, to give Approbation to the contrary. Together with which, *Philip Melancthon* sent a Letter to the King (superscrib'd *Sermo, &c. Capiti Anglicæ Ecclesiæ, post Christum Supremo*), exhorting him to perfect the Reformation begun, and not hearken to those who would hinder it, by exacting too severely Ceremonies and things indifferent; wherefore, he desires His Majesty to mitigate the late Proclamation. What Answer our King gave to this, doth not appear to me: But the King was so far from condescending thereunto, that he obtained a Confirmation of the said Articles in the next Parliament, under greater Penalties, as shall appear in its place. In the mean time he consented to strengthen himself at home, by enriching his Treasury. Therefore, having formerly gotten the consent of his Parliament, for dissolving all Religious Houses under 200 l. yearly, he did now attempt the rest; so that though divers of the Visitors had heretofore petitioned, that some might be spared, Both for the vertue of the Persons in them, and the benefit of the Country, (the poor receiving thence relief, and the richer sort good education for their children:) And though *Latimer* mentioned, that some two or three might be left in every shire for pious uses, *Cromwel* yet (by the Kings Permission) invaded all; while betwixt threats, gifts, perswasions, promises, and whatsoever might make man obnoxious, he obtained of the Abbots, Priors, Abbesses, &c. that their Houses might be given up. Among which, those that offered their Monastries freely, got best Conditions of the King; for if they stood upon their right, the Oath of Supremacy, and some other Statutes, and Injunctions brought them in danger, or their Crimes at least made them guilty of the Law; which also was quickly executed. And particularly on the Abbots of *Glassenbury*, *Colchester*, and *Reading*, who more then any else resisted.

In conclusion, the Title made to these, seems not to be grounded upon a grant by Statute, or claim of Right, but was either some voluntary surrender, Purchase or Forfeiture. Howbeit, the King thought fit to have this proceeding presently confirmed by Act of Parliament: Therefore by his Writs he summoned it to begin *April 28. 1539*. In the mean while, rumors were every where dispersed, that Cardinal *Pool* labored with

with divers Princes, to procure Forces against the Kingdom, and that an Invasion was threatned. And this again seemed more credible; that the Truce concluded between the Emperour and French King was generally known, and that neither of them wanted pretext to bring an Army hither. This also was seconded by a sudden journey of the King unto the Sea-coast; unto divers parts whereof, he had formerly sent sundry Nobles and expert persons to visit the Ports, and places of danger, who failed not for their discharge upon all event, to affirm the perill in each place, so great, as one would have thought every place had needed fortification; besides he caused his Navy forthwith to be in a readiness, and Musters to be taken over all the Kingdom. All which preparatives being made against a danger which was beleev'd imminent, seemed so to excuse the Kings suppressing of Abbies, as the People (willing to spare their own purses) began to suffer it easily; especially when they saw order taken for building divers Forts and Bulwarks upon the Sea-coasts; many, if not most of those we have at this day, being, though not so exact as the modern, yet of his raising. And that they suspected the discontented Religious Orders (sooner then any else) would assist an Enemy. But if the reasons of these proceedings were held by some as currant, by others they were taken to be no more then Palliation, and by the Clergy but rapine, who divulged beyond Seas the miserable ruines of themselves, and houses, in such terms, as the Christian world was astonished; for though their excessive number excused the King in some part for the first suppression, this latter (they said) had no such specious pretext, when yet surrender, purchase, or the like were urg'd; So that notwithstanding the Kings necessities, no little occasion of scandall and obloquy was given.

The number of Monasteries first and last suppressed in *England* and *Wales* were (as *Cambden* accounts them) six hundred forty five; whereof these had voices among the Peers: The Abbot of *S. Albans* (being as I take it) declared the first Abbey of *England* (whether in favour of Pope *Adrian* the IV. his Father called *Breakspear*, who upon his wives death rendred himself a Monk there, or *S. Alban* himself Protomartyr of *England*) *S. Peters* in *Westminster*, *S. Edmondsbury*, *S. Bennets* of *Holm*, *Berdsey*, *Shrewsbury*, *Crowland*, *Abingdon*, *Evesham*, *Glocester*, *Ramsay*, *S. Maries* in *York*, *Tewxbury*, *Reading*, *Battail*, *Winchcombe*, *Hide* by *Winchester*, *Cirencester*, *Waltham*, *Malmesbury*, *Thorney*, *S. Augustine* in *Canterbury*, *Selby*, *Peterborough*, *S. Johns* in *Colchester*, *Coventry*, *Tarvestock*: Of Colledges were demolished in divers shires, ninety. Of Canteries, and fire-Chappels 2374. And Hospitals 110. The yeerly value of all which were, as I find it cast up 161100*l*. being above a third part of all our spirituall Revenues; besides

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the money made of the present stock of Cattell and Corn, of the Timber, Lead, Bels, &c. and lastly, but chiefly, of the Plate and Church-ornaments; which I finde not valued, but maybe conjectured by that one Monastery of *S. Edmundsbury*, whence was taken (as our Records shew) five thousand Marks of gold and silver, besides divers stones of great value. All which being by some openly call'd Rapine and Sacriledge, I will no way excuse: though I may say truely, that notwithstanding so many Religious Houses were destroyed, there are yet in every kinde (the suppress'd Abbies and Chantries onely excepted) left standing so many, as give no little increale to Learning, splendor to Religion, and testimony of Charity to the Poor. So that although I cannot but pity the ruine of so many pious Foundations, as affording a singular conveniency to those who desired to retire to a holy, pious and contemplative life, when abuses were taken away; yet I have thought fit to mention these particulars, that it may appear to forreign Nations wee are not destitute of many Monuments of Devotion: Of which also our King had such regard, that he did not imploy all the profits arising from the aforesaid Dissolutions, on Fortifications or the like; for hee not onely augmented the number of the Colledges and Professors in his Universities, but erected (as he had promised) out of the Revenues gotten hereby, divers new Bishopricks; whereof one at *Westminster*, one at *Oxford*, one at *Peterborough*, one at *Bristol*, one at *Chester*, and one at *Glocester*; all remaining at this day, save that of *Westminster*, which being revok'd to his first Institution by Queen *Mary*, and *Benedictines* placed in it, was by Queen *Elizabeth* afterwards converted to a Collegiate Church, and a School for the teaching and maintenance of young Scholars: Besides, many of the ancient Cathedrall Churches formerly possessed by Monks onely, were now supplied with Canons, and some new ones enacted and endowed; the Revenues allotted by the King to these new Bishopricks and Cathedrals amounting to about 8000 *l. per annum*. So that Religion seem'd not so much to suffer hereby, as some of the Clergy of those times and ours would have it believed: our Kingdom in the mean while having (as *Cromwell* projected it) in stead of divers supernumerary and idle persons, men fit for employment, either in War or Peace, maintained at the cost of the foresaid Abbies and Chantries: So that the Desolations (appearing in their stately Foundations at this day) are by our Politicks thought amply recompensed. Besides, the King in the demolishing of them, had so tender a care of Learning, that he not onely preferred divers able persons which he found there, but took speciall care to preserve the choicest Books of their well-furnished Libraries: wherein I finde *John Leland* (a curious

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ous Searcher of Antiquities) was imployed. But hereof enough, since I do not intend to exceed the Terms of an Historian, and therefore shall come now to the Parliament, which being composed of persons well affected to the Kings Service, (as his manner was always with great industry to procure such) These Statutes among others were enacted.

That Religious persons being put at liberty, might purchase, sue, and be sued; but not claim any Inheritance as descending on them: And that if they had made a vow of Chastity after one and twenty, they should not marry. But this enabling them not to buy, they thought no sufficient amends for the losse of their present maintenance.

That the King by the advice of his Counsell, or the more part of them might set forth Proclamations under such penalties and pains as to him or them shall seem necessary, which should be observed as though they were made by Act of Parliament: But that this should not be prejudiciall to any persons Inheritances, Offices, Liberties, Goods, Chattels or Life, &c. But this was repealed 1. *Edm. 6. 12.*

That the King might nominate such number of Bishops, Sees for Bishops, Cathedrall Churches, and endow them with such possessions as he will. [Which, though repeal'd 1 & 2 *Phil. & Mar.* yet order was taken therein again 8 *Eliz. 1.*]

It was declared also how Lords in the Parliament should be placed.

That Leases made of Manors belonging to Monasteries dissolv'd, or to be dissolv'd, and assured to the King, should take effect: wherein is expressed, that the King should hold, possede and enjoy, to him, his Heirs, and Successors for ever, All Monasteries, Abbathies, Priories, Nunneries, Colledges, Hospitals, Houses of Friars, or other Religious and Ecclesiasticall Houses and Places, which since the fourth of *February 27. Hen. 8.* have been dissolv'd, suppress'd, renounced, relinquished, forfeited, given up, or by any other means come to his Highness; or which shall be dissolv'd, &c. As also all Manors, Lordships, Lands, Tenements, Rights, Liberties, &c. belonging to them. All which (except such as came by Attainder of Treason) should be under survey and governance of the Kings Court of Augmentation of the Revenues of the Crown. Other mens Titles yet saved.

It was also particularly enacted, That whereas *Thomas Duke of Norfolk* by the Kings assent had purchased of one *William Flatbury* late Abbot of the Monastery of *Sipton* in *Suffolk*, the said Monastery, with all &c. And whereas *George Lord Cobham* had likewise purchased the Colledge or Chantry of *Cobham* in *Kent*, It was enacted, that the Act above-written should not be prejudicial to the said Duke, or Lord *Cobham*. Whereby it appears, the

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the Kings intention was to unite all the Abbey Lands, &c. to the Crown, save these so specified.

The Six Articles, called by some the Bloody Statute, were also enacted this Parliament: being,

I. If any person by Word, Writing, Printing, Cyphering, or any otherwise do preach, teach, dispute, or hold opinion, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine (after the consecration thereof) there is not present really the naturall Body and Bloud of our Saviour Jesus Christ conceived of the Virgin *Mary*; Or that after the said Consecration there remaineth any substance of Bread and Wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ God and man; Or that in the Flesh under form of Bread, is not the very Bloud of Christ; Or that with the Bloud, under the form of Wine, is not the very flesh of Christ as well apart, as though they were both together; Or affirm the said Sacrament to be of other substance then is aforesaid, or deprave the said blessed Sacrament: Then hee shall be adjudged an Heretick, and suffer death by burning, and shall forfeit to the King all his Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels, as in case of high-Treason.

II. And if any Person preach in any Sermon, or Collation openly made, or teach in any common School or Congregation, or obstinately affirm or defend, that the Communion of the blessed Sacrament in both kindes is necessary for the health of mans Soul, or ought or should be ministred in both kindes: or that it is necessary to be received by any person (other then Priests) being at Masse, and consecrating the same.

III. Or that any man, after the order of Priest-hood received, may marry, or contract Matrimony.

IIII. Or that any man or woman which advisedly hath vowed or professed, or should vow or professe Chastity or Widow-hood, may marry or contract Marriage.

V. Or that private Masses be not lawfull, or not laudable, or should not be used, or be not agreeable to the Lawes of God.

VI. Or that Auricular Confession is not expedient and necessary to be used in the Church of God, he shall be adjudged to suffer death, and forfeit land and goods as a Felon.

If any Priest, or other man or woman which advisedly hath vowed Chastity or Widow-hood, do actually marry or contract Matrimony with another; or any man which is, or hath been a Priest, do carnally use any woman to whom he is or hath been married, or with whom he hath contracted Matrimony; or openly be conversant or familiar with any such woman, both the man and the woman shall be adjudged Felons. Commissions also shall be awarded to the Bishop of the Diocese, his Chancellor,

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cellor, Commissary, and others, to enquire of the Heresies, Felonies, and offences aforesaid. And also Justices of Peace in their Sessions, and every Steward, under-Steward, and Deputy of Steward in their Leet or Law-day, by the oathes of twelve men, have authority to enquire of all the Heresies, Felonies, and offences aforesaid.

In this Parliament also *Margaret Countesse of Salisbury* (being Daughter of *George Duke of Clarence* Brother of *Edward* the fourth, and Mother of *Cardinall Poole*;) as also the Cardinal himself, and *Gertrude* Wife to the late *Marquess of Excester*, Sir *Adrian Fortescue*, and *Thomas Dingley* Knight of *S. Johns*, were attainted of Treason. Against *Margaret* and *Gertrude* it was alledged, that they were complices with the *Marquess of Excester* and other Traitors: Our Records also tell us, that certain Bulls granted by the Bishop of *Rome* were found at *Cowdrey*, being then (as I take it) the Countesse of *Salisbury's* house; and that the Parson of *Warblington* convey'd Letters for her to her Son the Cardinal; and that she forbad all her Tenants to have the New Testament in English, or any other new book the King had priviledged. But whatsoever the cause was (for our Parliament Records are short in the particulars) I finde by a Letter from the Earl of *Southampton* and Bishop of *Ely* to *Cromwell*, That (though she were seventy yeers old) her behaviour yet was masculine and vehement, and that she would confesse nothing. Howsoever, the testimonies brought convincing her, she was condemn'd.

Against *Cardinall Poole* it was alledg'd, That he had conspired against the King with the Bishop of *Rome*, and taken preferment of him.

Against the rest, I finde no more, but in generall, that they were complices. Howsoever, *Fortescue* and *Dingley* suffer'd first; for, *Margaret's* execution was deferred for two yeers, as shall be told hereafter; and *Gertrude* dyed a naturall death: And for the Cardinal, he could not be taken, though I finde our King required him earnestly of all those Princes that received him in their Dominions.

The Six Articles being now published, gave no little occasion of murmure; since to revoke the conscience not onely from its own Court, but from the ordinary ways of resolving controversies, to such an abrupt decision of the common Law (as is there set down) was thought to be a deturning of Religion from its right and usuall course; since the Conscience must be taught, not forced; without that it should at any time be handled roughly, as being of so delicate a temper, as though it suffer an edge to be put on, who doth more, diminisheth or breaks it. Besides, to make the contravening of Doctrines to be capitall, before they be fully proved, is prejudiciall to that liberty,

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liberty, without which no man can justifie himself before God or man. For if it be death to beleve otherwise then wee are commanded, how unsafe will it be to make exact enquiry? and without it who can say his Religion is best? Besides, the example is dangerous; for if Infidels and Heathens (to retain their people in obedience) should do the like, who would ever turn Christian? Therefore *Cranmer* for three days together in the open Assembly oppos'd these Articles boldly; though yet it appears not what Arguments he used. Onely I finde the King sent to him for a Copy of them, and misliked not his freedom, as knowing all he spake was out of a sincere intention; though some thought he had a private Interest, as being a married man, though fearing of this Law, hee sent away his Wife for the present into *Germany*, she being kinswoman to *Hosiander* the Divine of *Noremberg*, whom he married during his Ambassade with the Emperor about *Anno 1532.*

But that it may seem lesse strange why the King, who before was much disposed to favour the Reformers, did on a sudden so much vary from them, I have thought fit to set down some of the Motives, as I conceive them. In which number certainly, the objections of *Stephen Gardiner* formerly mentioned may have place, while speaking against the Treaty with the Protestants in *Germany*, he alledged that they would not allow the Kings Supremacy, lest they should infer an investing of the same Authority in the Emperor, whose absolute power they seemed to fear more then that of the Pope himself: And as this suspicion alienated secretly the mind of our King, who saw that if he embraced their Reformation, they would abridge his power; So they not only delayed to approve his Divorce, but lately (as is shewed) in a peremptory manner refused all accommodation, unlesse our King yeelded wholly to the *Augustan* Confession. Again the Duke of *Saxony* about this time particularly shewed some disaffection to him in the overture of his Match with *Anne of Cleve.*

Lastly, as Affairs then stood, the King was both in that danger of Rebellion at home, and invasion from abroad, as he thought it not safe to reform any further in Religion; for which reason also as he was severe against all new Sectaries, especially *Anabaptists*: so when occasion was given, he still testified his desire as far as was possible to keep an unity with the Roman Church, affirming that the Pope had slanderously called him Heretick. Insomuch that the same time, he publickly disputed with *Lambert* in *Westminster Hall*, He declared his Resolution to continue in the Religion he had openly professed. For these Reasons therefore (for I shall not here intermeddle with those of Conscience) it seems our King was the more disposed to keep him to the ancient formes of the Church. And now the

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Protestants in *Germany*, despairing of accord with the Emperor, assembled at *Arnstet* in *Thuringia*, Nov. 9. to consult about mutuall defence. To which purpose, they sent Ambassadors to our King; who told them, (as I finde in our Records) that he would make a league with them in honest causes, as he had done with the Duke of *Fuliers*, and after that he would treat of an accord and league in Religion. Though *Sleidan* (a little differing herein) writes that King *Henry* told them plainly, he thought their Doctrine touching Communion in both kinds, Private Masse, and Priests marriage erroneous, and that his learned men should dispute herein. And that *Cromwell* thereupon told them, the best way was to send an honourable Ambassade, and *Melancthon*; assuring that if they came to any reasonable agreement of Doctrine with our King, he would not only furnish them with a vast sum of mony for their occasions, but enter into a strict league with them for defence in generall. But the standing firme to the *Augustan* Confession, and intending no League, but in case of Religion, the business ended for the present, in a resolution to answer the Kings Arguments concerning the six Articles in writing, and send it in a Book to him, and to desire an abolition of them.

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And now the six Articles caused no little apprehension in all the Reformers; yet I doe not find the Law was used with much rigour, till *Cromwells* death. Nevertheless, the terror of it made *Latimer* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Shaxton* Bishop of *Salisbury* (being committed to prison) to resign their Bishopricks to the King, they being unwilling it seems to have a hand in the approbation or execution of them. So that if *Sir Thomas Moor* and the Bishop of *Rocheſter* had their scruples about the Supremacy, These men were as Conscientious about the six Articles.

July 1.

This year the Emperor glad to repose himself a while from war, attended his pleasures in *Spain*, while *Barbarossa* with a strong Fleet keeping the Seas, and landing his men, did mischief in many places. Recovering so after a brave resistance by *Sarmiento* a Spaniard, the place of *Castel-novo* in the Gulf of *Catara*; which though it excited the Emperor to proceed in his war against the Turk; yet a Mutiny arising in *Gant* (his native town) made him resolve in person to go and appease it. And the rather, that having now lost his Empreſſe, and check'd a little the greatnesse of some principall persons in *Spain*, he thought himself more free and disingaged. All the difficulty was what way to take; for if the Sea were full of hazard, there was no Land-way, but by *France*; which though best, when it could be handsomly procured, yet (the business being brought to his Councell) was judg'd impossible; neverthelesse, an overture thereof being secretly given to *Francis*, and a promise of *Milan* to one of his Sons (as the French write) he both gladly embraced

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ced the occasion, and offered his two Sons for Hostages of his safe passage. This was thankfully received by the Emperor, but as the Age was full of ancient honour, (which I never found intermitted but in barbarous times) the Emperor would have no security, but only a safe conduct under the hand and Seal of *Francis*; taking that pledge only for his life and the Empire, while *Francis* that he might exempt his magnanimous Guest from jealousy, sent his two Sons and *Anne de Montmorancy* the Conestable to receive him at *Bayonne*, whither in his mourning weeds, he came with XXII Persons only, (as our Records have it) in the end of *November* 1539. and so like Knight Errant following his journey, he every where (as *Francis* had permitted) delivered all Prisoners. Coming thus to *Castel le Herand*, the King (though troubled with an ulcer in his secret parts) and the Queen and Dutches of *Estampes* his Favorite, and a great train of Noble Persons wellcom'd the Emperor with all demonstration of love. This confident Passage having (it seemed) abolished all memory of their former rancour; holding their way thus to *Amboise*; the Emperour was there almost stifled by a thick and sudden smoak, which (though the French report to have been the casuall burning of some hangings neer his Chamber) also might be true, yet one *Style* (imployed there by our King to write him the successe of this journey) said it came thus. They who had charge from *Francis* to make the Emperors reception, had hung a long Iron chain from the top of the Castle to the bottome, covered all over with Pitch, Tar, and Rosin in very great quantity, which being lighted at the Emperors coming (somewhat in Night) did afterwards upon some accident, go out in that snuffe and ill favour, as the Emperor suspected it was done on purpose to choak him; but these jealousies were soon cleered, succours not only coming in quickly, but *Francis* commanding the Authors of this disturbance to be hanged, had not the Emperor interceded for them. And here, during some stay, both Princes (who formerly would have used their Armes against each other) ending their emulation in shooting a Stag, which they both hit at the same time with their Hand-guns, (as *Style* relates) departing hence to *Paris*, the Court of Parliament in their Robes, the Chancellor and Officers of the City met him, with a brave Equipage, which yet the Emperor seemed not much to affect; his black cloth Suit, and private train being not proper as he thought for such shewes; so that he wished they had been spared. Nevertheless *Francis* would not omit any thing which might serve either for ostentation or magnificence, so that in the splendor thereof, all note of their former dissention seem'd hidden or effaced. Howbeit, there wanted not some who perswaded *Francis* to cancell the Treaty of *Madrid*, and make a new one

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one at *Paris*, and that *Milan* should be restored into the bargain. But as the Conestable *Montmorancy* (a person of great worth,) oppos'd this advice, so *Francis* abhorred it. Besides, the Dutchesse of *Estampes* (who at first seemed averse) being gain'd by a Diamond, which the Emperor having purposely let fall, had after given, (upon her taking it up) changed her language and now began to serve the Emperor. Seven daies thus being past, either in Masks, Tilts, Turneys, and other Royall disports and triumphs, or in friendly and private communication, the Emperor thought fit to depart, giving by way of satisfaction for his good entertainment many assurances of his love to *Francis*, who also for making it more entire to him, as well as withdrawing it from our King, had discovered some secrets (formerly past betwixt them) which deturned the Emperor much from making any new alliance in our Parts. But as this, at last was disclosed again to our King, the unkind usage he received herein, made him attend an occasion to resent it. And now the Emperour and *Francis* leaving *Paris*, the Conestable entertained them both at his goodly Pallace of *Chantilly* : The admirable situation whereof, and variety of country pleasures about it, was such, as it made the Emperor wish that he had such another place, when it had cost him one of his Provinces. Both Princes going hence to St. *Quintin* bid adieu to each other, leaving nothing more to be admir'd, in all the Passages betwixt them, then that they never spake of any particular difference, but by way of gentle discourse, or urg'd it further, then either of them pleas'd to give ear, so much did civility prevail with them over all other considerations ; and thus at length, in *Febr.* the Emperor came to *Valencionnes* ; whither *Francis* his children having accompanied him, and received both from him, and his sister *Mary* Lady Regent there all kind and Regal usage (excepting an absolute promise to restore *Milan*) they departed and left the Emperor to attend his great occasions in those Countries. Where being happy in nothing more, then that his adventure of passing through *France*, (which nothing could justifie but the event) had succeeded so well, he composed the stirs there shortly after.

The passages of this Interview being now advertised to our King, made him attempt betimes to break off their new Alliance : or when that could not be done, to prevent the consequences. Therefore, immediately upon the departure of the Emperour from *Paris*, hee sent the Duke of *Norfolk* to treat with *Francis* to this effect : To offer him assistance for recovery of *Milan*. And for this purpose, that the arrerages of the Pensions due to our King, and Salt-money should be remitted : Furthermore, that with all industry he should make him jealous of the Emperours ambition. And lastly, to propose a strict

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League with him, even to the exclusion of the Pope out of their Dominions, as he said: he said he had already contracted with the Duke of *Cleves*, and in a manner with the Duke of *Saxe*, the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, the Dukes of *Baviere*, *John* Marquess of *Brandenburg*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Marquess *Joachim* Elector, and other Princes of *Germany*. The Duke coming thus to *Paris*, had audience of *Francis*; but finding him resolute not to break with the Emperour, if hee performed his part, he return'd before the end of *February*.

Having thus delivered together the whole businesse of the Interview, and successe thereof, lest the Reader should be interrupted with broken and imperfect Narrations, I shall look back on some other Affairs which passed this while.

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Our King having found that neither the Marriage propos'd betwixt himself and the Dutchesse of *Milan*, was like to take effect, nor any other in *France*, considered now where he might bestow himself with most advantage: whereupon *Cromwell* advised to a Treaty with *Cleves*; and the rather, that he might oppose the Emperour, who did still retain such a grudge against him for dis-inheriting the Princess *Mary*, as it was thought, hee would endeavour to execute the Pope's Sentence: so that hereunto certain considerations of State, rather than beauty or riches did conduce. For as *John* Duke of *Cleves* was next neighbour to the Emperours Dominions in the Low-Countries, and Father-in-law to the Duke of *Saxony*, he seem'd most proper to joyn with in League to this purpose. But the old Duke *John* dying shortly after, the Treaty was renewed with Duke *William* his Son, to whom also the Princess *Mary* was propos'd, when hee demanded her upon fitting terms. But difficulties appear'd in either of these Affairs; for the Lady *Anne* having been demanded by the Duke of *Lorain*'s Son, the old Duke of *Cleves* had in great part accorded it: And for the other Match, it was much cross'd by the Emperour, who offered Duke *William* the Dutchesse of *Milan*, not without some hope that hee would release *Gueldres*, which the said Duke claim'd by the gift of *Charles* of *Egmond*, late Duke thereof. Howbeit, the Treaties with our King went on; but so as they were by the *Clevois* cunningly delayed, till a meeting with the Emperours Deputies at *Bruxels* had past, and advice was taken with the Duke of *Saxony*: Yet were not these the onely impediments; for the Lady *Anne* understood no Language but Dutch; so that all communication of speech betwixt our King and her was intercluded. Yet, as our Ambassadour, *Nicholas Wotton* Doctor of Law, employed in this businesse, hath it, she could both write and read in her own Language, and sew very well; onely for Musick, hee said, it was not the manner of the Country to learn it.

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But for her better description, *Hans Holbin* the Kings servant took her Picture, and her younger Sister *Amelies*, and sent them hither; upon whose excellent representation of the Lady *Anne*, the Match being resolved on, was fully concluded at the coming over of *Frederic* Duke of *Baviere* Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and the several Ambassadors of the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Cleves*; and shortly after the Lady with a brave Equipage was sent into *England*. The other Treaty yet succeeded not; for the young Duke of *Cleves* finding no disposition in the Emperour to release *Gueldres*, concluded a Marriage with the onely Daughter of *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and *Margarita* the French Kings Sister the yeer following; which yet took no effect. This Lady being on her way now as far as *Rocheſter*, the King came disguised to her on New-yeers day: but the sight so disliked him, that he was glad (as his own words were afterwards) that hee had kept himself from making any pact of Bond with her, and that hee was woe that ever she came into *England*; and that hee thereupon deliberated with himself how to break it off; though, as he considered it would make a ruffle in the world, and drive the Duke her Brother into the Emperour or French King's hands, he said, It was too far gone. The truth of all which is so declared by our Records, that I make no question, but if her coming had happened at any other time then when the Emperour and French King were together in *France*, as is before related, He would have sent her back. Howsoever, he thought fit to discover himself at last to her; who thereupon fell on her knees, but he taking her up lovingly, kiss'd her, without making shew of any inward discontent, which also hee had so at length digested, that he resolved to marry her, when the ensurance made by her to the Duke of *Lorain's* Son were cleared; which businesse being committed to *Cromwells* care, who was a speciall Counsellor of the Match, hee said (as the King afterwards charged him under his hand) that a sufficient Instrument for this purpose was brought: But whether *Cromwell* did forget himself herein, or his Master, it is hard out of Records to determine; for I finde in an Originall written by *Cromwell*, 25 of *June*, to the King, out of the Tower, That *Olesleger* and *Hohſteden* (the Duke of *Cleve's* Commissioners for bringing over the Lady) had with them indeed no such Instrument, nor any discharge or Declaration touching the Covenants of Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Lorraine's* Son; neverthelesse, that *Olesleger* offered to remain here as Prisoner, till a revocation of all the aforesaid Covenants and Contracts of Marriage were brought; and that this being told the King, made him say, he was not well handled in this businesse. Howsoever, all was remitted to the Councel-Table, where the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *Duresme* said, If nothing but Sponfalls had
past

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Aug. 1539.

Decemb.

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Jan. 1.

June.

Jan. 4.

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Jan. 5.

Jan. 6.

Dec. 1539.

Jan. 10. 1538.
Lest.

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Lest. Buch.

Feb. 24. 1540.

past betwixt them, such a Renunciation as was offered would serve; and that then the making a Protestation in an Honourable Presence before certain Notaries, it should be a sufficient discharge in Law; And now the procuring of the said Instrument in writing being undertook by the aforesaid Commissioners, the King required the Lady to make a Protestation before the Lords to this effect: which being done, hee said to *Cromwell*, that there was no remedy now, and therefore he must put his neck in the yoke (as the words under his hands are): Whereupon, the next day after hee solemnly married her at *Greenwich*, resolving to confederate himself with the Princes of *Germany*, if they would come to some moderate accord in Doctrine. But in the morning *Cromwell* coming to him, and demanding whether he lik'd her better then before, He answered, Nay, much worse; for that he having found by some signes that she was no Maid, he had no disposition to meddle with her: Neverthelesse, he outwardly cherished her, without making any publick demonstration of dis-favour towards her, or neglect of any Solemnity for her Reception at *London* and elsewhere. All which made the greater shew, that the King remembering what enemies he had abroad, and discontented persons at home, had renewed his Guard of Fifty Pensioners, intermitted since the first yeer of his Reign.

It is formerly related, how not onely *James* King of *Scotland* desired in marriage *Mary* the Daughter of the Duke of *Guise*, and Relict of the Duke of *Longueville*; but a touch given that our King had some inclination to her: Howbeit, *Francis* chose rather to give her to *James*, as knowing that lesse States united to greater, depend on them; whereas the equall for the most part live in jealousie with their neighbours: Therefore the Match being concluded, she was brought to *Scotland*, and soon after with childe, which being a Son, the Grand-mother *Margaret*, Queen of Scots, and Sister to our King, having Christned, shortly after died, aged about fifty yeers, and was buried at the Carthusians Church in *Perth*. But neither that childe, nor another born the yeer following, lived long; they (though in severall places) ending their lives within six hours one after the other, the same day (as the Scottish History hath it.) I find little els by our Records, of *Scotland*, for this yeer; save that some Libels and Prophecies being divulged in *Scotland* against our King, the Authours were punished by *James*. The yeer following Sir *Ralf Sadler* Secretary was dispatched thither; about the time that the Emperour and French King were together: For our King knew well how much it concern'd him now on every part to prevent danger. The Instructions given to *Sadler* were (after presenting the King's love and some Horses) First, To bring *David Beton* Cardinall and Arch-bishop of S.

Andrews,

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Andrews into suspicion with that King, as having written to *Rome* in other terms then he should ; which Letters being intercepted in *England*, were now to be shewn. But King *James* did not much weigh this.

Secondly, To perswade him, for augmenting his Estate, to take into his hands the Abbeyes ; which *James* likewise refused, saying, what need I take them into my hands, when I may have any thing I can require of them. And if there be abuses in them, I will reform them ; for there be a great many good.

Thirdly, To discover his affection, by telling him how rumours were dispersed (which the aforesaid Interview made probable) that the Emperour, French King, and Bishop of *Rome* would invade *England*, and that it was said, King *James* would do the same : But he protested with many oathes against it. Whereupon *Sadler* told him how neer he was to the English Crown ; and that hee should esteem his Uncles friendship above any others, desiring again there might be an Interview ; which *James* approved, when the French King might be present ; but afterward by a particular Message excused it : so that some jealousies pass'd betwixt them ; which also appear'd by certain Fortifications rais'd about this time upon the Borders by our King, and a Navie of fifteen Ships and 2000 men made in readinesse by *James*, who wanted not money, his Clergy giving great summes onely that their Houses might not be dissolv'd. What the occasion of these preparations yet was, I cannot tell ; but I gather out of our Records, That about this time certain Irish Gentlemen came to invite him to their Country, promising to acknowledge him their King, and that divers Nobles and Gentlemen of *Ireland* should come over to do him Homage. How this offer was accepted, appears not ; but the Preparatives came to nothing, by the good order which our King gave ; who both by frequent and kinde Messages, and securing his Borders, kept his Nephew in good intelligence. One doubt yet remained undecided, as I gather out of our Records, which was, That our King took it ill, that *James* assum'd his Title of *Defender of the Faith*, onely adding the word *Christian* unto it, as if (said hee) there were any other Faith.

That Beauty and attractive which should take the Kings eye in *Anne of Cleve*, not appearing, nor that conversation which should please his ear ; and her Brother besides excusing himself in the performance of some Articles of the Treaty, he did more willingly thinke of a Divorce ; for which purpose, the *Pra-contract* with the Duke of *Lorrains* son was chiefly pretended. For though *Olisleger* Chancellor of *Cleves*, had according to his promise 26. Febr. 1540. procured an Instrument in writing out of the Records of *Dusseldorp* dated Febr. 15. 1535. testifying

April 11.

1540

Aug. 26.

1537.

April 18.

April 12.

Regn. $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{2}$.

June. 13.

Fox p. 514.

testifying the *Sponsalia* heretofore made by the Parents betwixt the Duke of *Lorain's* son, and the Lady *Anne* should not take effect. Yet this it seems either was not shewed, or did not satisfy our King. Howsoever it was not deposited in *Archivis Regiis*, but found among *Cromwell's* Papers after his apprehension. And now although all scruples seem'd more considerable, that so many doubts had been already cast concerning the Kings former Marriages, yet the King determined at what price soever to separate himself from *Anne of Cleves*, and together to ruine *Cromwell*. For though He had not long before made him Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Essex*, and High Chamberlain of *England*, yet as he was odious by reason of his low birth to all the Nobility, and hated particularly by *Stephen Gardiner* and all the Roman Catholiques, for having operated so much in the dissolution of Abbies: And that the Reformers themselves found he could not protect them from burning. And lastly, that besides a Subsidie that the Clergy gave of four shillings in the pound, he had gotten in the present Parliament, not without much reluctance, one tenth, and four fifteen parts of all Lay mens goods; he was universally hated, which our King considering, and having besides divers Articles brought against him, he now judged him no longer necessary; therefore he gave way to all his Enemies Accusations, which could not be but materiall; it being impossible that any man, who meddled so much in great and publike affairs should not in divers kinds so mistake, forget, and erre, as to incur the note of a Criminall, when severe inquisition were made against him. And now the King having gotten sufficient proof against *Cromwell*, caused him to be arrested at the Councel-Table by the Duke of *Norfolk*, when he least suspected it: To which, *Cromwell* obeyed, though judging his perdition more certain, that the Duke was uncle to the Lady *Katherine Howard*, whom the King began now to affect. The News whereof, and his commitment to the Tower being divulg'd, the People with many acclamations witnessed their joy; So impatient are they usually of the good fortune of Favorites arising from mean place, and insolent over the ill, whereof the King being informed, proceeded more overtly, both in his Parliament business, and the Divorce; and the rather that all former faults being now imputed to *Cromwell*, every body began to hope of a better age. But *Cromwell* (if we may beleieve some of our Authors) foresaw his fall two yeares before, and therefore provided for his Family; neither did the late honours give him much comfort or security, when he thought they were conferr'd only to make him the greater Sacrifice: It cannot be denyed yet, but the crimes whereof he was attainted in Parliament, are in the generall termes great and enormous, and such as deserv'd the most

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June. 14.

Records

most capitall punishment, though as some of the accusations were conceal'd 2. yeers before they were alledged, and the particulars of some others not specified. And lastly, that he was not permitted to answer for himself, the proceedings against him were thought rigorous; but so few pitied him, that all was easily passed over: Nevertheless, I find by an Originall *Cranmer* writ to the King in his behalf boldly, considering the times; For though (as is in his Letter) he heard yesterday in his Graces Councell that he is a Traitor, yet he saith who cannot bee sorrowfull, and amaz'd that he should be a Traitor against your Majesty, he that was so advanced by your Majesty, he whose surety was only by your Majesty, he who loved your Majesty (as I ever thought) no lesse then God; he who studied alwaies to set forwards, whatsoever was your Majesties will and pleasure; He that car'd for no mans displeasure to serve your Majesty; He that was such a servant in my judgement, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no Prince in this Realm ever had; He that was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all Treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning? If the Noble Princes of memory, King *John*, *Henry* the Second, and *Richard* II. had had such a Counsellor about them, I suppose they should never have been so Traiterously abandoned, and overthrown as those good Princes were: After which, he saies again, I loved him as my friend, for so I took him to be, but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your Grace singularly above all other: But now, if he be a Traitor, I am sorry that ever I loved him, or trusted him, and I am very glad that his treason is discovered in time; but yet againe I am very sorrowfull; for who shall your Grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him? Alas! I bewaile and lament your Graces chance herein, I wot not whom your Grace may trust. But I pray God continually night and day to send such a Councillor in his place whom your Grace may trust, and who for all his qualities can and will serve your Grace like to him, and that will have so much sollicitude and care to preserve your Grace from all dangers as I ever thought he had. All which, as being a Character of *Cromwel* in *Cranmers* opinion, I have faithfully copied out of the Originall. Not yet that I will pretend excuses for him, whom the Laws have condemned; though *Fox* doubts not to say, That as Generall Councils have sometimes been observed to erre, so Princes and Parliaments may be sometimes informed by sinister Heads; but that his punishment may serve as a Caution for those that serve severe Princes, to procure sufficient warrant for all that they doe. The Crimes objected to *Cromwell* seeming to be chiefly an usurpation of power, to set at liberty certain

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July 3.

July 6.

Persons not capable of it, and granting certain Licenses, and making certain Commissions in high Affairs, without the Kings knowledge: For which, though *Cromwel* in his discretion might have found due motives; yet as he proceeded not warily therein, he fell into the danger of the Law. Furthermore, he was accused for being an Heretike, and favoring them: (But then, that the Head of the Churches Vicegerent in Spiritual Affairs, should be an Heretike and favorer of them, to some seemed strange, to others gave occasion of merriment.) As for his speaking certain high presumptuous words concerning the King, and sundry of the Nobility; many thought, it proceeded rather out of mistaking and rashness, then any ill intention. *Cromwel* thus unheard, and almost unpitied, being condemned while he was in the Tower, omitted not yet to write unto the King, whereof hereafter. The context of my History requiring, that I come to the proceedings of the Kings Divorce.

I finde by an original, that *John Clerk* Bishop of *Bath* was sent to the D. of *Cleves*, at the end of *June*, to tell him, That the King never consented heartily to the matrimony with his Sister; and that he never did, nor intended to consummate the same; especially, since he could not but take notice of the precontract with *Lorraine*. Besides which, that there were secret causes, which the K. without great necessity would not have disclosed, because they touch'd the Honor of the Lady; yet that all her Jewels should be restored with an honorable Augmentation in Revenue, &c. And so that she should be transported into her Country. Besides, that assurance should be given the D. of the Kings love, in all his occasions with the Emperor. After which, if the D. should remain perverse, to tell him, That the Matter is already so debated by His Maj. and the whole Realm, (as the Reader wil see hereafter) the Parliament now sitting, that they be utterly resolv'd to proceed to justice. But these Instructions again were checked by others of *July 3.* and he commanded to persist only in the point of precontract with *Lorraine*, which was upon Remonstrance of the Lords in the upper House, to be debated in Parliament, since they found the Instrument for Revocation thereof was of no value: And that certain persons were appointed of both Houses, who should repair to the King, to beseech Him by way of humble Petition, That it would please Him, both to grant, that the Bishops and the Clergy of the Realm, might examine the Matter, and thereupon declare their Judgment, and Sentence; and also, to abstain from her company, till the case were decided: Whereunto His Majesty condescending and agreeing, upon Thursday next it should be opened to the Parliament, and brought to the King; and from thence, remitted to the Bishops and Clergy; and also notified to her. All which tending onely to an Examination, His Majesty could not deny, not doubting but

but the said Duke considering that it is the general motion of the whole Realm; and remembring the effusion of blood which hath been in the same, by uncertainty of Titles, will think it reasonable, That this last Matrimony, for their more certainty and the Kings discharge, should be examined. These second Instructions (signed by the King as the former were,) yet did not please: He being finally commanded to urge for his best Argument *Authoritatem rei indicata*: All which Instructions were sent the Bishop in his way, before he came to *Bruges*, where the Emperor was; whom he was commanded to salute on His Majesties part, and to deliver him certain Letters. The particulars whereof, though not extant in our Records, yet (as I gather by some Circumstances) tended to a Reconciliation with the Emperor, whom the King in this Match had disoblighd. Of the delivery whereof, also the Bishop (being not yet come to the Duke of *Cleves*) advertised our King, who this while commanded the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothesley*, to acquaint the said Lady therewith; (who, upon pretence of better ayr, was lately removed to *Richmond*.) But the news stroke her into a sudden weakness, and fainting, till at last recovering her self, she was by little and little perswaded to refer the Matter to the Clergy: Secondly, to relinquish her Title of Queen; instead whereof, the King had devised another which He thought might content her: And this was (as I finde by our Records) that she should have the name and dignity thenceforth of His Adopted Sister; which stile, yet afterwards gave some subject of discourse: Howsoever, she accepted it, and subscribed (in these terms) a Letter to the King. Besides, she sent another to her Brother the Duke of *Cleves*, acknowledging the Justice of the proceeding; and that she was untouched by the King, and that she was well intreated in *England*, and therefore desired to stay: Lastly, she promised to shew the King all Letters received from her Brother, Mother, or any else. Whereupon, the Officers which before attended her as Queen, were discharged, and others appointed to wait on her in the quality of the Kings Adopted Sister.

And now the Duke understanding by the Bishop of *Bath*, and *Nicholas Wotton* Resident there, That our Clergy assisted by the Court of Arches, had declared (upon her Testimony, that she was untouched by our King) that the Marriage was voyd, and that either part might marry freely; and that the whole Parliament had confirmed the Sentence, and she accepted it, remained much perplext, as with tears he witnessed; yet finding it a business publikely resolved, he said little; especially, after he heard that *Richmond* House, and other fair Lands, were allotted her for maintenance; and that she should have precedence before all, save the Queen, and the Kings Children. Howbeit, he

July 6.

June 25.

July 11.

July 20.

July 10.

July 12.

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July 12.

would never consent to the disannulling of the Match; so that the Bishop returned, leaving the Duke no otherwise satisfied then that his Sister had sped no worse. Thus, at length a Law passed, declaring the Marriage voyd, both by the Judgment of the Clergy of *England*, and also by her own consent, and that it was high treason to judg or believe otherwise.

Another Act also was made, shewing, What Marriages were lawful, and what not. Wherein is ordained, that all Marriages (without the degrees prohibited by Gods Law) made and consummate by carnal knowledg, shall be firm and good. Notwithstanding any precontract, which hath not been so consummate. But this Law was repealed 1 and 2 *Phil.* and *Mar.* and 1 *Eliz.* 1.

April 12.

Regn. $\frac{31}{2}$.

Other Acts also passed this Session of Parliament, which began *April* 12. Among which I thought fit to remember these. An Act declaring in what Cases a man may dispose all his Lands by his last Will in Writing; and in what, but part thereof. And in what Cases the King, and other Lords shall have their Wardships.

That no person should sell or buy any Right or Title, or maintain it, or procure maintenance in any suit.

The punishment also by death of Priests married, or unmarried; and of women offending with them by Incontinency, was repealed. For as the Clergy of those times thought it (though one of the six Articles) too severe; the punishment (upon their Remonstrance) was laid on their Goods, Chattles, and Spiritual Promotions; and this also better pleased the King.

Sanctuaries also, and priviledged places were reduced to a few, and certain Rules prescribed to them.

That Horses feeding on Commons, (not being of a lawful height,) (that is to say, not being fifteen handfuls high, at two yeers old) should be seized on by any man for his own use.

That Forests, Heaths, Commons, &c. should be driven once in the yeer, and unlikely Tits in them to be killed. Nevertheless, that Horses of small height might be put where Mares were not kept.

The Statutes also, of 5. *Rich.* 2. 3. 6. *Rich.* 2. 8. 14. *Hen.* 7. 10. and 23. *Hen.* 8. 7. touching fraighting in English Ships, were onely rehearsed and confirmed, and a rate set down what should be paid for the freight, or portage of the severall sorts of Merchandizes from the Port of *London* to other places, and from thence to *London*.

That no Alien not Denizen shall set up any Trade in the Kings Dominions, and they who are Denizens should be bound by and unto all the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, particularly those of 14. *Hen.* 8. and 21. *Hen.* 8. above mentioned.

That

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That *Trinity* Term in regard of impediment of Harvest, and danger of infection, should be abbreviated. Certain Priviledges also were granted to Physicians in *London*, as that they should not keep watch and ward, nor be Constables; and that they might practise Chirurgery: Barbers, and Chirurgions were also made one Company, and certain Priviledges given them; as not to bear Armor, or to be put in any Watches or Inquests.

A Court also of the first Fruits, and Tenths, granted to the King, was erected.

The Court of the Kings Wards also, and the names and several Duties, and Offices thereof, was erected.

It was enacted also, That the Lands and Goods of *St. Johns* in *Jerusalem*, should be in the Kings disposition; For which, these Reasons chiefly were pretended: Because the Knights of *Rhodes* or *Saint John*, otherwise called Fryars of the Religion of *Saint John*, drew yearly great sums of Money out of the Kingdom; That they maintained the usurped power of the Bishop of *Rome*; that they defamed and slandered the King and His Subjects; that the Isle of *Rhodes*, whence the said Religion took its name, was surprised by the *Turks*, that the Revenues might be better imployed for defence of the Realm; nevertheless, certain Pensions were allowed unto the Pryor, and others of the said Order, that were dutiful Subjects. But all their Lands, as well in *England* as in *Ireland*, were granted to the Kings Majesty to be in the Survey, Rule, and Governance of the Chancellor, and others, Officers of the Court of Augmentations. And thus fell that ancient and pious Order, not without much scandal abroad, both to the King and Government. Though yet, the envious disrespect shewed unto the English being such, as they never attained higher dignity then the Turcoplier or Captains place of the Light Horse in the Isle of *Rhodes*, did (in the opinion of some) extenuate this proceeding: The King, yet grew not much the richer hereby, as giving great Portions of the said Lands to divers of our Noblemen and Cavaliers, who lately had held a solemn Jufts, Tourney and Barriers in *Westminster*, and feasted sumptuously, both the King and Court.

Lastly, a general and free Pardon was granted of all Heresies, Treasons, Felonies, and Offences, (some particular Persons and Matters onely excepted;) In which number *Cromwel* was not yet included. For, though divers Letters and Messages passed from him to the King; and one particularly written after his Condemnation, and extant in our Records, wherein he much excused himself, saying, That if his medlings under His Majesty were great, so His Majesties Authority was great; and that he protested, besides, under many execrations, That he

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May 1.
Hall.

June 25.

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July 28.

^a July 9 }
^b July 18. } 1536
^c July 18. }
^d Aug. 26. }
 1537.
^e April 14. }
 1540.

was innocent in his intentions ; And lastly, utterly denyed all Treason and Heresie, as that he was no Sacramentary, &c. he could not prevail. And thus the 28. of *July*, (being four days after the Dissolution of the Parliament,) he was brought to the Tower-Hill, where, after Profession that he would die in the Catholike Faith, his head was cut off; And to this end came *Cromwel*, who from being but a Blacksmiths son, found means to travel into divers forraign Countries, to learn their Languages, and to see the Wars (being a Souldier of *Bourbon* at the sacking of *Rome*;) whence returning, he was received into the Cardinal *Wolseys* service: To whom, he so approved himself, by his fidelity, and diligence, That the King after his fall, voluntarily took him for his servant; in which place, he became a special Instrument for dissolving the Abbeyes, and other Religious Houses, and keeping down the Clergy; whom in regard of their Oath to the Pope, he usually termed the Kings half Subjects: And for expelling the Monks, he said it was no more, then a restoring them to the first Institution of being lay, and laboring Persons: Neither did it move him, That so much strictness and austerity of life was injoynd them in their severall Orders, since he said they might keep it, in any condition: But as these Reasons again were not admitted by divers learned and able persons, so he got him many enemies, who at last, procured his fall; but not before he had obtained successively the Dignities of Master of the Rolls, ^a Baron, ^b Lord Privy Seal, ^c Vicegerent to the King in Spiritualities, ^d Knight of the Garter, ^e Earl of *Essex*, Great Chamberlain of *England*, &c. He was noted in the exercise of his places of Judicature, to have used much moderation; and in his greatest pomp, to have taken notice, and been thankful to mean persons of his old acquaintance, and therein had a vertue which his Master the Cardinal wanted: As for his other descriptions, I leave them to be taken out of *Cranmers* Letter formerly mentioned, with some deduction; For it seems written to the King, in more then ordinary favor of his ancient service.

At the same time with *Cromwel*, *Walter* Lord *Hungerford* suffered. The Crimes objected to him, were, For taking into his House as Chaplain one *William Bird*, who had called the King Heretike, &c. That he had procured certain persons to conjure, to know how long the King should live; also that he had used the sin of Buggery.

July 22.
Hollinsh.

Shortly after which, divers great persons from *Italy*, and other places came to see the King, whom he very courteously received, and being richly rewarded, dismissed them.

The King continued yet his rigor to those that disputed either his Authority, or Articles; insomuch, that both the Reformers and Maintainers of the Popes Authority suffered so frequently,

frequently, That his enemies said, while he admitted neither side, he seemed to be of no Religion. Howbeit this was but calumny, for he stood firmly to his own Reformation.

And now the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*, contenting her self with the stile of the Kings Adopted Sister, the Lady *Katherine Howard*, daughter to *Edmond* the third son of *Thomas*, first Duke of *Norfolk*, and brother to the present Duke, was marryed to the King, and presently after shewed publikely as Queen.

Our Historians say, That in *August*, this yeer, there was so great a drought, that the Springs failing, the Salt-water flowed above *London-Bridg*. I finde also, that *Frederic* Count *Palatine* of *Bavaria* was in *England*, to obtain ayd of the King, for the restitution of his Father in Law the King of *Denmark*. But as our Records do not set down the time exactly, so I know not whether to place him in this yeer, or the yeer preceding. Howsoever, he found some difficulty in his business, and the rather that he asked so great a sum as six hundred thousand Duckats, when the King had so much use of money, for the fortifying of His Kingdom.

Let us look a while upon forraign business, the memory of those courtesies which were done the Emperor, being yet fresh, *Francis* thought fit to send the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and Constable *Montmorancy*, to Treat concerning the Restitution of *Milan*: But the Emperor resolute, at what price soever not to quit it, made them at length this Answer:

There is nothing I desire so much, as the peace and quiet of the World, which that it may be firm and true, I am content, to give unto the King more then ever he meant to ask, or I to grant. Of two Daughters which I have, I am willing to bestow the elder in marriage to the Duke of *Orleans*, and with her for dowry, the State of *Flanders*, with the stile and title of a King; so shall *Francis* have two Sons, both Kings and Neighbors: Besides, if his eldest son and mine die, he and my daughter shall be the greatest Princes in the World; for they shall have *Spain* and all my other Dominions. As for *Milan*, let them not think I will ever part with it, since it were nothing else then to disjoynt (the Spanish is more elegant *Descabecar*) all my Estates. And let it not grieve the King; for I had it by good and lawful Succession, and possess it as belonging to the Empire. Take *Milan* from me, and you take away my passage between *Flanders* and *Spain*, *Italy*, *Sicily* and *Germany*. This is that I had to say to you. And if it please you not, there is no occasion to speak more of the business.

The Cardinal and *Montmorancy* hereupon advertised this good offer; but *Francis* as a man passionate, and affronted, returned this Answer,

That since he might not have his Inheritance, he would have nothing

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nothing else; neither, would he care to speak any more of Peace.

And thus the Treaty brake off; yet so, as it was thought that *Francis* herein shewed some wilfulness; he being not further off from *Milan* for having *Flanders*, nor to be bound so by any confederation, as he might not easily find occasion to dissolve it, the causes both of War and Peace being perpetuall. And now the Emperour glad of this refusall, prosecutes his businesse in *Germany*, without care of giving *Francis* any further satisfaction.

In *France*, where all was now quiet, little past this yeer, save that *Francis* being desirous to enlarge his Borders, built a Fortresse at *Ardres*, and made a Bridge over to the English Pale; which our Garison hearing, beat down. The French yet reedified it: but our Garisons overthrew it again. Whereupon, the French raising some Forces under *Monsieur de Biez*; our King commanded *Henry Arundel* Lord *Matrevers* (lately made Deputy of *Calais* in the place of *Arthur Plantagenet*) to put the Town into defence by fortifying and victualling it; and shortly after sent over the Earl of *Hertford* and Sir *Edward Kerne*, who disputed the right of the Borders with *Monsieur de Biez*, and other Commissioners from *Francis*. But as no effect followed hereon, and *Francis* besides took occasion to complain, that our King in the late Parliament had made the French liable to Subsidies, and other new Impositions, contrary to the antient Treaties: our King on the other side, remonstrating those Acts were neither new, nor derogatory to the said Treaties; both Princes remained unsatisfied of the others actions. Therefore on the French party *Monsieur de Vendesme* was commanded to raise Forces in *Picardy*; and from *England* were sent *William* Earl of *Southampton* lately made Lord Privie-Seal, and *John* Lord *Russell* newly constituted high Admirall, with a few Troops of Northern Horse: without yet that any thing was attempted on either side for the present.

I will conclude this year with a Narration of the first beginning which the Jesuiticall order took from *Innigo de Loyola* of *Guipascoa* in *Spain*. This *Innigo* or *Ignatius* being born 1592. (that is to say, in the year that the *Indies* were discovered, and *Granada* taken in by *Ferdinand*) seems the third great effect of that unparaleld ascendent which *Spain* had at that time: He lived yet obscurely till he came to 29 years of age, but then turn'd Souldier in the wars of *Navarre* 1521. where being hurt in the knee, the pain thereof seems to have wakened devotion in him to a Religious life; for assoon as he recovered, he went to our Lady of *Monferrat*, to whom he offer'd his sword and dagger, which being done, he gave his clothes away to a poor man, and took upon him a shirt and miserable habit, which he girt about

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about him with a rope of rushes : And in these Arms (for so are *Sandoval's* words) he watch'd one whole night before our Lady, and so went to an Hospitall three Leagues off, and there attended the sick-persons, whence he travell'd after to the *Holy Land*; being returned thence, and now in his age of thirty three he began to learn Grammar at *Barcelona*, which in two yeers he attain'd. And being desirous to make further progresse, he went to the University of *Alcala*, and so to *Salamanca*, where being oppos'd and persecuted, he left all and came to *Paris*, & there studied till he had found at last divers others with whom he agreed to return in Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, and *Jerusalem*. Thus about 1536. going first to *Venice*; he staid till his Companions overtook him, and went from thence to *Rome*, whither he followed them; and obtain'd of *Paul* the third the foundation of the Jesuiticall Order 27. Sept. 1540. The decay of Religious Houses in *England*, and the progresse of the *Lutherans* in *Germany*, authorizing (it seems) their Institution, who sithence have so dilated themselves, as their Disciples fear not to say, that for advancement of their Doctrine, they have gone to further countries then the Apostles ever reach'd; and that God reserv'd the entire discoveries both of East and West Indies untill the latter times, only that those Holy Fathers might have the honour of their conversion; Of the devotion and miracles which this *Ignatius* is said to have exhibited in his journies, I affirm nothing, as contenting my self to have taken the more Historicall part out of *Sandoval*, (who seems to be a great extoller of him.) Sundry Reformers on the other side in stead of confessing him to be a good man, or a Miracle-worker, said, he was an Incendiary and hanted with evill spirits. Which latter part not only *Sandoval*, but *Turrianus* and *Bobadilla* (both of them Jesuites) confirm; Moreover *Turrianus* related (as *Hospinian* hath it) that he died in much fear and trembling, & that his face was strangely black, *Hasenmullerus* besides (once a Jesuite) adds that no bones were found in his body, and that all the Jesuites at his Buriall were witnesses thereof. Concerning which therefore no little dispute is on both sides, whether good or bad Angels took them away, while divers sober men think neither; but that we may pretermitt the constructions of passionate men on the one or the other side, as unfit to establish that peace in which God is best serv'd, there is little occasion to say more of the Jesuites in this place, then that they are generally held such Ministers of the King of *Spain*, that they have more advanc'd (by the secret operations of their Confessions, and intelligence which is admirable) the designs of the house of *Austria*, then either the Continent of *Spain*, made entire by the union of *Granada*, (as is formerly touched) or the *Indies* themselves. By which meanes, as also that their Doctrine and learning is so ex-

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act in all things, save where they overmuch study the Pope, and Spaniards ends, they have made themselves the most considerable among all the Religious Orders.

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July 7.

And now a cruell time did passe in *England*; for as few durst protect those who refus'd to subscribe to the 6. Articles, so they suffered daily, whereof *Fox* hath many examples: neither was it easie for any man to escape (Commissioners being appointed in every Shire to search out and examine those who were refractory) neverthelesse, their Punishments did but advance their Religion; for as they werenotified abroad, and together their constancy represented, who were burnt, It was thought they had some assistance from above, it being impossible otherwise that they should so rejoyce in the midst of their torments, and triumph over the most cruell death. Therefore not only the over-learned, and better affected sort, but even all Christian Princes endeavoured some consent of opinion: The Pope himself not omitting to concur therein, as thinking it better to allow some degrees of latitude in Religion, only when their severall Authorities might be conserv'd, then to hazard a generall Schisme, and distraction. Hereunto also it conduced not a little, that the Turk taking notice of these divisions, prepared to invade *Germany*. Therefore the Emperor appointed a meeting at *Worms*, where divers learned and able men on both sides should dispute, hoping so an end would follow. Howbeit, as the Divines could not agree among themselves, the busines was referred to a Diet, shortly to be held at *Ratisbone*, whither the Pope sent Cardinal *Gaspar Contareni*. And here the Emperour being present requires both sides to permit the choice of the Delegates to him, which they granted, whereupon he appointed on the one side, *Julius Plug*, *Fohn Eccius*, *Fohn Gropper*; on the other *Philip Melancthon*, *Martin Bucer*, and *Fohn Pistorius*, gravely advising them to handle the businesse sincerely; these men, after a modest excuse, except the charge, desiring only certain Assessors who might testifie their proceedings; whereupon the Emperor gave them *Frederic Count Palatine*, and *Nicholas Peronot Seigneur de Granvile*, and some others; offering them further a Book to consider, some Passages whereof they all admitted, others they corrected, and of some others the Protestants writ their opinion apart; so the Book was re-exhibited to the Emperor, and he (it seem'd) well contented therewith; neverthelesse, because the Pope interven'd not herein, this way was oppos'd; *Contareno* alledging, that all agreement in this kind would be vain unlesse the Holy See confirmed it; whereupon the Emperor referring the Protestants Confession to him, he again refers it to the Pope: But as this requir'd time, so the Emperor desirous his endeavours should take some effect, demands

mands whether those Articles whereof the Delegates were agreed might be received, untill a Councel were had. The Protestants desired it; but the Legat and Catholick Princes oppos'd it, saying, They were not the most materiall; and therefore to be pretermitted till the rest were determined &c. Concluding with a desire, that all might be deferred to the Generall Councell now intended.

The Emperour finding all Reconciliation at this time to be hopelesse, and that the Turk still approach'd, took this way, promising himself to go to *Rome*, and sollicite the Pope herein; Advising the Protestants in the mean time, First, to insist in the reconciled Points: Secondly, The Roman-Catholick Bishops to reform their own particular Churches, and so make way for a generall Reformation; taking order withall, that Religious Houses should not be thrown down, nor people drawn from one Country to another upon pretence of converting them: yet that they who came willingly might be receiv'd; promising further, if a generall Councell could not be obtain'd, to procure a Provinciaall; or if neither, that within 18 months another Diet should be called, whither he would intreat a Legat from the Pope to come: suspending, in the mean time, that rigid Decree at *Augsburg* against the Protestants; whereupon, they also promised him their Assistance against the Turk. And thus ended the Diet; to which our King sent *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Henry Knevet*, by whom (if we may beleieve *Sanders*) he held a doubtfull part; sometimes excusing himself to the Protestants, sometimes offering a Reconciliation with the Pope by the Emperours means, when Penance and Restitution should not be required. But as neither our Histories nor Records, nor the diligent *Sleidan* make mention hereof, that I can finde; so I leave the credit thereof to the Readers discretion.

Francis not satisfied with the Answer formerly mentioned, nor the Negotiation of *Montmorancy*, did resent both. Against the Emperour he took offence for not restoring *Milan* according to his promise (as hee alledged) to *Montmorancy*: against him again, he shewed no little displeasure (as some affirm) for dissuading him to seize on the Emperour at that time: Though I rather beleieve it was an occasion of some private quarrell betwixt the Admirall *Brion* and him; in which, ill offices were done him by the Dutchesse of *Estampes*, lately allyed to *Brions* kindred: Howsoever, *Montmorancy* was confined to a private life; neither would the King ever after see him. And now *Francis*, resolv'd when occasion was offered to break with the Emperour, sends *Anthony Rincon* a revolted Spaniard in Ambassage to the Turk, and one *Cesar Fregoso* a Genouese to the Venetians: both these meeting in *Peidmont* with Seignieur du

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Bellay the Kings Lieutenant there, were advertiz'd that the Marquesse of *Guaſto* the Emperours Lieutenant in *Milan* laid wait for them: Howbeit, whether trusting to their quality, or Adresse, they agreed to passe by water along the *Po*; sending yet their Commission and Dispatches by another way into *Venice*; for the rest, hoping betwixt changing their habit, and diligence, to escape: But (as it falls out often, they who hide not themselves cunningly, give but the more occasion to discover themselves; so) they were prevented, and by certain persons with visors assasin'd upon the water. *Francis* hearing hereof, said it was done by the Emperour or the Marquesse of *Guaſto*'s procurement, and that the Law of Nations was violated therein: But they, on the other side, disclaimed the fact, offering to put the suspected persons into the Pope's hands, to be there examin'd; protesting neverthelesse, that the killing of *Rincon* was onely a chastisement due to a treacherous Subject. *Francis* hearing this, surpriseth *George* of *Austria* (naturall Son to *Maximilian* late Emperour) in his Journey from *Spain* to *Flanders* thorow *France*, and commits him to prison. Some other passages also happened about this time, which increased the jealousy betwixt them: for as *Francis* had given in marriage *Jone* Daughter of *Navarre* to the Duke of *Cleves*, and therein strengthened himself against the Emperour: so hee again by giving the Dutchesse of *Milan* to the Son of the Duke of *Lorain*, got the same advantage of Alliance against *Francis*.

April.

May 27.

A little Rebellion now appearing in *York-shire*, in which Sir *John Nevil* was a complice, the King took order to suppress it betimes; commanding the said Sir *John Nevil* to be put to death at *York*. Shortly after followed the Countesse of *Salisbury*'s Execution; which, whether occasioned by the late Rebellion (as being thought of Cardinal *Poole*'s instigation) or that she gave some new offence, is uncertain: The old Lady being brought to the Scaffold (set up in the Tower) was commanded to lay her head on the Block; but she (as a person of great Quality assured mee) refused, saying, So should Traitors do, and I am none: neither did it serve that the Executioner told her it was the fashion; so turning her gray head every way, shee bid him, if he would have her head, to get it as hee could: So that he was constrained to fetch it off slovenly. And thus ended (as our Authors say) the last of the right Line of the *Plantagenets*.

And now the King resolved to go in Progresse to *York-shire*; Not yet so much to extinguish the relicks of the last Commotion, as those of Superstition, Miracles & Pilgrimages: Besides, he was in hope to meet his Nephew of *Scotland*, who being solicited again for Interview, had (it seems) promis'd it. Yet before he went, he caused two Lords and divers others to be put to death:

One

One was the Lord *Leonard Gray*, who having been (the yeer precedent) recall'd from his Deputies place in *Ireland*, was then committed upon suggestions ministred by the Councell there; with whom (I finde by our Records) hee often wrangled; who furnish'd therefore divers Articles of High Treason against him: So that though hee had (the yeer 1539) repulsed *O Donell* and *O Neale* (who invaded the English Pale) and rendered the King divers good Services heretofore in *France*, *Ireland*, and other places, could not escape: The chief points objected against him (extant in our Records) were, his readinesse to joyn with Cardinall *Poole* and other the Kings Enemies, he having for that purpose (as was alledg'd) left the Kings Ordnance in *Galloway*; and that he consented to the escape of his Nephew *Gerald*, formerly mentioned; which, with divers others, to the number of twenty (if *Hall* say true) being brought to a Jury of Knights, (for being no Parliament Lord, he could not be judged by his Peers) hee saved them the labour of condemning him, and without more adoe confessed all: Which, whether this Lord (who was of great courage) did out of desperation or guilt, some circumstances make doubtfull: and the rather, that the Articles being so many, he neither denyed nor extenuated any of them; though his continuall fighting with the Kings Enemies (where occasion was) pleaded much on his part: Howsoever, hee had his head cut off. The other was a young Lord, *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres* of the South, who suffered for committing a murther in company of some light persons (who were with him a Deer-stealing). All things being now ready for the intended Journey, the King, accompanied with his Queen, passed thorow *Lincoln-shire*, where the people (thankfully acknowledging their late Pardon) presented him with divers sums of money; which the *York-shire* men also imitated. And now being come to *York*, hee caused Proclamation to be made (as I finde in our Records) that if any man in those parts found himself wronged for lack of justice, or otherwise, by any whom his Majesty hath put in trust, or other, he shall have free accesse to the King and his Councell for redresse. After this, News was brought him that his Nephew King *James* would not meet: so that although our King had made great Preparations to receive him, all was frustrated. This fill'd the King with indignation; yet he conceal'd it for the present; though resolving in himself to resent it in the highest degree. Therefore departing from *York* *Septemb.* 26 towards *London*, Hee was on the way encountred by the Ambassadour of *Portugall*, desiring a License for the Transportation of Wheat into that Country, being in great need thereof. To which was answered, That if that King would admit in his next Navigation to *Calicut*, some Englishmen of our Kings appointment to adventure there for providing

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providing this Realm with Spices, he should have his request. But of this although the said Ambassador undertook to write to his Master, I find no further mention. Our King being now return'd, prepared for War. Which *James* hearing, sent Ambassadors hither to excuse himself, and renew their former correspondence, which King *Henry* refusing, *James* also leavies men, (as shall be told the yeer following.)

Novemb. 2.

But our King encounters after this journey a greater vexation; For the Queen was suppos'd to offend in Incontinency; some particulars whereof being extant in our Records, I have thought fit to transcribe, rather then to make other Narration; the Family of which she came being so noble and illustrious, and the honour of her Sex (which is tender) being concerned therein.

Novemb. 12.

The Letter sent from divers of the Councell to *William Paget* our Ambassador then in *France*, was this.

After our hearty commendations, by these our Letters we be commanded to signifie unto you, a most miserable case; which came lately to Revelation, to the intent that if you shall hear the same spoken of, you may declare the truth as followeth.

Where the Kings Majesty upon the Sentence given of the invalidity of the pretended Matrimony between his Highness and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*, was earnestly and humbly solicited by his Councel, and the Nobles of his Realm, to frame his most noble heart to the love and favour of some noble Personage to be joyned with him in lawfull Matrimony, by whom his Majesty might have some more store of fruit, and Succession, to the comfort of this Realm; It pleased his Highness upon a notable appearance of Honor, cleanness and maidenly behaviour to bend his affection towards Mistris *Katherine Howard*, daughter to the late Lord *Edmond Howard*, Brother to mee the Duke of *Norfolk*, insomuch as his Highness was finally contented to honour her with his Marriage, thinking now in his old daies, after sundry troubles of mind, which have happened unto him by Marriages, to have obtained such a Jewel for womanhood, and very perfect love towards him, as should not only have been to his quietness, but also brought forth the desired fruit of Marriage, like as the whole Realm thought the semblable, and in respect of the vertue and good behaviour which she shewed outwardly, did her all honour accordingly. But this joy is turned into extream sorrow; for when the Kings Majesty receiving his Maker, on *Allhallowes* day last past, then gave him most humble and hearty thanks for the good life he led and trusted to lead with her, and also desired the Bishop of *Lincoln* his ghostly Father, to make like Prayer, and give like thanks with him; on All Souls day being at Masse, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* having

having a little before heard that the same Mistris *Katherine Howard* was not indeed a Woman of that pureness, and cleanness that she was esteemed; but a Woman, who before she was joyned with the Kings Majesty, had lived most corruptly and sensually; for the discharge of his duty opened the same most sorrowfully to his Majesty, and how it was brought to his knowledge, which was in this form following.

Whiles the Kings Majesty was in his Progresse, one *John Lossells* came to the said Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and declared unto him, that he had been with a Sister of his married in *Sussex*, which sometimes had been servant with the old Dutchesse of *Norfolk*, who did also bring up the said Mistris *Katherine*, and being with his said Sister, chanced to fall in communication with her of the Queen, wherein he advised her (because she was of the Queens old acquaintance) to sue to be her woman; whereunto his Sister answered, that she would not so doe; but shee was very sorry for the Queen; why quoth *Lossells*? Marry quoth she, for she is light both in living and conditions; how so quoth *Lossells*? Marry quoth she, there is one *Francis Derham*, who was servant also in my Lady of *Norfolks* house, which hath lyen in bed with her in his doublet and hose between the sheets an hundred nights. And there hath been such puffing and blowing between them, that once in the house a maid which lay in the house with her, said to me; she would lie no longer with her, because she knew not what Matrimony meant. And further she said unto him, that one *Mannock* sometime also servant to the said Dutchesse, knew a privie mark of her Boddy. When the said *Lossells* had declared this to the said Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he considering the weight and importance of the matter, being marvellously perplex'd therewith, consulted in the same with the Lord Chancellor of *England*, and the Earl of *Hertford*, whom the Kings Majesty going in his Progresse left to reside at *London* to order his Affairs in those parts, who having weighed the matter, and deeply ponder'd the gravity thereof, wherewith they were greatly troubled, and unquieted, resolved finally, that the said Archbishop should reveal the same to the Kings Majesty; which because the matter was such, as he hath sorrowfully lamented, and also could not find in his heart to expresse the same to the Kings Majesty by word of mouth, he declar'd the information thereof to his Higness in writing. When the Kings Majesty had read this Information thus deliverd unto him, his Grace being much perplexed therewith, yet nevertheless so tenderly loved the woman, and had conceived such a constant opinion of her honesty, that he supposed it rather to be a forged matter, then of truth. Whereupon it pleased him secretly to call unto him the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Admirall, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir

Thomas

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Thomas Wriothesly, to whom he opened the case, saying, He could not beleieve it to be true. And yet seeing the Information was made, he could not be satisfied till the certainty thereof was known; but he would not in any wise that in the Inquisition any spark of scandall should rise towards her. Whereupon it was by his Majesty resolv'd, that the Lord Privy Seal should go strait to *London*, where the said *Loffels* that gave the Information was secretly kept, and with all dexterity to examine and try whether he would stand to his saying: who being so examined, answer'd, that his Sister so told him, and that he had declared it for the discharge of his duty, and for none other respect; adding that he knew what danger was in it; nevertheless, he had rather dye in declaration of the truth as it came to him, seeing it touch'd the Kings Majesty so nearly, then live with the concealment of the same: Which Asseveration being thus made by the said *Loffels*, the Kings Majesty being informed thereof, sent the Lord Privy Seal into *Sussex* to examine the Woman, making a pretence to the womans Husband of hunting, and to her for receiving of Hunters; and sent the said Sir *Thomas Wriothesly* to *London* at the same instant, both to examine *Mannock*, and also to take the said *Derrham* upon a pretence of Piracy, because he had been before in *Ireland*, and hath been noted before with that offence, making these pretences to the intent no spark of suspition should rise of these Examinations. The said Lord Privy Seal found the woman in her Examination constant in her former sayings: And Sir *Thomas Wriothesly* found by the confession of *Mannock* that he had commonly used to feel the secrets & other parts of her body, ore ever *Derrham* was so familiar with her; and *Derrham* confessed that he had known her carnally many times, both in his doublet and his hose between the sheets, and in naked bed, alledging such witnesses of three sundry women one after another, that had lyen in the same bed with them when he did the Acts, that the matter seem'd most apparent. But what inward sorrow the Kings Majesty took when he perceived the Information true, as it was the most wofull thing that ever came to our hearts, to see it; so it were too tedious to write it unto you. But his heart was so pierced with pensivenesse, that long it was before his Majesty could speak, and utter the sorrow of his heart unto us: And finally, with plenty of teares (which was strange in his courage) opened the same. Which done, she was spoken withall in it by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*; to whom at the first she constantly denyed it, but the matter being so declared unto her, that she perceived it to be wholly disclosed, the same night she disclosed the same to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who took the confession of the same

same in writing subscribed with her hand : then were the rest of the number, being eight or nine men and women which knew of their doings, examined, who all agreed in one tale.

Now may you see what was done before the Marriage ; God knoweth what hath been done sithence : But shee had already gotten this *Derrham* into her service, and trained him upon occasions, as sending of errands, and writing of Letters when her Secretary was out of the way, to come often into her Privie Chamber. And she had gotten also into her Privie Chamber to be one of her Chamberers, one of the women which had before lyen in the bed with her and *Derrham* : what this pretended is easie to be conjectured. Thus much we know for the beginning ; whereof we thought meet to advertize you, to the intent afore specified : And what shall further succeed and follow of this matter, we shall not fail to advertise you thereof accordingly.

You shall also receive herein inclosed a Packet of Letters, directed unto Sir *Henry Knevet* his Graces Ambassadour with the Emperour, which his Highnesse pleasure is you shall see conveigh'd unto him by the next Post that passeth from thence into the Emperours Court. Thus fare you right heartily well. From the Kings Palace at Westminster the 12 of November.

Your loving Friends,

Thomas Audeley Chancellor.

E. Hertford.

William Southampton.

Robert Suffex.

Stephen Winton.

Anthony Wingfield.

Besides the persons specified in this Letter, one *Thomas Culpeper* (being of the same name with the Queen's Mother) was indicted for the same fault (as our Histories have it) which he and *Derrham* at their Arraignment confessing, *Culpeper* had his head cut off, and *Derrham* was hang'd and quarter'd. But it rested not here ; for the Lord *William Howard* (the Queen's Uncle, newly return'd from an Ambassage in France) and his Wife, and the old Dutchesse of *Norfolk*, and divers of the Queens and the said Dutchesse kindred and servants, and a But-ter-wife were indicted of misprision of Treason (as concealing this Fact), and condemn'd to perpetuall prison ; though yet by the King's favour some of them at length were released. The King yet not satisfied thus, for more authorizing his Proceeding, referred the Businesse to the Parliament sitting the 16 of January, 1541. Where upon Petition of both Houses, that

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Here were o-
ther Names,
which are now
defaced in the
Original ; but
D. Norfolk may
by the contents
of the Letter
be supposed
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hee would not vex himself, but give his Royall assent to what they should doe; they had leave to proceed, and together thanks given them that they took his sorrow to be theirs. Hereupon they attainted the Queen and the Lady *Jane Rochfort*, as also *Culpeper*, *Derrham*, &c. And so the Queen and Lady *Jane Rochfort* (Wife to the late Lord *Rochfort*, and noted to be a particular instrument in the death of Queen *Anne*) were brought to the Tower, and after confession of their faults, had their heads cut off.

An Act also past, declaring that it shall be lawfull for any of the Kings Subjects, if themselves do perfectly know, or by vehement presumption do perceive any will, act or condition of lightnesse of Body in her which shall be the Queen of this Realm, to disclose the same to the King, or some of his Councell; but they shall not openly blow it abroad, or whisper it, untill it be divulg'd by the King or his Councell. If the King, or any of his Successours shall marry a woman which was before incontinent, if shee conceal the same, it shall be High Treason, &c. But this Act was repealed 1 *Edward* 6. 12. and 1 *Mary* 1.

Divers other Acts also past, whereof I have thought fit to set down these: That they who under colour of a false token or counterfeit Letter got other mens money into their hands, should be punished at the discretion of those before whom they were convicted, any way but death.

It was declared also, how many ston'd Horses every man should keep according to his degree. But this was afterwards repealed; though yet of speciall use in defence of the Kingdom, when due regard of the persons were had.

Further it was declared, who might also shoot in Guns and Cross-bows.

Moreover, That shooting with Bow and Arrows should be used, and unlawfull Games debarred.

The order also for punishment of Murder and bloud-shed in the Kings Court, with all the ceremonies thereof was set down; the occasion, it seems, being given by Sir *Edmond Knevet*, who being lately condemn'd to lose his hand for this fault, was yet pardoned.

The Authority of the Officers of the Court of Wards and Liveries, was set down.

That in certain Cases there should be triall of Treason in any County where the King by Commission will appoint; And this saved much trouble and charges: For as divers things were made Treason in this King's time, which yet were repealed afterwards; so the Lords of the Councel were not onely continually vexed with these businesses, but the King at great charges in remanding the Prisoners.

That

Jun. 10. 1541.

That none should be Justice of Assize in his own Country.

The Court of Surveyors of the Kings Lands, the names of the Officers there, and their Authority was set down.

All practice of Conjuraton, Witchcraft and false Prophecie, was made Felony.

The Kings of *England* having for a long time ruled *Ireland* by no other Name then Lords thereof, our King now thought fit to change the Stile, and honour a populous and warlike Kingdome with the Title of a King. Therefore in a Parliament held at this time in that Country, he gave order to be declared King of *Ireland*; which was proclaimed here during this Parliament, and finally enacted 35. *Hen. 8. 3.* This being notified to *James*, much offended him; though whether out of emulation for his assuming the Title, or that himself had any designe on this Country (as by his laying claim to divers parts thereof, and by former passages may be suspected) is uncertain. Howbeit, understanding that *Mac-Connell* and some Scots, who held part thereof (as *Leslaus* hath it) were not disturb'd in their possession, hee more patiently suffered it. Our King on the other side, finding none contested with him for the Sovereignty of the Island, did not so much regard their particular right: though yet, as there were divers Commotions about this time, hee had occasion to hold a hand over the disaffected persons: But by the diligence of Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, whom the King had lately made Deputy there, all was quickly composed.

During this Session of Parliament some wrong was offered (as our Histories say) to their ancient Priviledges; a Burgesse of theirs being arrested: Whereof the King understanding, not onely gave way to their releasing him, but punishment of the offenders: insomuch, that the Sheriffs of *London* were committed to the Tower, and one delinquent to a place call'd *Littlecase*, others to Newgate. By which means the King (whose Master-piece it was to make use of his Parliaments) not onely let Forraign Princes see the good intelligence betwixt him and his Subjects, but kept them all at his devotion: which also he so industriously procured, that rather then hee would seem to require more at this time then they had lately given, hee borrowed divers sums of money of men above 50^{li.} yeerly in his Books (which he looked on often) giving them in lieu thereof Privie Seals as security for their repayment in two yeers; by this means suffering his Parliament rather to take notice of his wants, then to supply them; which yet served to supply them upon his next occasion. The Irish Nobility also being well informed of these proceedings, and collecting thereby the absolutenesse of the Kings power every where, the chief

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Jan. 23.

Lesl. de Reb. gest. Scotorum.

July 7. 1540.

March 28.
Hall. Stow.

1541

October.

July 28.

Sandoval, l. 25.

Aug.

Concil. Trid.
lib. 1.

October.

of them this yeer submitted themselves, and acknowledge him now their King; among whom *Eustace* the great *O Neale* presented himself, and was made Earl of *Tirone*.

The Diet of *Ratisbone* being ended, the Emperour from thence sent to the Pope, desiring him to permit an Interview at *Lucca*, which the Pope accorded; whereupon the Emperor passing thorow *Milan*, came by land to *Genova*, and thence taking water, to *Lucca*, where the Pope now was. And here many things were to be determined: For first, the Emperor (as he had engaged himself to the Protestants of the last Diet) urged a Council, which the Pope thought fit to hold at *Vicenza*, where it was last indicted: But the Venetians oppos'd it, as fearing lest the Turk, with whom they had lately made a Peace, should think it was call'd to Confederate all Christian Princes against him. Thus was the Council again frustrated: other Affairs being also interrupted by the Ambassadour of *Francis*, who made divers Instances, that at least the bodies of *Rincon* and *Fregose* might be restored; hoping that together with the Law of Nations, they would not yet violate that of Nature, and deny them the Rights of Buriall. But the Emperour still protesting himself to be no way conscious of this fact, omitted Answer to the rest. This while the Turk having gotten some places of importance in *Hungary*, and overthrowne the Army of *Ferdinand* (led by *Roccandolph*,) the Pope endeavoured a Reconciliation of all the present differences; desiring the Emperour to give to *Francis* the Estate of *Milan*, and him to restore all he had in *Piedmont* to the Duke of *Savoy*. But the Emperour resolute not to leave *Milan*, broke of the Treaty; for the rest, preparing for an Expedition to *Algier*: His Fleet consisting of 64 Gallies, 200 Ships, 100 Frigots, 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, besides Voluntiers and Sea-men. Setting sail with these from *Mallorca*, and other places where his Fleet attended him, he came in two dayes to the Coast of *Algier*, defended by *Azan-Aga* and about 800 Turks (being Cavallery for the most part) and about 5000 Moors, Renegadoes. It was now October 23 1541 when his men landed without much resistance. The first thing done was to require *Azan-Aga* to yeeld the place, and turn Christian, as being the son of Christian Parents, and born in *Spain*: But he answered, that hee desired no more honour then to comply with his Loyalty, and die by the hands of so excellent an Emperour. But as the season of the yeer was far advanced, foul weather began; so that they fought neither often nor with much advantage on either side. At last, a huge tempest arose, which finally destroyed 150 Ships, little and great, with all that was in them, save some horses and a few men: And now the Tempest still increasing, the Emperour, who between noise and danger could not sleep, demanded of some

Sea-

Sea-men then with him, how long the rest of the Fleet might live if the Tempest continued? they answered, at most, two hours: he demanded then what a clock it was? they told him half an hour past eleven; Whereupon he said to them, Comfort your selves; at twelve the Friars and Nuns rise, and will pray for us: But the Tempest continued till far in the next day, when the miserable carcasses of Ships and men swimming in some places, and drowning in others, made an hideous spectacle; while if any got to land, the Arabs and Moors without mercy kill'd them. And now, besides the above mentioned Ships, fourteen or fifteen Gallies were cast away; by which means not onely the Artillery and Victual fail'd, but even the desire to continue the Siege: for one such another Tempest would have destroyed all. Yet there was much difficulty in the embarking of the Souldiers, for the Ships did not suffice to carry them: Therefore they were fain to cast overbord their most generous Horses, who swimming from one ship to another, were drowned at last, not without much compassion of all, and especially their Masters. The rest of the Navigation homewards yet was not prosperous, many Ships perishing. At last, the Emperor came to *Calari* in *Sardigna*, where through contrary winds, he was constrained to passe his Christmas; at length fair weather appearing, he arrived in *Spain*: And this was the third unfortunate voyage to *Argier*, it having been twice before attempted in vain.

1541

A Rupture with *Scotland* being now secretly resolv'd, our King thought fit to assure *Francis* sending for this purpose to Sir *William Paget* his Ambassador there, Instructions, which were chiefly to hold *Francis* to his Treaties of perpetuall peace. But *Francis* saying it was made upon certain conditions, which were broken by our King, it was answer'd the Treaty was *Sans* Condition, and when it were not, that he had broken none. But *Francis* requiring then assistance for *Milan*, as was promised; it was replyed, that both by the Treaty last offered by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and another formerly by *Commeray*, this was spoken of indeed, but that there was complicated with it another condition, that he should forsake the Bishop of *Rome*, which he refused to doe; But as this was interrupted with some wrangling, so there was no little debate about Ships detained on either side, our Officers having with-held some, under pretence they were Pirates, and they again seizing on ours by way of reprisall, so that matters were breaking forth to an open war. Which being advertiz'd to our King, gave him little hope of amity on that part, and consequently made him not only desist from a Treaty of Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Princessse *Mary* propos'd formerly by *Pommeray* and now renewed,

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Febr. 15 40.
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newed, but seek friends elsewhere (as will appear hereafter.) Our King refusing in the mean time to enter into League with him against the Emperor.

Though the right line of the *Plantagenets* were extinct in the Countesse of *Salisbury*, and consequently no fear of pretence to Succession, on that part, there remained yet a naturall son of *Edward* the fourth, called Sir *Arthur Plantagenet* (created by King *Henry* the eighth, Viscount *Lisle*) who came to his end on this occasion: This Lord, during his Lieutenantcy in *Calais*, being suspected, as consenting to a practise of some of his servants, (whereby they conspired to deliver that Town to the French,) was thereupon sent for, and committed to the Tower; but upon due Examination his Innocency appearing, the King at this time, not onely gave order to release him, but for his more comfort sent him a Diamond Ring, and a Gracious Message; which so overjoyed and dilated his spirits, that the night following he dyed.

The Emperor being now in *Spain*, *Ferdinand* holds a Diet at *Spire*, where he requires ayd against the *Turk*; whereof *Francis* being advertised, sends *Francis Oliver* thither with charge to represent, first the Assassinate of *Rincon* and *Fregose*, pretending it to be the more heynous, that *Rincons* Imployment was to hinder the *Turk* from invading *Hungary*: Secondly, to dissuade them from taking Arms against the *Turk*, till their own differences were composed. Lastly, to represent both the levity of the *Hungarians*, and their disaffection to the German Nation: And therefore, that they should fortifie their strong places betwixt *Austria* and *Hungary*, and the other Confines, without taking much regard to the rest. As for Pacification in Religion, that they should conform themselves on all sides to the Confession of our Faith, left us by the *Nicene* Council. And for other points, if they could not agree them, they should not yet be occasion of hate or division. But the wiser sort, who believed that *Rincons* dispatches (when they were to be seen) would have told another tale, did not much believe the first part of his Speech: As for the second, since it tended onely to give *Hungary* into the *Turks* hands, they rejected it wholly: And for the last, they regarded it little (though a wise and charitable advice) as being resolved already of their Religion. After him, the Bishop of *Modena*, the Popes Legat, tells them that the Pope desired Peace in Christendom, and provision for wars against the *Turk*. As for the Council which had been suspended hitherto by the Emperors consent to try if a Concord might, the while, be wrought in *Germany*, that it was reason to call it. Onely that *Germany* could be no fit place for holding thereof, since his Holiness resolving to be present, could not indure so long a journey or such a change of Ayr. Besides, he feared it would be turbulent.

lent. Nevertheless, for satisfying them, he was content the same should be assembled at *Trent*, (that is to say,) in the Borders of *Germany*. *Ferdinand* and the Catholikes accept this place with thanks, (when it might not be held at *Ratisbone* or *Collen*.) But the Protestants wholly disliked it. And now the French Ambassadors finding themselves but slighted, go thence discontented. And so the Diet brake up (after War had been decreed against the *Turk*, and Peace established in the Empire.) And May 22. the Councel was indicted to begin in *November* following.

April 11.

May 22.

Francis being now informed by his Ambassadors that the Germans were so far from receiving his advice, that they thought him to be a perturber of the Peace of Christendome, is not yet discouraged. Therefore, after a Procession made in *Paris* for successe in his War, and a present sent to the *Turk* of 600 Marks of Silver curiously wrought, and 500 Vestments for those that attended him, together with a request, that he would send his Fleet against the Emperor, and a publick Defiance sent to *Charles*, Hee invades his Territories in five severall places; Against them in *Brabant* hee imployes the Duke of *Longueville*, who was to joyn with *Martin Rossen* Generall for the Duke of *Cleves*, to invade that part: Against *Artois* the Duke of *Vendosme*: Against *Luxemburg* the Duke of *Orleans*: In *Piedmont* Monsieur du *Bellay* his Lieutenant there: And against *Perpignian* (the chief Town of *Roussillon*, and the Barrier of *Spain* to the Southward) the *Daulphin*, promising to second him in Person.

July.

Hee began first in *Piedmont*, as being the immediate way to his desired *Milan*: In which he held these places, *Turino*, *Montcalier*, *Savillan*, *Montdevis*, *Pignarola*, &c. For the Emperor stood *Asti*, *Vercelli*, *Ulpian*, *Fossan*, *Quierasco* and *Alba*; among which *Quierasco* was first attempted and yeelded: *Vendosme* in *Artois* taking and razing *Tourneham*: The Duke of *Orleans* (assisted with 500 Horse from *Christiern* the III King of *Denmark*) took *Luxemburgh* and other places; which yet *René* Prince of *Orenge* and Count of *Nassau* recovered shortly after. Neverthelesse, *Rossen* deceiv'd him with a plain trick: For commanding his Infantry to lie flat in a Champian field behind his Cavalry, the Prince of *Orenge*, who did not imagine he was so strong, charged him; but the Foot rising, they and their Horse together defeated him. Whereupon *Rossen* and *Longueville* being about thirty five thousand men, besieged *Antwerp*; But it was stoutly defended not onely by the Natives, but by forraign Merchants, and particularly the English. Whereupon, *Rossen* raising Siege and going to *Lovaine*, demands of them Money, Victuals, Artillery and Ammunition; which they of *Lovaine* accorded in part, commanding thereupon some Wine to be carried in Carts to the

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the Gate. But the Scholers, unwilling both to let it go, and suspecting besides that when the gates were so embarras'd, the Enemy behinde the Hogthead might get into the Town, cut off the Harnesse from the Horses, and went to the Artillery plant'd upon the Wall, and discharged it upon the Enemy: whereupon *Rossen* departing, spoil'd the Country round about. This while, the Daulphin brought an Army of forty thousand men, whereof fourteen thousand *Switz*, and four thousand Horse to *Perpignan*, which he besieged, hoping *Barbaroxa* and the Turkish Fleet would second him, according to his request by *Polin*, whom *Francis* employ'd in those parts. But the Town being bravely defended, and the Emperor besides preparing to relieve it, he rais'd the Seige, and the rather that Winter was now coming on. This while, the Emperor omitted not to complain to the Pope of *Francis*, protesting, that he both disturb'd the Peace of Christendome and the Councell, and hinder'd him from opposing the Turk. Whereupon, the Pope desiring to reconcile them, the Emperor answered, It was in vain to make Treaties with those who did hold none; desiring him therefore rather to take Armes against him, as confederate with the common Enemy of Christendom.

Decem. 1541.

August. 24.

October 21.

Hall.

The excuse from *James* formerly mentioned being not held satisfactory, our King prepares for war; nevertheless, he thought not fit to discover himself, but as late as he could. Therefore upon *James* his request he appoints Commissioners to examine busineses betwixt them, not omitting yet to levy men, of which *James* being advertiz'd rais'd forces likewise (as is before set down). During this Treaty some Inrodes being made into *Scotland* and Ports attempted, I find by *Lessens* twenty eight Scottish ships were taken. Whereupon, the Scots entring the English marches, Sir *Robert Bowes* (who resisted them) with divers others were taken Prisoners; without being permitted yet to ransom themselves. Hereupon the Duke of *Norfolk* with the Kings Army marched forward, but upon a second motion of Peace staves at *York*. And together with the Earl of *Southampton*, Bishop of *Durham*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* treats with certain Scottish Commissioners, who having variety of Instructions, (which they shewed one after another) and finally proposing an Interview, were thought to be sent thither only to gain time, winter now coming on, and the French King having so much to do at home as is before related. So that the King commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* to proceed, and together published a Declaration of the causes of this war. Which being extant in our Records, and set forth at large by *Hall*, I shall not need to insert here, though yet for satisfaction of the Reader, I shall extract some particularities from thence.

The chief causes I conceive, were, That *James* entertain'd some

some of the chief Rebels of the North. That he denied some grounds, (though of very small value) for which good evidences were produced. That he frustrated our King, after a promise of an Interview. That his Subjects made an Inrode while the Treaty was on foot. Besides all which, King *Henry* claimed Homage and Fealty, as due to him out of an ancient Title to that Crown; the demand whereof he said he had neglected a great while because of his Nephews minority, and other kind reasons, his Title being by lineall Succession, and recognized for many ages by the Kings of *Scotland*, to the Raig of *Henry* 6. which he proved first by History. Secondly, by Instruments of Homage, by the severall Kings, and divers great persons sealed with their Seals, and remaining in his Treasury. Thirdly, by Registers and Records, judicially and authentically made. The Historicall part, he began chiefly (that I may omit the relation of *Brutus* and his three Sons) at *Anno Dom.* 900. (being 642 yeers past) shewing that *Edward* son of *Alfred* had it under his Dominion. *Athelstain* made one *Constantine* King thereof. *Eldred* took homage of *Irise* [or *Ericus*] King of Scots, and *Edgar* of *Kinald* (or *Kenneth*.) That this was interrupted yet in *Edward* King and *Martyr* his time. But *Malcolm* did homage to *Knute*, and *Edward* the Confessor making war against *Malcolm*, overthrew him and gave his Kingdom to *Malcolm* his son, who made him Homage and Fealty; That *Malcolm* did homage to *William* the Conqueror, and after him to *William Rufus*, but failing in his duty was deposed, and *Edgar* brother to the last *Malcolm* and son to the first, ordain'd in that estate, who did his Homage and Fealty accordingly. This *Edgar* did homage to *Henry* the I. *David* did homage to *Matild* the Empreffe, but refus'd it to *Stephen*, as having done it to *Matild*; but after his death *David*'s son made his homage to *Stephen*. *William* King of Scots, and *David* his brother with all the chief Nobles of *Scotland* made homage to *Henry* II. his Son, with reservation of their duty to his Father. This *William* after much Rebellion and resistance, during the absence of *Henry* II. made his Peace and Composition with his Homage and Fealty; he also came to *Canterbury* and there did Homage to *Richard* the first. *William* did Homage to *Iohn* on a hill beside *Lincoln*, and made his Oath upon the crosse of *Hubert* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Alexander* King of Scots married the Daughter of *Henry* III. and did his Homage at *York*. *Alexander* came to the Coronation of *Edw.* I. and did his duty: *Iohn Baliol* made Homage and Fealty to *Edw.* I. *Robert Bruce* made war against the *Baliols* which interrupted the businesse for fourty four yeers. But afterwards *Edward Baliol* prevailing made Homage to *Edw.* the third. After this, *David Bruce* though on the contrary faction, made homage to *Edw.* the third. *Edward Baliol* who had the clear

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II.

III.

Title, surrendred the Crown to *Edw.* the third at *Roxenburgh*, who thereupon caused himself to be crown'd, and for a time entertain'd and enjoyed it as Proprietary and owner of the Crown, both by confiscation and voluntary surrender. In *Richard* the II. and *Henry* the IV. times, some interruption happened by reason of inward dissentions in this Kingdome; yet *Henry* V. commanded the Scots to attend him in his journie to *France*. And in this time the Realm of *Scotland* being descended on the *Stuarts*, *James Stuart* King of Scots made Homage to King *Henry* VI. at *Windsor*. All which Homages (though interrupted sometimes for more then LX. yeers) were yet within the memory of man. Of which therefore, Instruments made and sealed with the Seals of the Kings of *Scotland* remain; so that it was not for the Earldome of *Huntington* (as the Scots pretend) but for the Kingdom of *Scotland*. As for Records and Registers, that he had divers which were authentically, and among others that of *Edw.* I. in discussion of the Title of *Scotland*, then challenged by twelve Competitors. And that sentence was given for *Baliol*, who accordingly injoyed the Realm. That in a Parliament following, they did agree to the superiority of the King of *England*, and ensuing their determination, did particularly, and severally make Homage and Fealty with Proclamation, that whosoever withdrew himself from doing his duty therein, should be reputed as a Rebell; and so all made Homage and Fealty to *Edward* I. That during this discussion the Realm was ruled by Guardians deputed by him, and all Castles and Holds surrendred to him as to the Superiour Lord. And in the time of Vacation, Benefices, Offices, Fees, Promotions, passed as in the right of this Crown of *England*; Sheriffs also named and appointed, Writs and Precepts made, obeyed and executed. And that at this time, the Bishops of *S. Andrews* and *Glasco* were not Archbishops, but recogniz'd the Archbishop of *York*, whose authority extended over all their Country. That sithence the time of *Henry* VI. this Kingdome was lacerated and torn by diversity of Titles, till his time. So that though *Edw.* III. after great travells, having attain'd quietness in this Realm, finally made preparation of war against *Scotland*, yet he was prevented by death. As for *Richard* III. that he usurped the Kingdom till *Henry* the VII. his Father overthrew him, (which *Henry* the VII. by reason of his Estate not fully settled at home, forbore to compell the Scots to do their duty.) And for his own time, that twenty one yeers past of it in his Nephewes minority, when he had more care to bring him out of danger to the place of a King, then to receive of him Homage when he had full possession of the same.

The conclusion of this Declaration yet seemed to be ambiguous; as not pretending directly to insist upon the Claim, though

though he saith, that such be the works of God superiour over all, to suffer occasions to be ministred, whereby due superiority may be known, demanded, and required.

The Scottish Writers tell the businesse otherwise: not denying yet but *Athelstaine* was King of the whole Island by the testimony of divers of our Brittain Writers. Nevertheless, that their words were so to be understood, as the further parts of *Scotland* were not comprehended therein. As for the Homage done, That it was for the Earldom of *Huntington* (though as there was no Investiture thereof in the King of Scots till the time of our *Henry* the First, when *David* married the Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Huntington* and *Northumberland*, it reaches not to Homages formerly made). Again, among those who did Homage, some were reputed Kings of *Northumberland*, rather then *Scotland*. And for *Baliol's* resigning the Crown, they say, the Nobles did not consent to it: And many other things, which for avoyding prolixity, I omit; desiring the Reader to beleieve, that I am so far from undertaking to define the point, as (in an Historicall way) I have onely produced such Notes as my leisure would suffer me to gather at this time: professing, for the rest, That I should not in any wise have intermeddled therewith, but that *Hall* by setting forth the Declaration, gave the occasion.

These proceeding from time to time being advertised to *Francis*, caused him to send Monsieur *de Morvilliers* to congratulate the constancie of *James* in refusing an Interview; which hee attributed to his resolution not to forsake the Roman Church: Advising him for the rest, to stand upon his Guard; and for that purpose, sending him Money and Artillery.

And now the Army being ready to march on, *William Fitz-Williams* Earl of *Southampton* Captain of the Fore-ward died at *New-Castle*; A brave Lord, and so much esteemd, that for the honour of his Memory, his Standard was born in the Fore-ward in all this Expedition. The yeer thus being far spent, the Duke of *Norfolk* Lieutenant General, accompanied with the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hertford*, *Rutland*, and other Lords of the Northern parts; Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Kings Horse, and Sir *John Gage* Controller of his House, and above twenty thousand men (the Earl of *Angus* also being there present) enter *Scotland* 21 of October, and finding no resistance, burnt in eight days above twenty Villages and Towns: Whereupon the Bishop of *Orkney* and *James Leirmouth* came on their Kings part to require Peace; but the conditions not pleasing, the Treaty was dissolv'd. Nevertheless, our Army retreated presently to *Barmick*, as being betwixt the rigour of the season and want of victuals, constrain'd thereunto. So that though *Lestens* saith, the English retired upon hearing that

Lestens.
Aug.

Sleidan.

Hall.

October 21.

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Novemb. 24.

Hall.

Lestm.

Hall.

Decemb. 7.

Lest. Stow.
Hall.

Decemb. 14.

Buchanan.

the Scottish Army approached; this yet by others is thought improbable, because they invaded not *England* till three weeks after the Duke of *Norfolk* was at *Berwick*, and had licensed many of his souldiers. About which time therefore the Scottish Army being assembled, they entred *England* on the West Marches with an Army of fifteen thousand, or (as some say) a greater number. But *Thomas* the Bastard *Dacres* and *Musgrave*, having first sent to Sir *Thomas Wharton* Warden of the Marches to come to their aid, and then leaving a Stale or Ambush on a hill side, came forwards with an hundred light Horse, which being charged by some of the Scots, retired towards their Stale, and to *Wharton* now appearing, who had not yet above 300 men (as our Writers say). But whatsoever the Stratagem was, the Scots believing (it seems) the Duke of *Norfolk* was there with all his power, suddenly, as men amazed, fled. The English men pursued, and took the Earls of *Casselles* and *Glencarne*, the Lord *Maxwell* Admiral of *Scotland*, the Lord *Fleming*, the Lord *Somerwell*, the Lord *Oliphant*, Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Oliver Sinclere* the Kings Minion (as our Historians term him,) and divers others of note to the number of two hundred and above, and eight hundred of the meaner sort (so that some had two or three Prisoners,) and 24 Pieces of Ordnance, with much Arms and Baggage.

The Scottish Writers tell the Businesse a little otherwise; confessing yet the foresaid Prisoners to be taken, and that their men ran away, and were defeated. But some say, the reason of it was, that Sir *Oliver Sinclere* being suddenly declared their General when the English appeared, the Nobles took it so ill, that that they cared not to fight. They say also, that the King was at *Solway* (where this encounter hap'ned) a little before, and no further off then *Carlawroch* when the blow was given; which, perhaps, made some think that he was present at the fight, and received a wound, of which presently after he died, and not of sorrow.

James being now return'd, had in recompence of his misfortunes, a Daughter born, afterwards called *Mary*; which yet together with the many divertisements his servants gave, could not keep him from a deep Melancholy, which was augmented also (as the Scottish and our Writers say) by the sudden murder of an English Herald, whom our King sent thither to ransom some Prisoners (though yet none of his Subjects, but *Leech* a *Lincolnshire* Rebel kill'd him :) All which made that impression in him, that he died within few days after, and was buried neer his first Wife *Magdalene*, in the Abbey of *Holy-Rood*. He was of a middle stature, yet well compact and strong, given much in his youth to the love of women, to which his Governours gave way, thinking thereby to rule him the longer. This hinder-

hindered him not yet to be active in all State affairs, and frugall in his own; Qualities rarely found in Princes so much addicted to their pleasure. No man endured labour, cold, hunger better (as his many Expeditions in Person against Rebels, shewed.) Under pretence of favouring the poorer sort, he was noted to be severe to his Nobility, which made them lesse ready when he had occasion to use them. Insomuch, that (as *Buchanan* hath it) he could not perswade them to come to Battel with the Duke of *Norfolk*.

The murder of our English Herald being related to our King, mightily incensed him: and therefore hee not onely required *Leech*, (who yet was not demanded till after the death of King *James*, nor executed till May following); but sent to his Ambassadour *Paget* in *France*, both to acquaint *Francis* therewith, (whom hee lately knew had suffered in the like kinde,) and to desire him not to assist *James*. But the Answer hereunto was cold, as will appear hereafter.

The news of the Kings death, and the Princeesse birth being brought to our King, awakened in him new Counsels: so that in stead of pursuing War against *Scotland*, he began to think how he might recover the young Daughter thence, and match his Son *Edward* to her. To which also he was so intentive, that he sent a Dispatch to his Ambassadour *Paget*, commanding him carefully to observe what past betwixt *France* and *Scotland*, as being jealous lest *Francis* should get or detain her from him. And there was reason to fear it, *Francis* having by the intervention of the Queen and Cardinall *Beton*, a great party there. Neverthelesse, as our King knew how much it concern'd either Nation that all causes of Hostility should be taken away, and both Kingdoms united: So he doubted not but many, especially the wiser sort, would concur with him.

And now in *Scotland* two Factions were eminent: One that of the Queen, seconded by Cardinall *Beton*, who (as the Scottish Writers say) forged a Will, by which himself, assisted with three of the most powerfull Nobility, should govern the State, and with him all the French Faction joyn'd. *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arrain* chief of the other side (though observ'd to be a lover of quiet) was yet encouraged by his followers to assume that dignity; as being so neer of blood, and the Princeesse so young, that many occasions might happen, whereof he might prevail himself: which reasons also inclin'd him to depend on our King.

While these things past in *Scotland*, the Prisoners taken in the last Battell, were by Sir *Henry Savil* and Sir *Thomas Wentworth* conducted from *York* to *London*, whither they came Decemb. 19. wearing every one (as our King had appointed) for a cognizance, a red S. *Andrews* Crosse, and were presently sent to the Tower,

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Decemb. 4.

Decemb. 22.

Decemb. 26.

Decemb. 19.
Stow.
Records.

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Decemb. 21.

Records.

Decem. 1540.

Decemb. 26.

Jan. 1.

Buchan.

Tower, where shortly after King *Henry* for more ostentation commanded Sir *John Gage* Controller of his Household, to bring them by two and two together in new Gowns of black Damask, and other apparell futable (all at his cost) from the Tower to the Star-chamber, where *Thomas* Lord *Audeley* the Lord Chancellor was to tell them, what cause King *Henry* had of war against them, both for denying their Homage, and invading his Realm without Defiance, and keeping his Subjects without suffering them to make Ransome, contrary to the Laws of the Marches. Neverthelesse, that such was his benignity, that he would shew them kindnesse for unkindnesse, and right for wrong : And thereupon (after their promise to remain true Prisoners) commanded that they should be no more returned to prison, but brought to divers Noble Houses, there to be regaled and made much of. Thus the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had the Earl of *Cassilis* commended to him ; the Duke of *Norfolk* the Earl of *Glencarne* ; Sir *Anthony Brown* the Lord *Maxwell* ; the Lord Chancellor the Lord *Somerwell* ; Sir *Thomas Lee* the Lord *Oliphant* ; the Duke of *Suffolk* Sir *Oliver Sinclere* ; *Thomas Thurliby* (lately made first Bishop of *Westminster*) *Robert Erskin* ; and many others were with divers of our chief Nobility : where having past some time with as much contentment as the news of their Kings death (now brought) permitted, they forgot not to expresse how glad they would be that a Match might succeed betwixt our Prince and their Princeesse, promising also their furtherance therein ; which being related to our King, was taken so well, as they were not onely dismiss'd upon Hostages to be given for their return (when they were not able to effect this Match,) but richly rewarded. After which, again, being feasted, they kept their Journey toward *Scotland*, till they came to the Duke of *Suffolk* (the Kings Lieutenant in the Northern parts) being then at *New-Castle*, where their Hostages being received, they had licence to go home ; and with them also went the Earl of *Angus*, and his Brother Sir *George Dowglas* (now fifteen yeers absent from their Country) who, during their long stay in these parts, had a liberall Pension bestowed on them by our King ; for which also they promised their best assistance on all occasions. Cardinall *Beton*, who this while (by pretext of his counterfeit Will) had made himself Viceroy, was now (upon detection of the forgery) depos'd, and *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arrain* chosen in his place : A Nobleman followed by many, both for his neernesse of Bloud to the Crown, and that the Cardinals cruelty and ambition had made him so hated. Besides, there was found after the Kings death certain Papers, in which the names of above 300 of the principall Nobility and Gentry (and among them *James Hamilton*) were accused as Criminals : and this again made them more confident

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confident of his Protection. Moreover, he was noted willing to inform himself in the Controversies of Religion, and gave hope of a milde and temperate disposition. His first publick Action was the convoking of a Parliament in *March* following; whereof our King being advertised, sent Sir *Ralf Sadler* (his Secretary) thither, to procure the Marriage formerly mentioned, and a perpetuall Peace: Scottish Ambassadors being also deputed to treat thereof with our King. What Sir *Ralf Sadlers* first Instructions were, appears not by our Records, more then is formerly related out of the Scottish Writers; But by a subsequent Dispatch, dated *May 6*, I find that our King, in reward of some business that the Viceroy should effect, had promis'd his Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* to his Son: And because our King passionately desired to have the young Princeesse into his hands, both that he intended to marry her to his Son Prince *Edward*, and that he feared the French would prevent him, I nothing doubt but this was the Affair intimated betwixt them. Our Records also tel us, that *George Dowglasse*, and the other Lords who were sent home, excus'd themselves at first, as neither knowing what they did, nor able to perform their promises; so that though they had undertaken to procure the Marriage, and to get some Holds into their hands, where they might with more advantage set forth our Kings purposes, they declined it; alledging, among other difficulties, a certain ficklenesse in the Viceroy's disposition, and that the French party was so great. Howbeit, upon further debate of the businesse, certain Scottish Ambassadors were sent hither, being Sir *William Hamilton* and Sir *James Lermouth*; but their Negotiation not pleasing, as unwilling to admit other Governour then the Earl of *Arrain* during the Queens minority, or to deliver the Holds of *Scotland* till shee had Issue by Prince *Edward*, or to put her into our Kings custody, with some other Demands which were distastd by them, it was thought fit to send the Earl of *Glencarne* and Sir *George Dowglasse*; who, I finde, seconded the overture of the Contract of Marriage and perpetual Peace (which the first made) in more plausible terms: yet not so, but that Sir *George Dowglass* was dispatched Post to *Scotland* to bring a more satisfactory Answer; which was obtain'd: Insomuch, that a Treaty for Marriage sign'd and seal'd was brought back by those Scottish Ambassadors in *August 1543* (as *Lestens* hath it). And because I finde among our Records this following Treaty of *June 29*, I shall enquire for no other.

First, That the Lords of *Scotland* shall have the Education of the Princeesse for a time: yet so as it might be lawful for our King to send thither a Noble-Man and his Wife with a Family, under twenty Persons to wait on her.

That at ten yeers of age she should be brought into *England*, the

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May 6.

April.

April 14.

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Aug.
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the Contract being first finished by a Proxie in *Scotland*.

That within two Months after the Date hereof six Noble Scots should be given as Hostages for the performance of the Conditions on their part; And that if any of them died, the number of them should be supplied.

Furthermore, it was agreed that the Realm of *Scotland* (by that name) should preserve its Laws and Rights: And that Peace should be made for as long time as was desired, the French being excluded.

Neverthelesse, The Queen, Cardinal, and all the Clergy oppos'd this Treaty, and the Cardinal so particularly, that he was removed to a chamber apart, or (as other have it) into a Prison, till the main question of the Marriage was voted and agreed, and Hostages promised for performance thereof. But as the Cardinal found means to corrupt his Keeper, so he escaped; and then began again to trouble all, using for this purpose the help of the Queen-Mother, and the pretext, it was unfit that the *Dowglasses*, being wholly devoted to the English, should from a long Banishment be admitted to the supreme Council concerning publick Affairs. Besides, hee got huge sums of money from the Clergy, upon colour that there was no other way to redeem themselves from imminent ruine. Furthermore, he perswaded that the Hostages should not be sent into *England*; hee procured also that our Ambassadour should be contumeliously used; whereof he complaining to the Viceroy, had no other Answer, but that the Cardinall had so discomposed all things, that hee could give no remedy for the present. The Question was then, What course they should take about the Hostages left in *England*, upon condition that the late Nobles who were prisoners should return, in case the Marriage and Peace took no effect. But the Cardinall answered, That Kindred, Friends, Children and all should be sacrificed for the good of their Country. Howbeit, *Gilbert Kenneth* Earl of *Cassilis* could not be perswaded to stay; for having left two Brothers his pledges, he said he would redeem their lives with his own: And thereupon, though many dehorted him, he went into *England*. Which generous counsell succeeded so well, that after a large commendation given him by our King, he was dismiss'd with his Brothers freely, and richly rewarded. On the other side, hee was so offended with the rest, that hee detain'd all the Scottish Shipping in his Ports, and resolved to denounce War against them. Whereupon, the Cardinal and Queen-Mother inform'd the French King thereof, and that the Factions were such, as there was danger both Kingdoms should be united; desiring him further, to send over *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lennox*, as being of great power in that Country, and noted then to be adverse to the *Hamiltons*: Besides, it added to his reputation,

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tation, that it was thought the last King if he had died without Issue Male, would have design'd him his Heir and Successor, and gotten it confirmed by Parliament. And to invite him the more, there was some secret hope given, he might marry the Queen Mother, and divers other things set down by *Buchanan*. These motives, together with the French Kings approbation & promise of assistance made the young Lord to resolve to repair to *Scotland*; whereof the Viceroy being informed, endeavors to get the young Princess out of her mothers hands; hoping thereby not only to govern all, but to draw the English on his side; but the design being vented to the Cardinal, a guard was given to the young Queen.

In the mean while the Earl of *Lenox* arrives out of *France*, without discovering yet any thing of his Intentions; only he tells his friends in private the Promises made him, and what help he might expect from the French King. Whereupon they exhorting him to try his strength, he gathered four thousand men and advances; whereof *Hamilton* being advertiz'd, and finding himself inferior in Power, sent to Treat of Peace, which followed, and an agreement for the present that the Queen should be brought to *Sterling*, and four principall Persons should have care of her Education: And the rather, that it was suspected that the Earl of *Arrain* would have delivered her to the English. Whereupon she was conducted by *Lenox* unto the place appointed, and committed unto the tuition of *Grames*, *Erskin*, *Lindsey*, and *Leviston*, and shortly after crown'd. The Viceroy being thus frustrate, and for the rest, not much favoured by the People, suffer'd himself to be gain'd by the Cardinal; to whom he shewed himself so obsequious, as he seem'd to hold the name rather than the power of a Viceroy. Insomuch, that the Cardinal who a little before was in danger of suffering for a notable Forgery, now absolutly govern'd all. Whereof our King being advertised, did no longer hope to recover the Queen by the help of the Viceroy, but resolv'd openly to demand her, upon pretext that there was fear of her being conveyed into *France*; and in case of refusal, to denounce War. The Message hereupon being brought, the Scots utterly denied him, so that provision for war was made by our King. All things yet passed not so quietly in *Scotland* as was desired by that State; for as the Cardinall being of immoderate Ambition could not indure the Earle of *Lenox* power, so hee endeavour'd to suppress him; which he did also with much cunning. For whereas hope had been given him of a marriage with the Queen, he advised her to entertain him fairly till he had received an Answer of the French King of a Letter, wherein, though he made Honourable mention of him, he thought it convenient yet the said Earl should be recall'd. It being not likely otherwise that the Kingdom would long continue in Peace. In the mean while, as *Lenox* was young, hand-

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some, and gentile, and brought up in all exercises of a Cavalier, he past his time in Tiltings, Masks, and other noble disports; In which though he had the Earl of *Bothwell* for Rivall, this Lord yet appear'd so inferiour to him, as he retired home: Neverthelesse, *Lenox* finding himself at last deluded, and that all this was done only by the Queen and Cardinall to have the more leasure to ruine him, he protested he would be revenged; neither wanted there an opportunity; for thirty thousand crowns being sent by the French King to him, in the disposing whereof yet he was wish'd to use the advice of the Queen and Cardinal, he distributed the money amongst his friends; but the Cardinal alledging, that the money was sent to himself, and to be employed in wars against the English, and that *Lenox* had intercepted it against all right, raised an Army to seize on him and the money together. But as *Lenox* was not ignorant of these Preparatives, he gathered in a short space an Army of ten thousand men, saying, he would prevent the Cardinall; who being now desirous to gain time, as knowing *Lenox* was not long able to maintain this expence, entertain'd him with frequent Pollicitations and Messages, *Lenox* also doubting least some of his followers might forsake him, agrees with the Viceroy and him, and comes to *Edenburrrough*, where (after a while) being advertiz'd, that some treachery was intended, he conveyes himself by night to *Glasco*, and from thence to *Dunbritton*; after which, hearing both, that the *Donglasses* and the *Hamiltons* were agreed, and that through the calumnies of his Adversaries, the French King was alienated from him, he seem'd much troubled, & the rather that some noble Persons who desired to end these controversies, were suddenly comitted. But as our King prepared now to invade *Scotland*, this busines had another end then he could easily imagine.

And now if just causes of competition to the young Queen of *Scotland* hapned, no lesse just causes for war against *Francis* were given, of which I find the chief or at least the most recent, were these.

That he withheld divers of our Ships, and seiz'd upon our Merchants Goods.

That he detain'd the Pension due yeerly to King *Henry*.

That he had fortified *Ardres* to the prejudice of our English pale, on which also he had incroached. Moreover divers ancient unkindnesses not sufficiently concocted remain'd in our Kings breast: As that he had given his Daughter *Magdalen* to *James*, and afterward the Daughter of *Guise* contrary to his promise and Treaty.

That he had not deserted the Bishop of *Rome*, and consented to a Reformation, as he once promised.

That whereas with much freedome and confidence he had revealed divers secrets to him, they had been disclosed again unto the Emperor, while he was at *Aignes Mortes* and after

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at *Paris*. Besides which, there was a common quarrell taken betwixt the Emperor and our King for having confederated himself with the Turk, &c. as is in the following Treaty. But to these *Francis* answered, That our King had failed also in not assisting him against the Emperor. Our King replied, That *Francis* had violated the Treaty first. Besides, he could not be ignorant of the warres against his Rebels at that time; howsoever these busineses were so roughly contested that the Ambassadors were stayed on both sides, though at length dismissed, and an open Rupture resolved. The consequence whereof having a good while since been presaged by our King, made him determine to enter into League with the Emperor, and to call a Parliament.

The League with the Emperor was to this effect (as appears by our Records.)

I. That there should be Abolition of former Injuries.

II. A free Intercourse.

III. A perpetuall Peace.

IIII. That they should ayd or countenance no Enemies of each other.

V. That Rebels or Fugitives should not be harbour'd, but upon warning given to be gone, if they obeyed not, to be banished and proscrib'd.

VI. He shall be taken for a Common Enemy who shall invade *England, Guisnes, Calais, Berwick, Wight, Gersey, Garnsey, Man, Spain, Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeland, Hainault, Artois, Limburgh, Luxemburgh, Namours, Frise, Overysse, Utrecht, Merklin.*

VII. And if he invade with ten thousand men, the Prince invaded shall require aid of the other, who shall send him within forty daies, at his own charges, in this proportion, viz.

That if the enemy fall on *Calais*, or the Castle, and County of *Guisnes*, the Emperor shall send at least as many Souldiers Horse and Foot, as may be paid for seven hundred crowns the day, each crown valued at fourty five Sol' *Tournois*.

If on *Wight, Gersey, Garnsey, Man*, or *England*, the Emperor shall send for ayd such a number of Foot, as can be paid for seven hundred crowns a day.

But if the Emperor be invaded in any of his countries above mentioned, the King of *England* shall send him for ayd, such a number of Foot; at least whose pay, considering their Clothes, Diet, and Weapons comes to seven hundred Crowns a day, each Crown worth forty Sol' *Tournois*.

And it is in the choice of him who demandeth aid, whether he will have Men or money, which Money shall be paid by the month, consisting of twenty eight dayes.

And whether Men or Money be required, the Prince of whom it is demanded, is not bound to be at this charge above

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four Months in one Yeer. But if the Prince in whose Aid they are sent will retain them longer, hee may, at his own charge.

Neither Prince is bound to aid the other in divers places at once : And if both shall be invaded at the same time by the King of *France*, the one shall not be bound to aid the other.

If this Aid be demanded upon a false rumour, and the Enemy shall neither besiege any City or Fort, nor make spoil, nor encamp in the Country of the Demandant, then the said Demandant is to repay the money.

Concerning the Kingdom of *Spain* and *Ireland*, It is agreed, they shall aid one another by sending Horse and Foot, or Ships at the cost of the Demandant : and concerning these two Kingdoms, the Number and Costs of the Aid shall be as the time, and occasion and strength of the Prince of whom it was demanded will suffer : which thing shall be referred to the conscience of the Prince so call'd upon.

And for the pay of the Souldiers, it shall be rated according to the Market of the Country wherein they are.

VIII. If any Article of this Treaty be violated by any of the Subjects, they shall be punish'd, and it remain.

IX. That no Letters of Merque shall be given without due warning, to the end the losses and wrongs may be otherwise repaired by the Prince.

X. That because many scandalous and hereticall Books are spread abroad by Translations, It is agreed that no Book written in English shall be printed or sold in *Germany*, or the Emperours Dominions : Nor any Book written in Dutch, in *England*, under pain of Imprisonment to the sellers and Printers, and burning of the said Books.

XI. That there shall be Intercourse of Traffique according to the Treaty made 1520 ; and confirm'd and ordered in the Treaty of *Cambray*, 5 Aug. 1529.

XII. That if there be any damnification of the Subjects on either side, the wronged party upon requisition may have the cause heard, and due reparation made.

XIII. That when upon Invasion (as aforesaid) War is denounced, no Truce shall be made by either Prince without the consent of the other, except there be danger of Siege from the Enemy : In which case there may be Truce made (apart) for two months, within which time he is to give notice to the other.

XIII. That no Peace shall be made, nor any Treaty severally with the French King, or any other to the prejudice of this, but this to continue firm.

XV. That none are to be comprehended in this Treaty, but

but by common consent ; as also no Enemy to either, nor in whose Dominions the other hath any pretence.

XVI. This Treaty to be ratified by the Princes, under their Princely Word and Oath, and under pain to be infamous, and hated both by God and man, and under pledge of their goods, so that it shall be lawfull to invade the Realms and Dominions of the Infractor, to take persons and goods and carry them away, till satisfaction be made : Provided, that they come not to this extremity, till a Diet or Meeting hath been required, and Justice denyed or delayed.

XVII. This Treaty to be understood according to the simple and plain tenour of the words, and no Interpretation admitted otherwise.

XVIII. It is also covenanted and agreed, that as soon as may be, the two Princes shall by their Ambassadors declare to the King of *France* (requiring his Answer thereto), viz.

1. They shall complain, that the Turk (Enemy to Christian Faith) hath taken boldnesse by his friendship to invade Christendome.

2. That he renounce his correspondence with the said Turk, recalling his Orators that are now resident with him.

3. That hee satisfie for the losse and prejudice done by the Turk, through his occasion and procurement, to Christendome ; viz. First, That hee restore the Town of *Maram* to the King of the Romans. And secondly, That he content the Emperour for the costs and dammages sustain'd in the losse of *Castel-Nuovo*, which the Turk, with the aid of twelve Gallies of the King of *France*, took.

Maramic. Orig.

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4. That he cease from War with the Emperour, that he may more commodiously and safely take upon him the defence of the Christian Common-wealth.

5. That he repay to the Germans the losse by them sustain'd, in defending themselves against the Turk.

6. That he pay the King of *England* all Arrearages, and that he give him some Lands and Possessions to secure the satisfaction of the perpetuall Pension. And if there be any thing else which each of these two Princes will require from the French King, it shall be lawfull for him to do it, so that he declare his intent therein in open and plain terms, before the Ratification of the present Treaty.

XIX. If the French King either for terrour of conscience, or fear of revenge, shall desire to come to agreement for Peace ; neither of these two Princes may treat with him apart, untill the King of *France* hath given them satisfaction : (viz.) Till he hath paid the King of *England* all that is in arrear due to him by bargain. Also, for security for the payment of the annuall Pension due for ever, hee shall surrender into the possession of the

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the King of *England* the whole Country of *Ponthieu*, with the Town of *Boloigne*, and Territories of *Monstrueil*, *Therouenne*, and *Arde*, with the Lands, Villages, and Towns adjoyning, as far as the Borders of the said County of *Ponthieu*, &c. On condition, that the King of *England* and his Successors shall hold them all for them and theirs, free from all Feod. On this condition yet, that they hold themselves fully satisfied with the profits arising out of these Lands for the annuall and perpetuall Pension. To the Emperour hee shall restore the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.

XX. If the King of *France* will not accept Peace on these Conditions, or delay it ten dayes after proposition, the two Princes shall denounce War against him. Wherein

The King of *England* shall challenge to himself the Kingdom of *France*, Dutchy of *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, and *Guienne*. The Emperour, the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Cities and Towns of *Abbeville*, *Amiens*, *Corby*, *Bray*, *Peronne*, *Hannere* and *St. Quintin*, with their Territories. Before recovering of all which, neither of the Princes shall desist from Hostility but by consent of the other, and for the good of Christendome.

XXI. They shall have each a Fleet at Sea to secure Traffick: which Ships bearing two thousand, or (if need be) three thousand Souldiers, shall be set to Sea within a month after War denounced to the French King, and shall remain there on the Coasts of *France*, infesting his Country, and defending their Friends. Nor shall they licence their Souldiers, or diminish the number of Ships or men, but by consent. And if there be any losse by tempest or fight, they shall supply it. For the Designes, they shall be ruled by the Admirals and the Councel of the two Princes.

XXII. After War, as aforesaid, denounced by common consent, in time and place agreed on, (so it exceed not the space of two yeers) the two Princes shall either in Person, or by Lieutenant, invade the Realm of *France* with a compleat Army; that is to say, twenty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, or lesse; nor shall desist within four months, unlesse he be beaten, or receive some disaister (except by mutuall consent.)

XXIII. When King *Henry* shall with twenty thousand Foot and five thousand Horse invade the Dominions of the French King, the Emperour shall at his own costs lend him 2000 Landsknechts, and 2000 of able Horsmen, to serve under him, till he licence his Troops.

XXIII. When the King of *England* shall passe the Sea to invade *France*, and passe thorow any of the Dominions of *Charles*, the said Emperour shall give him free passage, and let him have Ships, Carriage, Victuals and Ammunition, so he pay for them at a fair and reasonable price.

XXV. This

XXV. This Treaty to be ratified and sworn by both Princes within 15 days after Requisition.

Commissioners for our King were *Stephen* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Westminster*, *Sir Thomas Wriothesley* principal Secretary: For the Emperor, *Eustachius Chappuis*, Doctor of both Lawes, Councellor and Master of Requests to the Emperour, and his Lieger Ambassador here in *England*.

This League minuted and agreed in *February* 1543, was sworn to by *Charles* April 8, at *Molin del Rey* neer *Barcelona*, in the presence of *Edmond Bonner* Bishop of *London*, our Kings Ambassadour, and published in *June* following: Our King in the mean while providing for War, and his Parliament largely contributing to the expences thereof.

In this Parliament, a Book intituled *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, receiving its approbation, was in *May* following printed and published in English by the Kings command; wherein he departs not from his Articles set forth *Anno* 1536, except in admitting seven Sacraments, and handling the Points in a more copious manner: for here at large out of the Scriptures and Fathers, he explains the Creed, the Sacraments and the Decalogue, the Lords Prayer, with the *Ave*; then the Doctrine of Free-will, and Good works: lastly, adds prayer for the Dead; all with much moderation, as chusing rather to resolve high and obscure Questions in generall terms, then by any peremptory and particular determination to make his people obnoxious; a fault noted by some Authors in *Charles* and *Francis*, both which about these times commanding their Divines to collect their Doctrine into certain brief Heads, propos'd it barely without explication or proof, under the greatest penalties. But King *Henry* having laboured first to make Tenents understood, took order in the next place to have them observed on these conditions. Therefore, among other Laws enacted in this Session, beginning the twentieth of *January* 1543, and lasting till the twelfth of *May* following, this is the first.

Recourse must be had to the Catholick and Apostolick Church for the decision of Controversies: And therefore all Books of the Old and New Testament in English, being of *Tindal's* false Translation, or comprising any matter of Christian Religion, Articles of the Faith, or holy Scripture, contrary to the Doctrine set forth *Anno Domini* 1540, or to be set forth by the King, shall be abolished. No Printer or Bookseller shall utter any of the aforesaid Books: No persons shall play in Enterludes, sing or rime contrary to the said Doctrine: No person shall retain any English Books, or Writings concerning matter against the holy and Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, or for the maintenance of Anabaptists, or other Books abolished by the

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the King's Proclamation. There shall be no Annotations or Preambles in Bibles or New Testaments in English. The Bible shall not be read in English in any Church. No Women or Artificers, Prentices, Journeymen, Servingmen, of the degrees of Yeomen, or under Husbandmen, nor Labourers, shall read the New Testament in English. Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary to the Kings Instructions. And if any spirituall person preach, teach, or maintain any thing contrary to the Kings Instructions or Determinations made or to be made, and shall be thereof convict, he shall for his first offence recant; for his second, abjure, and bear a fagot; and for his third, shall be adjudged an Heretick, and be burned, and lose all his Goods and Chattels. And this Statute, though rigorous, was yet a qualification of the six Articles, which imposed death upon the first offence in this kinde: And as the King was now in good terms with the Emperour, hee might the better moderate them.

That the Lords authorized by the Statute of 28 Hen. 8. 14. to set the prices of Wine in grosse, may mitigate or enhance the prices of Wine by retail, as time and occasion shall require. Which Act, though expired before our times, had yet this use, that Vintners then were very much restrained from coufening; and the extraordinary number of them diminished.

That any person being no common Surgeon, may minister outward Medicines.

That Bishops now erected, should pay their Tenths into the Courts of the First-Fruits.

That Pensions &c. granted out of Abbeyes &c. should be paid still as they were before.

That Laws specially should be made in *Wales* by the Officers there. Whereupon the Councel in the Principality of *Wales* and Marches was confirmed; and divers other Orders established, too long to be recited here. Onely I must not omit how *Gavelkind* (which being heretofore used in *Wales*, did so divide and subdivide the Lands of the Ancient Nobles and Gentry there, that at last every mans part came to very little; and so disabled them to keep the dignity of their Houses) was here taken away and extinguished.

In this Parliament, also, a Subsidie was granted to the King, to be paid in three years, after this rate; They who were in Goods worth 20 Shillings and upwards to 5 Pounds, paid four pence of every Pound; from 5 Pound to 10 Pound, 8 pence; from 10 Pound to 20 Pound, 16 pence; from 20 and upwards, two Shillings. All Strangers, as well Denizens, as others, inhabiting here, doubled the Sum; Strangers not Inhabitants, that were sixteen years old and upwards, paid four pence for every Head or Pole. As for Lands, Fees and Annuities, every Native

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Native paid eight pence in the pound from twenty shillings to five pounds; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three shillings. Strangers still after all these rates doubling the sum. As for the Clergy, they granted a Subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid of their Benefices in perpetuity, in three yeers following: And every Priest having no perpetuity, but an annuall Stipend, paid yeerly during the said three yeers 6 shillings 8 pence. Besides which, I finde, by occasion of a dearth of victuals, a Sumptuary Law was made, whereby the Maior and Sheriffs of *London*, as also the Serjeants and Yeomen of their Houses were limited to a certain number of dishes: They were forbidden also to buy certain kindes of Fowl. Neverthelesse, in regard of the great confluence of people in this Parliament time, and the scarcity of Fish, the King by Proclamation dispensed eating of white-meats in Lent, forbidding yet the eating of Flesh so strictly, as *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, with divers Lords, Knights and Gentlemen were imprisoned for offending herein.

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And now the Irish finding by *O-Neale*, that the use our King made of this Stile of King of *Ireland*, was to confer Nobility more amply on them, according to their severall merits and Services; *O-Brien*, *Mac-William-a-Burgh*, and *Mac-Gil-Patrick* came hither, and upon notice taken of their desert, *O-Brien* was created Earl of *Twomond*, and *Mac-William* Earl of *Clanricard*; some others also had Honours given them, and received therein an obligation to continue firm to the English Crown: Of which likewise the Successors of the aforesaid Lords have given ample testimony.

June 3.

July 1.

The separation or Divorce betwixt our King and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves* now standing uncontroverted, and Queen *Katherine* beheaded, our King bethought himself of another Match. In the concluding whereof yet he found some difficulty: For as by a Statute formerly mentioned it was declared death for any whom the King should marry, to conceal her incontinency in former time; So few durst hazard to venture into those Bonds with a King, who had (as they thought) so much facility in dissolving them: therefore they stood off, as knowing in what a slippery estate they were if the King, after his receiving them to bed, should, through any mistake, declare them no Maids: So that now he fix'd upon the Lady *Katherine Parr*, Widow to the Lord *Latimer*; who, as she was esteemed ever a Lady of much integrity and worth, and some maturity of yeers, so the King after Marriage lived apparently well with her for the most part. The publishing of this Marriage was accompanied with a Declaration of his League with the Emperour, and denouncing War to *Francis*: For which purpose, two Kings of

July 12.

1543

June.

Arms on the Emperour and our Kings part, were dispatched to Him; while for more authorising their Message, they were to require performance of certain Conditions before mentioned. But *Francis* not suffering them to come at all within his Dominions, they return'd; and both Princes, without more ceremony, prepar'd for War: The beginning and progresse whereof, that it may be the better understood, I shall look a while upon forraign History.

Jan. 9.

Sandov. 2. Tom.
L. XXV.

May 25.

Guillaume de Bellay Seigneur de *Langey*, one of the compleatest Gentlemen of his time, to whom the charge of all Affairs in *Piedmont* was chiefly committed, finding himself declining in health, desires leave to return home, but too late; for being intercepted by death in his way, he desired the King his Master accept thereof as a testimony that he had served his Majestie to the uttermost of his force: whose losse, I finde, happened more unseasonably, that *Francis* had now need of his best strength against two so puissant Princes as resolved to invade his Dominions in Person. The Emperour set out first, as having divers Businesse to determine by the way; leaving for Governour of *Spain* his Son *Philip*, assisted by *Fernando de Toledo* Duc de *Alva* as Captain Generall, and *Francesco de les Covos* for other Dispatches during his absence. His chief designe was to draw the Pope from the French King: To which, though the Pope was sufficiently dispos'd, yet he durst not (saith *Sandoval*) lest *Francis* should renounce his Authority, as our King had done, and give ear to the Lutherans. Which being certified to the Emperour by his Ambassadors at *Rome*, made him withdraw some Revenues which he had given with *Margaret* his naturall Daughter, to *Ottavio Farnese* the Pope's Grand-childe. And now the Emperour having all things ready for his voyage, arrives from *Barcelona* at *Genoa* about the end of May 1543, as our Records say, or June, according to *Sandoval*. His necessities yet were great; inso much, that as he was forced before his leaving *Spain* to pawn the *Moluccas* to *Juan* King of *Portugall*, (and the rather, that some revolt happening in the West-Indies about this time, hee was disfurnish'd of the Revenues usually received from thence): so in *Italy* he was constrain'd to sell the Fortresses of *Florence* and *Ligorno* to *Cosmo de Medicis* Duke of *Florence* for an hundred and fifty thousand Duckats; though yet he wanted not so many reasons to retain these places, as (unlesse a most urgent necessity did excuse him) it cannot but seem most strange, both as he lost so principall an Access to *Italy* by it, and such a puissant means of conserving the Florentines at his Devotion: Neverthelesse, I finde he would not part with *Siena*, though as being an Island Town, and without means to be easily relieved, it could not so aptly serve for to make good his Authority in those parts. To which yet I finde *Diego de*
Men-

Mendoza Governour thereof so encouraged him, as he seemed rather to invite an attempt against *Rome*. The Emperour reposing a while at *Genoa*, was desired by the Pope to permit an interview; which at last was accorded at *Bussetto*, between *Parma* and *Cremona*, where the Pope and Emperour did meet June 21. Their different ends yet did not permit them to speak principally of a Councell, nor at all, till their other businesses were determined: for the Emperour, desirous to incite him against the French King, and (howsoever) to get money of him, bent his chief discourses that way. The Pope, on the other side, ambitious to get *Milan* for his Grand-childe *Ottavio Farnese*, (who had married *Margaret*, naturall Daughter to the Emperour, as is before recited) intended little else; offering for this purpose, to make what Cardinals the Emperour desired, to give an hundred and fifty thousand Crowns for some yeers towards his Warre against *France*, and yet to leave the Castle of *Milan* and *Cremona* in his hands. Others say, the Pope would neatly have bought *Milan* for his Grand-childe, when the Emperour could give him good assurance for his purchase, and that the Emperour would not part with the Fortresse of *Milan* and *Cremona*. But to leave these things to the several Authors, I finde, that the Emperour requiring more money, the businesse was suspended, and the conclusion referred to Commissioners, who should treat thereof as the Emperor proceeded in his journey through *Germany*: who, for all advantage and satisfaction in this Interview, had no account to give at his coming thither, but that hee could protest, hee had made some Overture of a Councell. The Pope finding thus no certain resolution given to his request, inclined to *Francis*; and the rather, that the League betwixt our King and the Emperour being published, he was highly incensed against him, as having joyned himself in league with one who was so lately excommunicated, anathematized, cursed, deprived, and made incapable of all Confederation: Which yet so little moved the Emperour; as when it was represented that the Pope's proceeding herein was passionate, and for his proper interest onely, and that Religion stood upon firmer Principles, then that it could be personated in any one man, he did not relinquish his former intention: for more confirmation whereof also, he fail'd not to reproach unto the Pope his assisting of *Francis*; saying, He might with more reason prevail himself of our King's assistance, then *Francis* could do of the Turk's.

The Emperour being now come into the Low-Countries, resolves to chastise the Duke of *Cleves*; the chief places of whose Country he took in 15 days. Nevertheless, upon his submission, he restored all but *Gueldre* and *Zutphen*; of which yet he gave him some hope, when he would hold it in Fee from the Empire.

1543
Sandoval, l. 25.

June 21.

August.

Septemb. 7

1543

1546.

Novemb.

This being advertised to *Francis*, made him detain *Jone* of *Navarre*; but for her the Emperour afterward gave the Duke in marriage (the Pope dispensing with the former Contract) *Mary* Daughter of *Ferdinand*. This prosperous Exploit yet was checked by the successe of *Francis*, who this while had taken *Landrecy*, *Bapaumes*, and *Maubege*, (where there is a fair and magnificent Convent of Gentlewomen of Noble Houses, which yet are not so bound to any vow of Religion, but that they may marry, and was in effect an Academy for their Sex). Afterwards he took almost all *Luxemburg*: therefore the Emperor prepared Forces to withstand him, and recover the said places. To which purpose Sir *John Wallop* with six thousand men being sent by our King (who failed not to assist the Emperor) landed at *Calais*, and from thence keeping along betwixt the Frontiers of *France* and the Low-Countries, did much spoil upon the French, till he joyned with the Emperors Forces before *Landrecy*, which the Emperor besieged: whereof *Francis* being advertised, resolves to relieve it: Hereupon the two great Armies being neer each other, it was thought a blow would follow. The Emperor, who desired much to fight, puts his men in order, which being done, he exhorted them to do bravely, shewing withall the Imperiall Standard, which one *Quixada* carried, saying, If this should fall, and my self too, I charge you to take it up before me. *Francis* also drew out into the field, not omitting in the mean time to send Men, Victuals and Ammunition into the Town: the two Armies now confronting one another, night came on, through the benefit whereof *Francis*, dislodging secretly, retires with his Army. The Imperialists finding this, follow; But as *Francis* had laid an Ambuscado, he took divers of the more forward; among whom, it was the fortune of Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and other English to be taken Prisoners. The Emperor yet continued his Siege for some four or five dayes: But as it was now towards the midst of *November*, he went with his Army to *Cambray*; where, perswading the Inhabitants that the French had a designe upon them, he counselled them to build a Cittadell; which they approving, hee found means to possesse himself thereof. He also sent *Hernando Gonzaga*, and *Juan Baptista Gastaldo* to our King, to treat further of a War against *France* the next yeer; he omitted not also to call a Diet at *Spire*; whither he went with desire (as much as safely he might) to oblige the Protestants to him; And the rather, that the Turks had at this time not onely taken *Strigonium* and other places in *Hungary*, but the Town of *Nizza* in the Confines of *France* and *Italy*, in this manner: *Antoine Polin* (afterwards Baron de la Garde) had now made two Voyages from *Francis* to *Solyman* the Turk, to sollicite him to send his Sea-forces against the Emperor. Whereupon

Of King HENRY the Eighth.

upon *Barbaroxa* was dispatched with Commission to joyn with him : Hee taking fresh water at *Ostia*, within five leagues of *Rome*, gave that Alarm; that the Inhabitants began to fly ; but *Polin* assured them by his Letters : From thence coming to *Marseilles*, *François de Bourbon* Duke of *Aquien* encountred them, having charge to command the Navall Army of the King, which was two and twenty Gallies, and eighteen other Ships : whereupon they besieged and took the Town of *Nizza*, but not the Castle, which being stronger then that it could be won easily, they carrying some of the Inhabitants with them, retired to their Shipping; and the rather, that they heard the *Marquesse de Guasto* was coming out of *Piedmont* towards them ; who (I find) recovered it shortly after. And thus ended the two yeers Negotiation of *Polin* with the Turk, with small present effect, and no consequence but the carrying away of a few slaves by *Barbaroxa*, who wintered at *Thoulon*, betwixt *Nizza* and *Marseilles*. Howsoever, I finde by *Sandoval*, that it was so hainously taken in *Rome*, that some Cardinals in a publick Consistory, mov'd to deprive *Francis* from the title of *Christianissimo*.

I shall draw this yeer to a conclusion with a beginning given to the Councell of *Trent*, now appearing in some Rudiments. Many yeers had past without any manifest necessity of calling a Councel. Those few Separatists which remained of the *Waldesians*, *Picards* and *Hussites* being disarmed, illiterate, and obscure ; and these later not much differing from the Roman Church, but in the difference of the Cup in the Eucharist : But *Luther*, *Zwinglius*, and divers others of late appearing, though not sufficiently united among themselves, gave yet the Roman Catholicks so little cause of Glory therein, that their greatest dissention seemed to be who should be furthest off from them : every Reformer in his turn pretended both to discover new Errors, and to shew himself more averse. This made the Pope resolve at last on a Councel ; and the rather, that all Christian Princes desired upon any reasonable terms a Peace of Religion, as knowing how much it concerned them to settle that Affair : neither did they think there would be much difficulty, when all sides came prepared thereunto, most of the points in difference being to be reconciled in middle and indifferent terms, or to be rejected as doubtfull (upon the grounds taken on either side) or at least not tending to much edification. The Meeting was (as is above shewed) designed at *Mantua* first, by Pope *Clement VII*, 1533; then by *Paulus III*, 1537 : but being thence brought to *Vicenza*, and there suspended during his pleasure, at last it was removed to *Trent*, in the Confines of *Germany*; which also was hastened by the Pope, as fearing the consequences of a Nationall Councel in *Germany*, whereof the Emperour had lately given hope; so that he was (at what price soever) determined

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1543

August. 20.

1517.

1533.

1537.

1538.

1542.

1541.

1543

May 22. 1542.

1542.

Aug. 1542.

Aug. 26. 1542

Nov. 1. 1542.

terminated to prevent it; as knowing wel what prejudice it might bring to his Authority. Neither did he any longer apprehend the defection of *Francis*; who knowing he should lose the Pope in his Busineses of *Milan* and else-where, if he trifled any longer with the Protestants, had made severe Edicts against them. Whereupon Bulls also were dispatched every-where abroad, notifying the said Convention to begin *November* the first following: which yet was in such terms as scandalized the Emperor, supposing that *Francis* was used therein with more respect then he deserved; since, in the late Diet at *Spire*, having secretly offered his assistance both to the Protestant and Roman-Catholick Party in *Germany*, he had declared his intentions were only to foment division; and besides, had colleagued himself with the Turk. But for composing these differences, the Pope having appointed Cardinall *Contareni* to go to the Emperor, and *Sandolet* to *Francis*, *Contareni* dying in the way, he employed Cardinal *Viseo* in his place, one so openly disaffected by the Emperour, that it was thought no good would follow. Howsoever, to make it appear that this universally-desired Council was not retarded by him, he sent at the same time unto *Trent* the Cardinals *Pietro Paulo Parisio* a good Canonist, *Giovanni Morone* an expert Statesman, and *Reginald Poole*, opposite to our King, and so eminent as might give more authority to all Proceedings against him. Their secret Instructions were yet rather to entertain the Ambassadors and Prelates which should be there assembled, then to treat of any thing materiall without further direction. The Emperor sent hither *Diego de Mendoza* his Ambassador resident at *Venice*, and *Nicholas Perenot* Seigneur de *Granvelle*, together with *Antonio* Bishop of *Arras* (his Son) and some few Bishops of the Kingdom of *Naples*; who together with some few Prelats (of the most affected to the Pope) being commanded to be present, were all that could give name and reputation to this General Council: so far was it from having other Kingdom or Religion concurrent therein. Howsoever, the Imperiall Mandate being exhibited by the Agents of *Charles*, instance was made that the Councell should open, and a beginning be given, at least, to a Reformation in Discipline. But the Papal Legats interposed a delay, saying, It was not convenient to begin an Universall Council with so little a number: whereupon the businesse came to Protests on both sides; and so the Legates referring all to the Pope, nothing was concluded. Whereupon, the Imperialists departed, whom also the Neopolitan Bishops followed, and finally the Legats themselves, after having been there seven months without more then this ostentation of a Council.

Little else happened this yeer of Forrain Affairs, that I thought worthy my Relation, but that *Philip* Prince of *Portugall* (though

(though very young) had given him in Marriage *Donna Maria* Infanta of *Portugall*, by *John* the III and *Donna Catalina* Sister to the Emperour.

1543

Information being made to our King, that divers this yeer were burnt for Religion at *Windsor*, it appears by our Historians, that he was nothing pleased; which yet, whether it proceeded from some better impressiion hee might have taken of the Protestant Reformation; or that hee grew weary of the too many severe Executions, which had made his Government thought in Forrain Countries to be rigorous, cannot easily be determined. Howsoever, he made it known now that he could forgive. And therefore, though some of his Courtiers, as *Sir Thomas Cardine*, *Sir Philip Hobby*, and others of his Subjects were fallen into the danger of the Six Articles, he voluntarily gave them his pardon; and together, withdrew much of his favour from the Bishop of *Winchester*, who was reported more then any to persecute them, and suspected to dislike secretly the Kings proceedings: which was made more probable, when not long after his Secretary *German Gardiner* was executed for denying the Kings Supremacy. And perchance, as King *Henry* intended shortly to go in person to the Wars in *France*, the many punishments hee had inflicted on others might have begot some apprehension in him: yet not such as could deter him from the Journey; for he made great preparations of Souldiers and habilements of War, and particularly of iron Peeeces and Granades, which I finde this yeer were first cast in *England*: While for the more contenting the Queen in his absence, Hee conferr'd certain Honours on *William* Lord *Parre*, her Brother, who was made Earl of *Essex*; and her Uncle *Sir William Parre*, who was made Lord *Parre* of *Horton*, and Chamberlain to the Queen. All which yet seemed nothing to him, unlesse hee parted in good terms with his Parliament: For he accounted it his most loyall Spouse: and not without reason, since there was nothing I know desired by him, which they performed not. This Session (being the third) began the 14. of *January*, in the thirty fifth yeer of his Reign, and continued till the 29 of *March* 1544.

July 28.

March 7. 1544

Decemb. 23.

The first Act was concerning the Succession: And herein, as I finde he endeavoured to close with the Emperour, in giving the Princeesse *Mary* a possibility of Succession; so he settled that Businesse among his children in such sort, that all cause of competition was taken away (as far as by our Laws he might.)

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Regn. 35.
Jan. 14.

The beginning of the Act is a recitall of a former, 28. H. 8. 7. touching the Succession; to which reference must be had. Whereupon it follows thus, or to this effect, (as I conceive.)

Forasmuch as his Majestie sithence the death of Queen *Jane*, hath taken to Wife the Lady *Katherine*, late Wife of *John Nevil*

1544

Nevil Knight, Lord Latimer deceased, by whom as yet his Majesty hath noae Issue, but may have full well, when it shall please God : And forasmuch as our said dread Sovereign intendeth, by Gods Grace, to make a Voyage Royall in his most Royall Person into the Realm of *France*, against the French King ; his Highness most prudently considering how this Realm standeth at this time in the case of Succession ; And albeit, for default of such Heirs as be inheritable by the said Act, he might by the authority of the said Act give and dispose the said Imperiall Crown, and other the Premises by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by his last Will in writing, signed with his Hand, to any Person or Persons of such Estate therein as should please his Highnesse to limit and appoint : Yet, to the intent his Majesties disposition and minde should be openly declared to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and other his Subjects of this Realm, to the intent that their assent and consent might appear to concur with thus far as followeth of his Majesties Declaration in this behalf ; His Majesty therefore thinketh convenient, afore his departure beyond Seas, That it be enacted by his Highnesse and Parliament : And therefore be it enacted, That in case the Kings Majesty and his onely Son Prince *Edward* shoud decease without Heirs of either of their Bodies lawfully begotten, so that there be no such Heir male or female of any of their two Bodies, to have and inherit the said Imperiall Crown, and other his Dominions, according and in such manner and form as in the aforesaid Act, and now in this is declared, That then the said Imperiall Crown, and all other the Premises shall be to the Lady *Mary* the Kings Highnesse Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, with such conditions as by his Highnesse shall be limited by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by his Majesties last Will in writing, signed with his hand. And for default of such Issue, the said Imperiall Crown and other the Premises shall be to the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings second Daughter, and her Heirs lawfully begotten, with such conditions as is aforesaid. Any thing in the Act made 28 *Hen. 8. 7.* to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided neverthelesse, That if the said Lady *Mary* do not keep and perform such conditions as the King shall declare and limit in manner aforesaid ; That then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the severall Bodies of the Kings Majesty and Prince *Edward*, the said Imperiall Crown and other the Premises shall be and come to the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, in such like manner and form, as though the said Lady *Mary* were then dead, without any Heir of her Body begotten.

And be it further enacted, That if the said Lady *Mary* do keep

keep and perform such conditions which the Kings Majesty shall hereafter declare and limit, in form aforesaid; and that the said Lady *Elizabeth* for her part do not keep and perform such conditions which the Kings Majesty shall declare and limit, in form aforesaid, That then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the severall Bodies of the Kings Majesty, and the said Lord Prince, and the said Lady *Mary* lawfully begotten, the said Imperiall Crown and other the Premisses shall be and come to such Person and Persons, and of such Estate and Estates as the Kings Highnesse, in form aforesaid, shall limit and appoint.

Provided, That if the Lady *Mary* do not keep and perform such conditions which shall be limited and appointed as aforesaid, and the said Lady *Elizabeth* being then dead without any Heir of her Body lawfully begotten; That then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the severall Bodies of the Kings Majesty and the said Lord Prince lawfully begotten, the said Imperiall Crown and other the Premisses shall be, come, and remain to such Person and Persons, and of such Estate and Estates as the Kings Highnesse by his Letters Patents sealed under his Great Seal, or by his last Will in writing, signed with his Hand, shall limit and appoint.

Provided alwayes, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That in case the Kings Majesty do not declare and limit by his Letters Patents, or by his last Will, in form as is aforesaid, any conditions to the Estates and Interests afore limited to the said Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth*, nor to the Estate or Interest of any of them; That then every such of the said Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth* to whose Estate or Interest no condition shall be limited by the Kings Majesty in form aforesaid, shall have and enjoy such Interest, Estate, and Remainder in the said Imperiall Crown and other the Premisses, as is before limited by this Act, without any manner of condition. Any thing in this present Act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And forasmuch as it standeth in the onely pleasure and will of Almighty God, whether the Kings Majesty shall have any Heirs begotten and procreated between his Highnesse and his most entirely beloved Wife Queen *Katherine*, or by any other his lawfull Wife; or whether the said Prince *Edward*, the Lady *Mary*, or Lady *Elizabeth*, or any other, shall have any Issue of their Bodies lawfully begotten; and that if such Heirs should fail, and no provision made, this Realm after the Kings transitory life should be destitute of a Governour to order and rule the same: Be it therefore enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, That the Kings Highness shall have full power and authority to give, dispose, appoint, assigne, declare

1544

and limit by his gracious Letters Patents, under his Great Seal, or else by his Highness last Will made in writing and signed with his most gracious hand, at his onely pleasure, from time to time hereafter, the Imperiall Crown of this Realm, and all other the Premises, to be, remain, succeed and come after his decease, and for lack of lawfull Heirs of either of the Bodies of the Kings Highnesse and Prince *Edward* begotten; and also for lack of lawfull Heirs of the Bodies of the said Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth* to be procreated and begotten (as is before limited in this Act) to such person and persons in Remainder or Reversion, as shall please his Highnesse, and according to such estate, and after such manner and form, fashion or condition as shall be expressed, declared, named and limited in his Highnesse Letters Patents, or by his last Will in writing signed with his most gracious hand (as is aforesaid.) Any thing contained in this present Act, or in the said former Act to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

There followeth also in the said Act a new form of Oath against the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, and the penalty on those who refused to take the said Oath, or to interrupt this Act, or any estate limited thereby.

In another Act it was declared where, and before whom Treasons committed out of the Realm should be tryed. That the Kings Style also, of *England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and also of Ireland, in earth the supreme Head*, shall be united and annexed for ever unto the Imperiall Crown of this Realm of *England*.

That no person should be put to his triall upon an Accusation concerning any of the offences comprised in the Statute of the Six Articles 31 *Hen. 8. 14.* but onely upon such as shall be made by the oath of twelve men before Commissioners authorised: and the Presentment shall be made within one year after the offence committed. That no person should be arrested or committed to Ward for any such offence before he be indicted. That if any Preacher or Reader shall speak any thing in his Sermon or Reading contrary to any matter contained in the Six Articles, he shall be accused or indicted thereof within forty dayes, or else shall be discharged of the said offence. And this also qualified a little the punishment of the Six Articles.

That the Lords and Commons shall remit unto the King all such sums of money as he had borrowed of them since the first of *January, Anno 33* of his Reign.

That certain Tenures shall be reserved (at the Kings pleasure) upon houses and lands, being sometimes Abbey lands, under forty shillings a yeer.

That all Persons which have any houses, lands, gardens and other grounds in the Town of *Cambridge*, adjoyning upon every High-

1544

High-way, Street, or Lane, in his own Right, or the Right of his Wife, or, &c. shall cause the same to be paved with paving stone unto the middle of the same wayes, and in length as their grounds do extend, and so shall from time to time maintain them, upon pain to forfeit six pence for every yard square not sufficiently paved, to the King and Informer. And had this Statute extended to the other Cities and great Towns of *England*, it would have been much to the beauty of them, and the commodity of passengers.

That the King shall have authority during his life to name two and thirty persons; viz. sixteen Spiritual and sixteen Temporal, to examine all Canons, Constitutions, and Ordinances Provinciall and Synodal, and to establish all such Laws Ecclesiasticall as shall be thought by the King and them convenient to be used in all Spirituall Courts. But this (it seems) expired with the Kings life.

An Ordinance also (never sufficiently commended) was made for preservation of Woods, which being too long and particular to rehearse, I shall desire the Reader to peruse in his place: There being no Law either more useful to this Kingdom (in regard of our Navie and otherwise,) or whereof the Infraction can with more difficulty be repaired; so many yeers, if not ages, being required before they can come to that growth, which any rash hand may cut down in a very short space.

Some other Acts also passed, which the Reader may see in their place.

And now the Parliament ending *March 29, 1544*, That War which was denounced by our King against *Scotland* for the Treaty broken in some particulars, and the Law of Nations in others, appear'd in his Preparatives; and the Lord *Seimor* Earl of *Hertford* was shortly after constituted by our King Lieutenant General of the North, and sent thither with a well-furnish'd Army: for as it was onely a Quarrel of unkindnesse with the Scots for their not admitting readily the loving offer he made of marrying his Son Prince *Edward* with their young Queen, none was thought more fit to determine, or if need were, to compose the Businesse, then the Prince's Uncle. Besides, the Duke of *Norfolk* (whose service he had heretofore used in those parts) was appointed to attend him in his journey to *France*. And now consultation being had which way to invade *Scotland*, it was resolved, by Sea; yet so, as the Kings Land-Army might make a diversion on the Borders, and (if need were) joyn with the other Forces. The Fleet being ready (which was of two hundred Sail,) Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Lisle* (newly made Admirall of *England*) was appointed to conduct it; who setting Sail, shortly afterwards came to *New-Castle*, where the Earl of *Hertford*, *Francis Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and other principall per-

March 29.

Bucban.

1544

May 4.

sons with the Kings Army attended him. These being speedily shipped, came to *Grantham-Crag* near *Lieth* the fourth of *May*, where spending some three or four days in disembarking their men, and taking out their Ordnance and Victuals, the Cardinal of Saint *Andrews* made provision to receive them: Our Armie marched in three Battels, whereof the Lord Admirall had the Van, the Earl of *Hertford* the middle, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Rear; who from thence going to the Town, encountred fix thousand Horse, besides many Foot, led (as our Histories have it) by the Cardinal and divers Noble Persons: But as they judg'd themselves too weak, and consequently offered not much resistance, they were quickly discomfited, and their Ordnance taken. Whereupon our men entering *Lieth*, found more riches there (they said) then they could have easily imagined. Marching thence to *Edinburgh*, the Towns-men offered to yeeld themselves, when they might depart with Bag and Baggage; but this not being accepted, they prepared for defence. Neverthelesse, our men both forc'd the Town, and burnt it for three dayes together: At which time *William* Lord *Ever* Warden of the East-Marches, and Governour of *Berwick*, making his way by land, did (notwithstanding all opposition) joyn his Forces with the rest. The Army thus greatned, burnt and spoiled all places about *Edinburgh* in a crueller manner then became such as would obtain the favour either of that Queen or Country for their young Prince. Neverthelesse, as they could not take the Castle of *Edinburgh*, they retired to *Lieth*, where the Lord General having made divers Knights, they shipped their great Artillery, and among them some fair Pieces gotten in the Voyage; divers Ships also were taken. And now being ready to depart, they burnt the Town of *Lieth*, and the Peer of the Haven; and so on the fifteenth of *May* the Fleet set sail, while the Land-Army, desirous to commit further spoil, marched to *Seton*, and so to *Haddington*, and *Dunbarre*, which Towns they burnt. After which, coming to a Strait (which our Histories call the *Pease*) and a great mist happening, they made a Halt, being advertised that the Scottish Army would fall on them: But the Mist breaking up, they marched on without resistance, and so came to *Ranton*, within eight miles of the English Borders, which having ruined and burnt, they upon the 18 of *May* entered *Berwick*, without having lost in all this Journey above 40 persons. Our Navie in the mean while, taking out of every Creek and Haven on the Scottish Coasts all the Ships and Boats they found there.

May 15.

May 18.

The Expedition thus gloriously ended, the King found his Businesse nothing advanced; he had done more then became a Suter for Alliance, too little for one pretending to Conquest. Neither had this Invasion other event then a generall detestati-

on

on of a Marriage sought for in such rough and unusuall terms: But our King, who understood the businesse otherwise, said, That since he could not obtain, hee would strive to chastise. Howbeit, he omitted not to devise how he might raise a Faction in that Kingdom, whereof he might prevail himself. And because the Earl of *Lenox*, now deserted by the French, seem'd most proper for this purpose, he resolv'd to admit a Treaty with him: which Affair also upon his misfortune, and the Retreat formerly mentioned, had been negotiated by the Earl of *Glencarne* and his Brother at *Carlile*, May 17 1544, (as I finde in our Records;) which again was seconded in that manner, that our Army now returning, he came by sea to *Westchester*, and so to the Court, where hee was well received by our King: And at last this Treaty concluded betwixt them, by the name of *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and *Thomas Wriothesley* (lately made * Baron and * Chancellor upon *Audley's* death,) the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *William Paget*, by way of Indenture, June 26 1544. It is to this effect.

May 17.

* Jan. 1.

* May 14.

June 26.

That for the security of the said Earl of *Lenox* against the power of the Cardinal, and the Earl of *Arrain*, and the safety of the Realm of *Scotland*, It is agreed, That the said Earl will observe the Articles agreed on his behalf by the Earl of *Glencarne* and others at *Carlile*, May 17 1544.

That he will be the Kings servant and Subject, and serve him against all that shall impugne his Graces Title and Authority in *Scotland*, or else-where.

That he will surrender into his Majesties hand the Castle of *Dumbritton*, as also the Ile of *Bute*, and help him to win the Castle of *Rosse* therein.

That when the King, having the direction of the Realm, shall have made him Governour, the said Earle shall never call Parliament, nor do any matter of great moment without the Kings advice.

That he shall fore-see that the Kings Pronept be not conveyed out of *Scotland*, but strive to get her person into his custody, and to deliver her into the Kings hands.

That because the King hath upon his earnest suit given him leave to marry his Graces Neice the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, the said Earl bindeth himself to endow her with the yeerly value of 500 Marks Sterling.

That the King, in consideration of the losse which the said Earl shall sustain in *France* by this Agreement, will give unto him and his Heirs possessions in *England* of 1700 Marks Sterling.

That the King wil aid the said Earl in *Scotland* for two or three months with 500 men; besides such men as his Grace will send for to take and keep *Dumbritton*.

That

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August.

Lenox.

Hollinsh.

That the King having obtain'd direction of that Kingdom, will constitute the said Earl Governour.

In which Treaty, though our King bestowed the Lady *Margaret Douglas* upon him, and that there wanted not some, who thought it best she should be reserved upon all events, when the young Queen through any accident should die, Hee chose rather yet to gratifie this gentle Lord. And therein both put a perpetuall obligation upon him, and enabled him to be an Ancestor of that happy Off-spring which hath followed since.

The Earl now possess'd of his Lady, was sent shortly after into *Scotland* with twelve or fourteen Ships, and about six hundred men, under the command of certain *English* Knights: these coming to the Castle of *Dumbritton*, were received with great joy, and feasted by *Striveling*, Concierge or Captain thereof: But when *Lenox* had privately told him that the Castle was promised our King, hee seem'd suspended betwixt Affection and Duty. Though at last, considering that it neither stood with his honour, nor the safety of the Country, to surrender into any forrain hands, he took Arms, and forced *Lenox* and a few of the English who were with him to their Ships, whence they set sail for the Isle of *Arrain*, and burnt all the houses there; and after to the Isle of *Bute*. Some say yet that *Striveling* would have seiz'd on the person of *Lenox*, had he not fore-seen the danger, and escaped; and that he landed in the Earl of *Angus* his Country neer the Castle of *Dunvin*, and afterwards burnt it; and took *Caintyr* and spoyled it, and all this with the help onely of 140 men more hee had out of his own Country: concerning which exploits, he advertised our King then at *Boulogne*, himself returning in the mean time to *Bristol* (whence hee had his Ships) and staying there till the Kings arrivall in *England*, who soon after commanded him, with some Ships, to scour the Scottish Coast.

Among the Kings Preparatives for War, that of Money was the most difficult: For though hee had much enrich'd himself with the Revenues of the suppress'd Abbies; and besides, received great Subsidies and Loans from his Subjects; yet Fortifications, Shipping and other Provisions had exhausted his Treasure. Besides, hee found the money of his Kingdom much drayned away by his crafty Neighbors, while they cryed it up in their Country. For remedy of which inconveniences, he both enhaunced our Gold from forty five shillings to forty eight shillings the ounce; and Silver from three shillings and nine pence to four shillings: and together caused certain base moneys newly coyned to be made currant; though not without much murmuring: Which afterwards yet was cryed down in *Edward* the VI his time, and call'd in by Queen *Elizabeth*. Howsoever, it serv'd for the present to exchange both for commodities at home

home and abroad. Though about two yeers after our Records mention, that the Low-Country men finding the Alloys (it seems) rejected it.

1544

Men and money being now provided, there remained yet not a few difficulties concerning the Government of the Kingdom in the Kings absence. Among which, because the greatest was difference in Religion, he endeavoured to quiet all parts, as finding it impossible to unite them. That of the Roman Catholicks he had already so curb'd, as they could hardly make head again : and for the Reformers, he thought a little would give them contentment, as being at this time scarce more then pretenders. Therefore he caused a Letany or Proceffion to be fet forth in English, which much satisfied them, as hoping the rest of Divine Service might follow in the same Tongue. And indeed, our Records tell us, that another English Proceffion for Festival dayes was afterwards added. As for the Civill Administration of his Kingdom, it was ordered thus : The Queen was constituted General Regent of the Realm : Not yet so much, that her soft sex was thought lesse capable of Ambition, as that the Roman-Catholicks (whom he thought onely could stir) would take no dependance from her ; she being observed to incline a little to the Reformed. To direct her Counsels yet, the King appointed the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Lord Chancellor, *Thomas Thurleby* Bishop of *Westminster*, and Sir *William Petec* Doctor of Law, one of the principall Secretaries, to be joyned in Commission for those Affairs, and on some occasions *William* Lord *Parre* of *Horton* to be called to them. It being provided further, if occasion were given, that the Earl of *Hertford* should be the Kings Lieutenant or principall Captain. Besides which generall order for Affairs in his absence, he particularly appointed certain Noblemen and Gentlemen in every Shire, who should stay there and observe all motions : And for this purpose, the Bishop of the Diocesse in every County (for the most part) and six or seven other Noblemen, or Justices of the Peace were nominated ; *Francis Talbot* also Earl of *Shrewsbury* was made Lieutenant of the North. And now assurance being given that the Imperiall Forces were in readinesse, hee commanded his Army (which consisting of thirty thousand men, was divided into three Battails) to passe the Seas. The Van-gard apparrelled in blue-Coats-garded-with-red, with Caps and Hose party-coloured and futable (their Caps fitted to their Head-piece or Skull) were led by the Duke of *Norfolk*. The Rear in the like habit, by the Lord *Russell*, lately made Lord Privie-Seal, with whom went *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* Marshal of the Field, *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Lord *Mountjoy*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, and divers brave Lords, Knights, Gentle.

July 9.

Dec. 6. 1542.

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June.

Gentlemen and others, not a few Welsh and Irish filling up the numbers. These landing at *Calais* about Whitsontide, marched directly to *Montreuil*, where the Count *de Bures* Admiral of *Flanders* with ten thousand Foot, and about three or four thousand Horse joyning with them, they laid siege to the Town, which Monsieur *de Biez* Marechal of *France* defended; while, at the same time, the Battel, apparelled in the like Bizarre fashion, (the Colours yet being red and yellow) passing over under the Conduct of *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk* the Kings Lieutenant, accompanied by *Henry Fitz-alan* Earl of *Arundel*, Marshall of the Field, *William Pawlet* Lord *St. John*, *Stephen* Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Kings Horse, and others, expected the Kings coming; a speedy advertisement whereof being given, he tarried not. But we will leave him a while, and see what the Emperor did.

Febr. 20.

The Emperors Ambassadors formerly mentioned being returned from our King with good satisfaction and great Rewards, the Diet at *Spire* began, where the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, and all the Electors in person did meet: the Emperors chief businesse was, to require aid against the Turk and French their Confederate: which *Francis* also suspecting, sent an Herald to require a safe Conduct for his Ambassadors to come thither: but hee was rejected with ill words. And now the Emperour endeavouring to divide the Protestants, proposed so fair and advantageous a Treaty to the Duke of *Saxe*, that he obtain'd of him to acknowledge *Ferdinand* King of the Romans. Which Accord, though it were not communicated to, nor approved by the rest of the Confederates, yet they all at last condescended to a Contribution by Pole throughout all *Germany*, for a War against the Turk, and half a yeers pay for four thousand Horse, and four and twenty thousand Foot against the French. In regard whereof, the Emperor promised to commit the Businesse of Religion to certain good learned men, who should write some pious Reformation; wishing the Princes also to do the same: to the end, that upon comparison of them on all sides, some agreement might be made by common consent, which should be observed till a General Council were held in *Germany*, or at least a Nationall: And that peace should be kept in the mean while on all parts, and the rigorous Edict of *Augsburg* suspended, and the Anabaptists punished. There was an agreement also to meet again (which followed at *Wormbs*) and so the Diet ended June 10.

June 10. 1545.

The Pope being advertised of these passages at *Spire*, was mightily offended, as being resolved to tolerate no Reformation whereof himself was not Authour. Therefore he writ a sharp Letter to the Emperour, *Dat. 25. Aug.* wherein he remonstrateth the inconveniences would follow, if any thing were established

stablished in Religion without his intervention : excluding further the Protestants wholly from having any voice therein.

This while the French, under the conduct of *François de Bourbon Duc d'Anguien*, obtain'd at *Serisoles* in *Piedmont*, a great Victory against the Spaniard, commanded by the Marquess of *Guafo*; wherein, as the Spaniards conceived, was some fatality; their Writers observing, that the Battell of *Ravenna* and *Gelves* were lost upon the same day. Howsoever, the French were not a little glorious; yet, as *Francis* knew the League betwixt our King and the Emperour was directed chiefly against him, hee prepared for defence: And the rather, that he had heard of a second Treaty, (which was at *Gonzaga's* coming over into *England*, as I take it) wherein both Princes had agreed to march strait on to *Paris* without besieging any Town, or staying by the way. Besides, the Emperour had now recovered *Luxemburg*. This made *Francis* resort to the extreme Remedy in case of Invasion, called the *Ban and Arriereban*, by which all men holding under certain Tenures, are bound for a certain time, at their own costs and charges to serve in person, or at least to provide (according to their degree) Horse and Foot against the Enemy: which *Francis* yet converted to a Foot only, and thus he got together an Army of about forty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse. As this yet could not secure him against two such puissant Adversaries, hee dispatched severall Ambassadors to both Princes, with power to offer great and advantageous Conditions of Peace, when either of them might be taken off. This while the Emperour (who promised our King to march directly to *Paris* with a great Army) had taken divers towns in *Champagne*, as the way unto it, though losing unfortunately *René* Prince of *Orange* at *S. Disier*, who was the second of that Family that had died in his quarrell, his Mothers Brother *Philibert de Chaalon* having been slain at the Siege of *Florence*. And now both Armies marching so, as the Imperialists held the one side, and the French the other side of the River of *Marne*, news was brought to either Camp, that our Army was landed in *France*, and had besieged *Boulogne*. The particularities whereof, out of a Diary extant in our Records, I thought fit to extract, and chiefly follow in this Narration.

Our King, who pass'd the Seas in a Ship with Sails of Cloth of Gold, arrived at *Calais* the 14 of *July* with a Royall Train. The next day the Emperour's High-Admiral attended him, and gave account in what estate and forwardnesse his Masters Army and Affairs were about that time: he advised our King also to proceed to *Paris* without amusing himself about any thing by the way. But he who knew well what Towns the Emperour had taken in his way, would not be dissuaded from the same liberty: Therefore he sent the Duke of *Suffolk* with Forces

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July 21.

July 22.

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July 28.

July 29.

August 3.

August 6.

August 13.

August 19.

to invest *Boulogne*, in which Monsieur de *Vervan* a young Gentleman, but assisted by *Philip Corse* a brave and old Souldier, commanded. His Forces consisted of a Garison of about two thousand five hundred paid, and as many more able Townsmen. The Duke in a short space took (notwithstanding resistance) the lower Town, lying on the River of *Pont-de-bricq*, and the Watch-Tower before *Boulogne*, (call'd the *Old-Man*, or the *Tour d'ordre*, thought to be built by *Julius Caesar*;) This hastened the Kings coming; so that dispatching the Emperour's Admirall, hee marched forward in this equipage, *July 25*: First, the Drums, Vifleurs, Trumpeters and Officers at Arms, then the Barons, and after them Garter-Herald next before the King's Banner; after which followed *Don Bertran de la Cueva* Duke of *Alburquerque* (Commander of the Emperour's Auxiliary Forces;) next whom came the Kings Majesty armed at all pieces, upon a great Courser; then the Lord *Herbert* bearing the Kings Head-piece and Spear, followed by the Henchmen bravely hors'd and appointed. Marching thus out of *Calais* with a Princely Train, an hundred Horse of *Alburquerque's* Company (whereof six were barded with Cloth-of-Gold) met him: Also the Earl of *Essex* (chief Captain of the Men-at-Arms,) and Sir *Thomas Darcy* with many other Horsemen (who set themselves in parade) so that the Light-Horse and Demy-Lance went first, then the Guard on Foot, after them the Pike-men, amongst whom the King rode before the men-at-Arms; for the Wings, fifty Archers on Horseback, and as many Harquebusiers were appointed, and so they came to *Marquise*, where the Army then encamped that night. The next day (being the 26) marching towards *Boulogne*, the Duke of *Suffolk* met the King, who took his Quarter on the Northside of the Town neer the Sea; divers Skirmishes passing in the mean time.

The 28, *John* Viscount *Lisle* Lord Admirall, the Lord *Clinton* and about 900 men, who had scowred the Seas towards *Scotland*, landed in the Haven at *Boulogne*.

The 29, Sir *Thomas Poynings* came to give the King account of all that pass'd at *Monstreul*, and in his return took *Hardeles* Castle.

The third of *August* our Battery began on the East-side of the Town, two Batteries more being afterwards planted against it.

The sixth of *August* Monsieur de *Bures* came from *Monstreul*; to whom our King gave a brave Courser richly furnish'd.

The 13 of *August* the Earl of *Hertford* came to the Camp; and divers Companies of *Almaines* and *Flemmings* joyned with our men: Many Sallies and Skirmishes (in the which the French still had the worse) passing in the mean while. Certain French Troops also endeavouring early in the morning to get into

into the Town, were defeated and kill'd; some neverthelesse escaping into it. Certain Troops of German Horse came now also to the Camp, who were mustered before the King the next day.

The 24 of August the Duke of Norfolk from before Montreuil came and advertised the King how the Affairs pass'd there.

The 27, Alarm was given upon discovering of some French Troops.

The 29 and 30, our men approaching still to the Walls, short Skirmishes past.

Septem. 1, our men got the Bray, not yet without losse of brave men on both sides.

The second of September some of our men giving a false Alarm to the Castle, at the breach which our Canon had made, other of our men brake up certain doors into the Castle; but they being barricado'd within, and well defended, wee retired with losse.

The third, Sir Christopher Norris Master of the Ordnance, and chief director of the Batteries, was hurt with a shot from the Castle. While things pass'd thus afore the Town, a Convoy of Vittuals (being sent from S. Omer to the Camp) was taken by the Enemy, and divers Imperialists kill'd. Neverthelesse, our English saved and rescued some part.

The 4 of Septemb. the Pioneers having brought their Work to the Counter-mure of the Castle, two Mines were sprung, which shivered the Wall; but made no great overture.

The fifth, our men sapping the Walls, the French kill'd certain Pioneers.

The sixth, another Salley was made, and some Workmen were kill'd.

The ninth, the Town being brought almost to terms of yeelding, certain Ambassadors from Francis, being John Cardinal du Bellay, Pierre Raymond premier President of Rouen, and others, demanded Audience, their Businesse being to treat of a generall Accord; concerning which the Earl of Hertford, the Bishop of Winchester, Sir William Paget and Sir Richard Rich were appointed to negotiate with them at Hardelet Castle: our King not doubting in the mean time to carry the Town.

September 11, fire was given to the Mine under the Castle, the effect whereof the King went to see, not without some danger, the stones flying very far off: whereupon, our men presently giving on, many were slain on both parts.

The 13, Monsieur de St. Blimon, and Monsieur de Aix came out of the Town, and treated of surrendring it.

The fourteenth, it was yeelded upon condition to depart with Bag and Baggage; but to leave the Vittuals and Artillery behinde them. It was thought yet the place might have held

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August. 24.

August 27.

Aug 29, 30.

Septemb. 1.

Septemb. 2.

Septemb. 3.

Septemb. 4.

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Septemb. 9.

Septemb. 11.

Septemb. 13.

Septemb. 14.

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Septemb. 14.

out longer, but that *Philip Corse* was kill'd, with whom (it seem'd) both their courage and good fortune ended. And so, about two thousand souldiers, and as many others going out of the Town, pass'd towards *Monstreul* in our Kings fight, besides divers that escaped another way. And thus *Boulogne* was taken, without any mention in our Diary of Canon of Wood coloured like brasse, which should be planted against the Castle, as Tradition hath it. And now an horrible Tempest arising, threw down Tents and Pavilions, and shipwrack'd some part of our Navie in the Haven. Neverthelesse, the French Ambassadors came to the Camp that night; but as their Tents were blown down likewise over their heads, the King courteously permitted them to lodge in the Town.

Septemb. 18.

September 18, the King (attended by *Alburquerque*) entred *Boulogne* triumphantly, The Duke of *Suffolk* (the Great Master, who was sent before to take possession thereof, meeting him at the Gate, and presenting the keyes of the Town) where, after he had view'd the places that needed fortification, he gave Audience to the French Ambassadors: But they hearing the Emperor had condescended to a Peace (which was published about this time) did lesse insist upon a Treaty with us, and so returned by the way of *Hesdin* Septemb. 25. Some of the Spanish Writers yet use much art to palliate this abrupt Treaty: Therefore they say, that our King failed in his not going directly to *Paris* (as was agreed). Never considering in the mean while, that the Emperour (though having a much clearer way) had taken divers Towns in his passage: Besides, they alledged, that our King would keep *Boulogne* for himself, not regarding the common Interest. All yet were but pretexts: whereas the reall causes were,

Septemb. 25.

First, That *Charles* had by this means taken off *Francis* from his League with the Turk.

Secondly, That he had engaged our King in a War against *France*, and thereby made himself the freer to pursue his own Designs in *Germany*, where he knew the Protestants would grow more refractory, as long as he was in War else-where.

Thirdly, That in the Wars of *Germany*, which hee now intended, he thought the French King could more hurt him, then our King do him good.

Septemb. 19.

Sindoval.

The Articles of Peace concluded by these two Princes, were;

I. That betwixt the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and *Francis* the French King, and the rest that will enter into this League, there be a firm and perpetuall Peace.

II. That the Subjects of both Princes pay Tributes, Rights, and Customs of Merchandize that they were wont to pay.

III. That

III. That all places which have been taken on one part or other since the Truce of *Nizza*, shall be restored: and that neither part may take thence more then their Victuals or Ordnance.

IIII. That the Duke of *Areschot* shall enjoy his Right in the County of *Ligny*, &c.

V. That all Places and Fortresses that have been taken from the Duke of *Savoy* by either of the Parties, or from the Marquess of *Montferat*, or the Duke of *Mantua*, Duke of *Lorain*, Duke of *Stenay* in *Luxemburg*, shall be restored.

VI. That the King of *France* shall leave and restore the Abbey and Lands of *Garagana* in the Emperors hands; as also certain Hostages for performance thereof, and that he shall give unto the Emperour the County of *Charlois* to him and his Heirs for ever.

VII. That the Emperor and French King joyn together in a War against the Turk; and that the King shall furnish for this purpose six hundred Lances, and ten thousand Foot.

VIII. That *Francis* shall renounce all the Right he pretends to hold in the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, the Contado of *Asti*, as also the Right of Sovereignty he had in *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Lisle*, *Doway*, *Orchies*, *Tournay*, *Mortaigne*, and *St. Amand*. Moreover, That the King leave unto the Emperor and his Successors all the right that he can pretend in the Dutchy of *Guel-dres*, and County of *Zutphen*.

IX. That the Emperor likewise shall yeeld and pass over all Action and Right that hee may pretend unto in any State or Seigniorie of the King, except the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Vicountie of *Aussone*, the Sovereignty of *St. Lawrence*, the County of *Mascon*, *Auxerre* and *Bar* upon the River *Seine*. That he should renounce also that Right he held in the Cities upon the Border of *Some*, *Peronne*, *Mandidier*, and *Roye*; as also the Counties of *Boulogne*, *Guienne*, *Pontheu*; excepting *Therouenne*, *Han*, and other places mentioned in *Sandoval*, and whatsoever in the Estate and Limits of *Arras*.

X. That the Vassals of either Prince shall be fully restored unto all that they had, although they had served on the contrary side.

XI. That the Flemmings may enjoy the Heritage that their Fathers leave them, though themselves have not been born in *France*: And that the custome call'd *Droit D'aubene* shall not concern them.

XII. That the ancient and modern Priviledges on both parts shall remain in their force and vigour. To which purpose, the Emperor shall renounce (in favour of the King) the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Vicountie of *Aussone*, Sovereignty of *St. Lawrence*, the County of *Auxerre*, *Mascon*, and *Bar sur Seine*; and within
four

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four months after the publication of this Peace, he shall procure that his Son *Philip* Prince of *Spain* shall confirm the same.

XIII. That the Emperor in favour and confirmation of the Peace, shall give his Daughter the Infanta *Donna Maria*, or (in case he do not give her) the second Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of the Romans, that she may match with *Charles* Duke of *Orleance* second Son to the King: And that he declare his minde therein within the term of four months after the publishing of this Peace. And that if the Emperor will marry his Daughter with Duke *Charles*, then he shall give them the Estate of *Flanders*; which at this present is under his Obedience, and moreover, the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and *Charolois* in Dowry; and that they shall enter into the possession of these Estates after the Emperors death, to descend upon Duke *Charles* or his Heirs Males; and that the Emperor yet living, these States shall swear to the said *Charles*; and that *Philip* Prince of *Spain* shall swear, confirm, and approve it.

XIII. That the Marriage being made, the Emperor shall constitute Duke *Charles* in the Government of *Flanders*.

XV. That *Francis* and his Son the Daulphin shall renounce for ever, and depart from any right that they held, or may pretend to hold to the Dutchy of *Milan*, or the County of *Asti*; and that they shall procure within eight dayes after the publication hereof, the Daulphin's Brother *Charles*, and Madame *Marguerite* to confirm and approve it.

XVI. That if *Mary* Daughter to the Emperor shall die without Issue Male, the Estate of *Flanders* shall revert to *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, and to his Heirs: And that the Duke of *Orleance* in this case may revive his right to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and Contado of *Asti*: And that in this case the Emperor likewise may revive his right to the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and the rest formerly mentioned.

XVII. That if Duke *Charles* shall marry with the second Daughter of King *Ferdinando*, he shall give with her the Dutchy of *Milan*, with the Contado of *Asti*, and all belonging unto them; the Emperor in the mean while retaining in his power the Fortresses of *Milan* and *Cremona*; and that the Emperor shall give to them and their Heirs Males the Title and Imperiall Collation of the State thereof. And that if the Duke of *Orleance* shall have no Heirs Males by this Marriage, nevertheless, that the said Title and Estate shall remain to Duke *Charles*, and to his Heirs Males by a second Marriage. Provided, that the second Marriage be made with the good will and consent of the Emperor and his Brother *Ferdinand*.

XVIII. That the Marriage with the Duke of *Orleance* shall not be deferred more then one yeer after the day of publication of these Presents.

XIX. That

XIX. That *Francis* shall give unto his Son the Duke in Dote the Dutchy of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, *Chastellerand*, and the County of *Angoulesme*; And that if these Estates mount not to the yeerly Revenue of 100000 *livres Tournois*, that they shall be made up out of the Dutchy of *Alanson*.

XX. That if the Duke of *Orleance* shall have onely Heirs Females, each of them shall have for their Portion in Marriage 100000 *livres Tournois*: And if there shall be but one onely Daughter Heir, they shall give her 100000 *livres* in ready pay; And that if the Duke shall die first, the Emperors Daughter shall have for her life 50000 *livres Tournois* yeerly; but if it be *Ferdinand* the King of Romans Daughter, 30000 onely.

XXI. That the King of *France* shall restore to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* all the Lands that he hath taken from him (except *Montmelian* and *Piquerole*) in which the King may hold Garison all the time that the Emperor shall retain the Castles of *Cremona* and *Milan*.

XXII. That the Duke of *Vendosme* shall hold the County of *St. Paul* with the same Right that he posses'd it before the War.

XXIII. That the King of *France* shall hold *Hesdin* till it be determined whose Right it is.

XXIII. That in the Cause of *Henry de la Britt* pretended King of *Navarre*, *Francis* shall not interpose himself otherwise then a Pacifier; nor in the War that shall be for this Cause betwixt them; nor that he shall take any part.

XXV. That the King shall give unto the Emperor a Writing in due form, in which shall be declared, That Madame *Jone*, Daughter to *Henry de la Britt*, doth swear that she will not consent unto the Marriage agreed with *William* Duke of *Cleves*; and that she never consented to it.

XXVI. That the King of Romans (that was the principal Person in composing this Peace) shall enter into, and be comprehended in it; as likewise all other Christian Princes and Republicks that will, keeping the obedience and submission that of Right they owe unto the Emperor. This being signed and sealed by the Emperor and French King, and the other above named, these following Articles were added:

XXVII. That *Francis* should restore to the Heir of *René* Prince of *Orange* the Principality thereof, in that manner that *Philibert* *Chaaon* enjoy'd it.

XXVIII. That to *Philip Croy* Duke of *Arescho* entire satisfaction should be made for all his pretensions, according to the late Treaty of *Cambray*.

XXIX. That the King shall restore to the Duke all the Goods that on his Father's and Mother's side belong'd to him in *France*.

XXX. That

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XXX. That if *Maximilian* of *Burgundy* gain his suit in Law, the Places belonging to him shall be restor'd.

XXXI. That the Ransom which *George* of *Austria* promised, shall be annulled and made void.

And this was the Substance of the League concluded at *Cressie*, 19 of *Septemb.* 1544. Besides which Articles, I finde by some, That it was agreed, they should defend the ancient Religion, and reform the Court at *Rome*: Whereof the Pope being advertised, was not yet much troubled; as knowing their Interests so diverse, that they could not long concur. Nevertheless, he hastened the intended Council at *Trent*, both as the Emperor desired it, and as he thought it safer to reform himself, then to be reformed. Therefore, having understood that both the Emperor had commanded the Divines of *Lovain* to reduce Religion into some Method and Articles; and *Francis* also had enjoyn'd the like to the *Sorbonists*; he without more delay appointed the Council to begin *March* 15, 1545, and his Legats there to be *Giovanni Maria di Monte*, Bishop-Cardinal di *Palestina*, *Marcello Cervino* Priest-Cardinal di *Santa Croce*, *Reginald Poole* Deacon-Cardinal di *Santa Maria*, all faithfull to him, but *Marcello* most vers'd in Affairs, with Instructions at first, onely to observe the Emperors motions, and govern themselves accordingly. For as he knew the Diet at *Wormbs* would shortly follow, he thought it concern'd him to be attentive; and the rather, that he was jealous lest the Emperor, French King, and Protestants should agree upon some form of settling Religion among themselves, and not a little fearfull also lest our King should intervene: Besides, it troubled him much how to comport himself with the Assembly at *Wormbs*, as doubting, that if he sent a Legat thither, he might be neglected: wherefore he commanded the Cardinal *Alexander Farnese* (his Grand-childe) to take that place as in his way to the Emperor, and his Nuncio resident with *Ferdinand*, to go along with him to the Diet. And now to shew he proceeded really in calling a Council, he gives his Legats order to repair to *Trent*, with authority (according to a Bull framed for that purpose) to propose, determine, and conclude all that was necessary for extirpation of Heresie, to reform the Church, to settle Peace among Christian Princes, &c. by the consent of the Council. Besides which, he gave them a particular *Breve* to prolong, transferre, or dissolve it, being the *Arcanum* of keeping all in his Arbitrement: Nor made he difficulty to begin with a few Italian Bishops onely of his Party, as thinking they would be the better prepared when the rest came in.

But to return now to the Emperor: The Treaty betwixt him and *Francis* being concluded, he sent to *Spain* to be resolved by the Prince and his Council, which of the two Marriages were most

most convenient. But all came to nothing by the death of the Duke of *Orleance* within eight months following : Howbeit, some places taken on either side were restored, and the Emperors Auxiliary Forces before *Montreuil* commanded to retire. Which being done, he went shortly after to *Bruxels*, whither his Sister the Queen of *France*, *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*, and the two Sons of *Ferdinand* came to him. And now our King expostulating the matter with the Emperor; he, for excusing himself, as well as satisfying our King, pretended to make some overture of receiving him into the League, as will appear hereafter; yet so, as it is probable he did not much labour to effect it. The Count of *Bures* and the Germans being now departed (but not the Duke of *Alburquerque* and some *Spaniards*, who (against the Emperors will) remained in our Camp) the King commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* (who had made Inrodes into the Country with good successe) to raise the Siege from before *Montreuil*, and retire to him. And now finding the season to be far advanced, and little else to be done, our King (after he had Knighted certain persons of worth) prepared to be gone, leaving the Lord *Lisle* to command *Boulogne* with sufficient Forces, and directions what to do upon all occasions. And thus 30 of *September*, he took shipping at *Boulogne*, and returned : The new whereof, being brought the Daulphin (who a good while since had raised a puissant Army) made him to advance. But the Vant-Coureurs were no sooner descried neer the Town, but the two Dukes and Lord Privie Seal (who were behinde with the Army) made ready to fight, sending first yet some to offer skirmish; but the French men fled. Our Army hereupon marching in good order to *Calais* (where shipping attended them) the Daulphin six dayes after attempted between force and stratagem to surprise *Boulogne*. For, being advertised by a Spy that our Approaches were not slighted or levelled, nor any of the three Breaches in the upper Town repair'd, and that the lower Town in many places lay open, He doubted not but to take it, and in it a great part of the Ordnance and Munition which our King left there. Thus coming neer with all his Forces about midnight, he commanded *Fouquesolles*, *Tais*, *Monluc*, *d'Andelot*, *Moailles*, and certain French and Italian Troops under *Pede Marfa* and others, in sufficient number, to give on. These with their shirts over their Armour, coming suddenly neer the lower Town, sent some before, who (as if in favour of us they would have given the Allarm) cryed *Bowes*, *Bowes* : hoping thus, that our men, suspecting nothing, would open the gates, and thereby give them means to seise on till the rest did enter. The Invention was good, and had it been handsomly pursued, might have endangered us. But *Tais* and the Italians entering the lower Town in greater number

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Septemb. 23.

Septemb. 30.

October 1.

October 3.
October 9.

October 9.

1544

Comment. de
Monluc.

then that they could be supposed people in their shirts, that rose to give their fellows warning, Alarm was given. Nevertheless, they so surpris'd our Sentinels, as they kill'd all they met, and rifled the houses without much opposition, because the Pioneers (chiefly) and Victuallers of the Camp (who had no Arms to defend themselves) were quartered there; our Souldiers scarce sufficing to defend the Breaches and Gaps of the upper Town. Howbeit, divers of our men escaping, ran to the gate of the upper Town, and there demanded Arms wherewith to defend themselves; which therefore were cast to them over the Walls in such quanttiy, as now taking courage, they fell on the French and Italians with that fury, as they kill'd Monsieur *de Fouquesolles*, and divers others who resisted, and chased the rest, wounding Monsieur *de Tais*, and taking divers prisoners: And this was the successe of the attempt on the upper parts of *Boulogne*. As for that towards the Sea, which *Monluc* undertook not without hope (it seems) to fire some of our Ships, the French prosper'd as little, as being kill'd and taken in great number: Onely for *Monluc* himself, it may be doubted where he was in either of these Fights, since he makes no particular mention of them, nor gives any good account of his person. For though he saith, he came to the Italians, that made a stand neer the Church, it must be before our men fell on them. As for his Allegation, that some of the English ran away, they were no other then some part of the *Corps de Gard* which went to advertise the rest; and for his telling the Colours of our Pioneers clothes (for testimony that he saw them in the dark) it makes little for him, since with more honour he might have told the colours of our souldiers Liveries, which were far different, had he seen them. Howsoever, he might stay safely in the lower Town after the slaughter committed by *Tais* and the Italians, till our men (as is before-mentioned) returned with Arms from the upper Town, gave them the chase; who yet could not have defeated them entirely, had not those of the upper Town sallied forth of their Breaches at last, to second them. A little before which time, *Monluc*, suspecting (it seems) that the English (upon the Alarm given) would fall on him, desired (as he confessed himself) the Italians to make good their stand, while he kept one of the Breaches from being possessed by the English. But our English now charging *Monluc*, went further then it or the Town. Howbeit, to shew his care, he saith that he sent an Horseman back, to know what was become of the Italians. But he returning answer, that they were in the Church, or dead, *Monluc* and some other French provided for themselves. For now Sir *Thomas Poynings* with a fresh Troop of English out of the upper Town had charged them. *D'Andelot*, *Noailles*, and divers others hereupon were advised by *Monluc* to save themselves; as also certain

certain Ensignes, who following his counsel, got up the hill towards their Army, while himself and a few with him, passed a shallow water, and so escaped by a longer, but a safer way. And thus the Daulphin, who prepared to send succours, meeting the Run-aways, desisted, and the Town was saved. But *Monluc*, to defend himself, saith, That for all the fear, he kept his wits still about him, or else hee had been in danger never to have been Mareschal of *France*. And to commend (it seems) his direction in running away, he shews how necessary it is for a man in danger not to be affraid; and says, that all the Ensignes had been lost, had he not advised them to be gone; and that his counsell preserved all: And such Rodomontades as these did this Gascon use, who (it seems) was a braver man by day, then by night. All which I have more particularly observed out of our Histories and Records, because, notwithstanding his shameful flight, he strives so much to vilifie our Nation. But how hee behaved himself in this Action may appear by the Daulphin's jeering him at his return, as himself confesseth; it being certain, that though hee came in later then his fellows, it was not because he stayed longer there, but that he went a further way about. But *Monluc*, to excuse himself, said, It was the Daulphin's fault, that hee came not in with his whole Army: and therein he spoke rationally; for had the first Attempt been well seconded, hee must have carryed the Town in all likelihood, one breach being open, and men surpris'd. Nor had he better fortune at *Guisnes*, and other places which the French hoped to take in; for being beaten thence, he was constrained with his Army to retire, without doing more for this yeer. Nevertheless, *Francis* had recourse to those wonted Arts, by which as much as by Arms he alwayes advantaged himself: Therefore he desired that his Ambassadors and the Emperors might meet with our King's at *Calais*, to treat of a general Accord. Which offer being accepted, the Earl of *Hertford* and Sir *William Paget* were sent thither: But their desire being, that *Boulogne* might be first restored, the Earl of *Hertford* replied, he had no such Commission, and so broke off the Treaty: The Imperialists seeming nothing scandalized, that it had no better effect.

October 12.

While Affairs passed thus in *France*, *Barbarossa* did much spoil on the Coasts of *Italy*, taking Towns, and carrying Captives of both Sexes to the Grand Seigneur at *Constantinople*, where he shortly after died of a Calenture, being above eighty yeers old: a great age for such a Pirate as spent almost all his time in fighting either with men, or the fiercest Elements. There happened also in *July* this yeer upon the Coasts of *Gallicia*, a Sea-fight between the Spanish and French, in which the Spaniard, under the command of Don *Alvaro Bazan* (Father of the

July 25.

1544

Sandoval. l. 26.

Sandoval. l. 26.

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famous *Marquesse de Santa Cruz*) was superiour, three thousand French (as *Sandoval* hath it) being kill'd.

The Emperor now in his wonted necessity for money, was advised by his Council to seise on the Revenues of the Church: For which also he obtain'd a *Breve* from the Pope. Yet, as hee would hear what the Religious persons of that Kingdom could object, he admitted their Deputies, who said, the right of the Church-Goods was rather divine than humane; That the Church was Christs Spouse, and should be decked gloriously; That ancient *Rome* was Mistres of the World heretofore, by *S. Augustine's* confession, because the people were so devout to their gods, and so much honour'd Religion: Which reasons yet (it was thought) would not have prevail'd, had hee not found other wayes to have supplied his wants. Nevertheless, his Son *Philip* the Second seised on them, though in his Will he commanded them to be restored.

The Glorious return of our King from *Boulogne* gave much satisfaction to his Subjects: yet, as he had drawn a puissant Enemy against him, he took order to fortifie his Kingdom. And because the River of *Thames* was chiefly to be secured, he caus'd some Fortifications to be rais'd at *Gravesend*, as also at *Tilbury*, and afterwards at *Dover*, *Portsmouth*, and many other Places: hee took also an exact account of all his Ordnance, which hee distributed in the most necessary places, lest upon an Invasion, his Magazine being in the Tower of *London* onely, the remedy should come too late. I finde also by our Records, that there were certain small Pieces of Artillery, not unlike our Drakes, for defence of his Waggon, of his own Invention, as also certain forms of Bulwarks; for he was a great Souldier, and besides, of a singular capacity in apprehending all the new devices which in these kindes now daily appeared: the Pistol, among others, coming this yeer first in request among the French Horse; but not the Spanish, whose manner is, not to leave their ancient forms easily, when yet it were for their advantage.

Let us look a while on Scotland.

About the time that *Lenox*, on our Kings part, invaded the West of *Scotland*, as is formerly related, our men on the other side entred the Country, and took *Fedburgh*, *Kelso*, and then *Coldingham*: which being advertised to the Governour and Cardinal, they brought an Army of about eight thousand, and some Artillery, to recover the Town. But the Governour suspecting (as it was thought) some treachery among his men, posted away suddenly: which caused such a consternation in the Scots, that they likewise were ready to disband, and leave the Artillery then planted in Battery against the Steeple, had not the Earl of *Angus* staid some, and with their help conduct-

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1544

ed it safe to *Dunbarre*. This news was brought to our King at his return from *Boulogne*; at what time also the Earl of *Lenox* came to Court, and acquainted him with his late Actions, and the Affairs of *Scotland*: whereupon, the said Earl, the Lord *Dacres*, and Sir *Thomas Wharton* were dispatched thither with competent Forces. For, though at the request of the Scots by Sir *George Meldre* (sent to him when hee was before *Boulogne*) King *Henry* had granted Truce for a time; yet being newly provoked, hee resolved a War. These entring *Scotland* on the West Border, took *Dunfrise*, and brought home great spoils; constraining also the people of those parts to condescend to a Treaty, and give Hostages for the observing thereof. Our men puffed up with this good successe, resolve upon another Expedition. Whereupon, Sir *Ralf Evers* (now Lord *Evers*, and Warden of the East-Marches) and Sir *Bryan Layton*, this Winter spoyling *Tiviot-dale* and other Places, and afterward returning to *London*, required a reward for their Service: which, by the Duke of *Norfolk*'s advice, being as much ground as they could win from the Scots, they entered the next Spring (1545); but were defeated, and slain in great number at *Ancram*; and among them *Evers* himself, a brave Lord! Divers also were taken prisoners, and particularly, one *Read*, Alderman of *London*; which, that it may not seem strange, I have thought fit to tell the occasion: Our King, for supply of his wants, having appointed certain Commissioners to receive a Benevolence from his Subjects, they began at *London* with the Lord Maior and Aldermen; Among whom, *Read* refusing to pay his share, was sent in this Expedition, with so ill successe to it and himself, as at last, he paid more then the money imposed on him, in a Ransom. As for others, they excused themselves by their penury, in regard the King had taken up so much corn from them for his use this yeer, without repaying the price as yet; so that in effect this Benevolence passed with much grudging.

March, 1545.

January.

The Daulphin and French Army being retired, as is formerly related, Monsieur de *Biez* Mareschal of *France* having gathered some fourteen thousand men together, encamped 26 of *January* 1544, neer *Portet*, a little Creek of the Sea, about half a mile from *Boulogne*, yet as he had the River of *Pont-de-Brique* betwixt him and the Town, it was not easie to dislodge him. His designe was to build a Fort there, for holding the Haven of *Boulogne* in subjection: which the Earl of *Hertford* understanding, assembled four thousand Foot, and seven hundred Horse out of the Garisons adjoyning, and with these constrained *Biez* to retire to *Hardelot*, by the way charging him often with that fury, as he kill'd many, took two brasse Pieces, and five iron, and much Baggage, and with it some of Monsieur de *Biez* his Armour.

Jan. 26.

Hollinshead.

1545

July 18.

Armour. And now *Francis* finding that these enterprises succeeded not, makes huge preparations to recover the Town, hoping together to win *Calais*, and wholly to expulse the English from those Parts. Therefore he sent to *Scotland* Monsieur *de la Brosse*, and afterwards the Seigneur *de Lorges*, with an Army to joyn with the Scots for invading our Northern parts. On the other side, that he might shew how strong he was by Sea, hee commanded a great Fleet to be equipped; for which purpose *Paulin* (his old Negotiator in *Turky*) brought with him five and twenty Gallies from the *Levant*: The Pope not omitting also to furnish his part: So that he had in all an hundred and fifty great Ships, and sixty of the lesser sort, besides Gallies; his designe being to keep *Boulogne* from being relieved by Sea, while his Land Forces besieged it. He thought fit to begin yet with erecting the Fort before *Boulogne*, which being to be finished (as was promised him) by Monsieur *de Biez*, before mid-*August*, he meant with a puissant Army to entrench himself before the Town: having for this purpose sent to leavie twelve thousand *Lanskenetts*, and six thousand *Italians*; with which, and his own Forces, he doubted not to recover all the Places we held in *France*. Lastly, for the more encouraging his men, he resolved in Person to be in, or at least, not far from his Army. Coming thus to *Havre-de-Grace*, and commanding his Fleet to set sail, his fairest Ship (being of eight hundred tun) taking fire, suddenly was burnt; yet the rest went on, under the command of Monsieur *d'Annebault* Admiral of *France*. Coming thus to *St. Hellens Point* on our Coast, *Paulin* with four Gallies was sent to discover the Isle of *Wight*, and the countenance of our men: whereupon, sixty of our Ships coming out of the Haven of *Portsmouth* in good order, exchanged some shot with the French, till night parted them. The next day, the Ship which carried their money sank, the money being hardly saved. But one of our Ships through accident was lost. Our King this while came to *Portsmouth*, as knowing of what consequence the Place was, assembles men from all parts under the command of his Lieutenant the Duke of *Suffolk*: The French yet landed in three severall places in the Isle of *Wight*; but were as soon repuls'd: whereupon, *d'Annebault* having the winde fair, advised concerning fighting with us in the Haven at *Portsmouth*: But the channel being thought too narrow for them to enter in any great number, they consulted of taking the Isle of *Wight*: but as it was requisite again to build many Forts for keeping thereof, they found that both men and time would be wanting. Howsoever, they resolved to take in fresh water; which the Chevalier *d'Auxe* with some men attempting, was kill'd, and they routed; as also some others who landed afterwards in *Sussex*. These bad successes made the French crosse over to

Portet

Portet neer *Boulogne*, where they landed four thousand souldiers, and all the Pioneers which they brought with them to fortifie those places they should have taken in *England*. And now the winde blowing from the Land, they set sail again for our Coast, which our King understanding, commanded his Fleet (being an hundred Sail) to offer fight to them; which the French also had charge to accept; their King not fearing to lose his hired Ships, as long as he had money to procure others: The onely difficulty was, in regard of the currents, how to use both Ships and Galleys together; for in calms, when the Galleys made way, the Ships could not stir; and without them they durst not encounter us. And now the French Fleet having gotten a small winde, and their Galleys coming on, made towards us: but the winde slackning again, their Galleys fel off; wherewith the winde coming about, and our Fleet investing them, an hot Fight of two hours passed betwixt them: but the night parting them, the French retired suddenly to *Havre de Grace*, and appear'd no more. Our Admiral yet went to *Tre-port* in *Normandy*, where landing, he burnt the Suburbs, took divers Barks out of the Haven, and so return'd. *D'Annebault*, as soon as he came on shore, went to the King at *Arques* the sixteenth of *August*, expecting the Fort should be finished before *Boulogne*; but it was begun eight dayes onely before, and in another place, call'd *Outreau* neer low *Boulogne*, whence they might indeed annoy the Town, but not command the entry into the Haven. But Monsieur *de Biez* assuring the King yet it would be put in defence within eight dayes more, the French Army marched on, being four and thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, who shortly after encamped upon Mount *Lambert*, being so neer *Boulogne*, as they could shoot into it with their great Ordnance. The King yet was not in the Army, nor neerer then the Abbey of *Forrest Monstier*, which was eleven leagues off, whither his Son *Charles Duke of Orleance* coming, died (as is before touched) of a pestilent Fever. This made him send shortly after *Claude d'Annebault* and others to the Emperor to renew his Alliance some other way: But the Emperor, who had now engaged our King and *Francis* to a War, and therein reveng'd himself on both, thought it safer to be neuter, then to declare himself either way: Howbeit, he told the French Ambassadors, that he would not begin with their Master. In the mean while, the English Garison in *Calais* and *Guisnes*, making continuall Inrodes, kill'd Monsieur *Dampierre*, and defeated his men; which, together with the dry answer received from the Emperor, made *Francis* to retire to an Abbey neer *Amiens*; his Army yet continuing before *Boulogne*, without adventuring to lay close Siege unto it. Onely, as all the young Nobles and Gallants of the French Court came thither,

1545

August.

Septemb. 9.

August 16.

Septemb. 9.

Novemb. 1.

October.

1545

ther, divers skirmishes pass'd; in one of which, *Francis Duke d' Anmale* eldest Son to the Duke of *Guise*, received a blow with a Lance between the eye and the nose, which entered (as the French Writers have it) half a foot into his head, and there broke: nevertheless, he coming off, endured the taking it out, and was recovered; divers others of their principall persons yet being kill'd. And now our King resolving to dislodge them, sent into *Germany* to levie ten thousand Lanckneets, and four thousand Horse: who thereupon coming to *Fleurines* in the Country of *Leige*, required their pay, as was promised; but it not coming at the time appointed, they seised on our Commissioners, and returned, without permitting them to depart till they were satisfied. This while Monsieur *de Biez*, being commanded to enter *Terre d'Oye*, took a little piece of fortified ground; which our men coming to recover, were encountred by his Horse, and defeated: yet so, as (though far lesse in number) they kill'd many of their enemies.

The Garison of *Boulogne* finding the French Army thus departed, enterprised the taking of the Fort; but it was well defended, and they with losse constrain'd to retire. The French Army also, through the much rain that fell, was forced to leave *Terre d'Oye*, being a marish ground, and full of deep ditches: Besides, our men gathered towards them. And now this puissant Army returning toward *Boulogne*, did not think fit to besiege it: which may seem the stranger, that wee neither had Forces in a readinesse to fight with them, nor so strong a place to defend, but that half their Army (according to reason of War) might have carried it in a short space: Therefore they encamped themselves onely afore *Portet*, untill the Fortification were finished. This slacknesse made our men so adventrous, that an Enterprise of theirs succeeded ill, as shall be told the yeer following.

July 2.

August.

Septemb.

Monsieur *de Lorges* (formerly mentioned) having brought his auxiliary Forces being five thousand men) *July 2, 1545*, into *Scotland*, many Incurfions were made. Their Army yet incamped no neerer on the English side then *Twede*, yet as they pass'd it often, much harm was done. Whereupon, the King sent the Earl of *Hertford* with twelve thousand men to *Scotland*; who destroying all the Towns on the middle Marches, passed thence to the West, and committed great spoils: in requitall whereof, the Scots shortly after attempted to enter *England* on the East Borders; but were defeated, and many made Prisoners, and among them Lord the *Hames* his Son, and a French Commander; and not long after the Lord *Maxwel's* Son: But they had their revenge; for five hundred English attempting the West Borders, for the most part were taken or slain.

While our King was thus in war with *France* and *Scotland*,
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he and the Emperor were not in very good terms; Ships being arrested on either side, upon occasion (as I gather) that a Spanish Ship, coming from *San Domingo* in the West Indies, was taken by the English. But wee had likewise our complaints. Concerning which therefore a Meeting was appointed at *Borborch* in *Flanders*; also about taking certain Imposts raised by the Emperor, contrary to the old Treaty of Commerce; which yet was little regarded, the Emperor endeavouring now nothing more then to get money. Which the Protestants understanding, and fearing he would make use thereof to invade them, did easily accept an intimate request from *Francis*, for mediating a Peace betwixt our King and him: Whereupon, they sent to *France*, *Veninger*, *Bruno*, and *John Sturmius*; and to *England*, *Bambach* and *John Sleidan* the Historian, who at length obtaining that Commissioners on both sides should meet neer *Ardres*, two months were spent in unusefull Propositions; so they returned without effecting any thing. Our King, besides that he would have *Ardres* for quitting the Arrears of his Pension, being neither willing to restore *Boulogne*, nor to suffer the Scots to be comprehended in the Treaty.

And now the Emperor fearing lest a Peace should be made without him, thought fit to mediate (at least in appearance) an Accord, on this occasion; King *Henry* having sent the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Westminster*, and Sir *Edward Carne* to cleer some Articles of the Treaty of 1543 with *Charles*, *Francis* about the same time had sent the Admiral d' *Annebault* thither, as is before related. Whereupon therefore he proposed a General Treaty, though faintly, and in such terms that it took no effect.

This while, Arch-bishop *Cranmer* making his advantage of *Winchester's* absence, endeavoured a further Reformation; which also our King once condescended to, and gave order for in great part: but before it was brought into Act, the King received Letters from him, That this League mediated by the Emperor would not proceed, if he suffered any Innovation; and so nothing was done. Little more happened this yeer worth relation (for home events) besides the Parliament businesse (whereof hereafter) but the death of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, Great Master of the Kings Household, a right hardy Gentleman (as our Historians term him;) yet withall so discreet and affable, as hee was beloved of all sorts, and his death much lamented. Our King, for his more honour, causing him (at his own charge) to be honourably buried at *Windsor*.

I shall return now to declare the Proceedings in matter of Religion among the Germans, and in the Councel of TRENT.

The Emperor with much industry and cunning having procured

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July 1495.

Novemb.

Jan. 1546.

Novemb.

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August.

1545

cured a War between our King and *Francis*, did now leave them to decide their own Affairs, while himself attended wholly his occasions in *Germany*; his designs there being much facilitated by the recession of the Turk, who leaving the pursuit of his Conquests in these Northern Parts, meant to dilate himself in the warmer Climes of *Asia*: so that the Emperor having no more businesse, accounted this yeer the most quiet of many that had preceded: though yet he were not exempt from sundry cares, some Wars, and the Gout. And now, as he pretended principally to compose the differences of Religion, many Offices were passed with the Pope for advancing the Council; which had his beginning and progresse after this manner:

The thirteenth of *March* 1545 the Cardinal *del Monte* and Cardinal *Santa Croce* being received by the Cardinal of *Trent*, made their publick entry into the City: But no Prelate being yet come, they sent to *Rome*, to desire that their restriction in the Bull (to the content of the Council) might be taken away, and absolute power given to propose, determine, &c. as is before recited: which the Pope granted. The place chosen was the Cathedral Church, capable of about 400 persons. Ten dayes after *Diego de Mendozza* the Emperors Ambassadour in *Venice* * came, and * shewed his Instructions; being, first, to promise that the Spanish Bishops should shortly be present: Secondly, to procure, that Reformation in Discipline and manners should be handled before Points of Doctrine. The Legats hereupon sent to the Pope to have publick Dispatches (when occasion was) to shew *Mendozza*, and other private Letters to follow. The eighth of *April*, *Ferdinand's* Ambassadors came, the number of Bishops yet being very few. The first Controversie was concerning the Spanish Ambassadors pretence to precede the Cardinal of *Trent*: but the businesse was ordered so as no advantage appear'd. This preparative for a Council being divulged, produced divers and contrary effects; some resolving to beleieve all they said, others little or nothing, others again intending to distinguish those parts that pleased them, from the rest. Howsoever, the Protestants in the Diet of *Worms* protested against it, as partiall and factious: while *Francis*, for the more endearing it, proceeded with Arms against the few *Waldeſe* that remained in his Kingdom in that violent manner, as without other warning or instruction, he permitted his Souldiers (having first committed all insolence in the mountain parts where they dwelt, towards *Provence* and *Languedock*) to destroy more then four thousand persons which made no resistance. In the mean time, the Cardinal of *Trent*, for the more security of his City, desired a Garison from the Pope: but was answered, That the Council could not then seem free; which more imported him, then the safety of the City

* March 23.
* March 27.

April 8.

March 24.

Soave.

City did the Cardinal. Matters being thus advanced, Cardinal Poole came, and speech was had of opening the Council. But as the Pope's designs tended another way, hee sent the Cardinal *Alessandro Farnese* his Grand-childe to the Emperor now at *Wormbs*, to offer a large Contribution of Men and Money for suppressing of Hereticks; promising also to procure help from other Italian Princes; and to proceed with Spirituall and Temporall Arms. He represented also how ill the Pope took the late speech of a Nationall Council, and that the Emperor in this Diet had promised another for the settling of Religion, in case the Council of *Trent* took no order therein; in the mean while protesting, that he would sooner yeeld up his Keys to Saint *Peter*, then suffer such an affront. Besides which, he had private Instructions to procure that the right of Inheritance of *Parma* and *Piacenza* might be invested in his Nephew *Ottavio*, Son to his Brother *Pietro Aloysio Farnese* (natural Son to the Pope) now Duke thereof, in regard the said *Ottavio* had married *Marguerite* natural Daughter to the Emperor: which at last also, upon the exchange of *Camerino*, was granted. And now towards the end of *May*, there were twenty Bishops, five Generals of Orders, and one Auditor *de la Ruota* assembled; yet as the Council began not, the Pope being desirous first to see the successe of the Diet at *Wormbs*, the Bishops desired to be gone, but were not permitted. Neverthelesse, *Mendoza* returned to his former Ambassage at *Venice*, desiring nothing might be done in his absence. The Bishops also weary of their stay, or expence, resolved at last to depart: which the Pope taking notice of, distributed some money among them. This while *Herman* Arch-Bishop of *Colen*, having made a private Reformation by the means of *Martin Bucer* and *Philip Melancthon*, his Clergy oppugning it, complained to the Emperor, who cited the Arch-bishop: with which, though the Pope was offended, yet he did not so much expostulate the matter with the Emperor, as desire to conserve his own Authority: Therefore hee cited the Arch bishop too.

And now in the Diet at *Wormbs* the Emperor required aid against the Turk; which the Protestants refused (as fearing it would be employed against them) unless first good security were given for Peace in the Empire, and that this Council at *Trent* should be no prejudice to them. But to this the Emperor answered, That he could not exempt them from the authority of the Council (especially, being call'd for their sakes;) yet if they had any just objections against it, that they should come and produce them openly in the Council, and they should have an equal hearing. But the Princes and confederate Cities continuing to except against it, protested those were not to judge of their Cause, who had already condemned it: Therefore, if a Council were had, they should make one part, and Pope and Roman Catho-

1545

May.

1543.

1544.
June.

July 18.

Sleidan.

1545

August 4.

Sleidan.

Concil. Trid.

Septemb.

Octob. 31.

Decemb. 13.

licks the other : And as for the manner and order, that the Emperor and Princes should be Judges ; but for the merit of the Cause, that it should be determined onely by the word of God. The Emperor finding thus no likelihood of Peace, dissembled his displeasure till he had made peace with the Turk, (which he did by the means of *Francis* this yeer in *October*). And so the Diet ended the fourth of *August*, with a Decree to hold another at *Ratisbone* in *January* following. For which purpose there should be a Conference of four Doctors and two Judges on either part, in *December*, to prepare Matters of Religion against that time. And now the Protestants put forth a Book, in which they again rejected the Council, saying, it was not assembled in *Germany* (as was promised,) but in *Trent*, and by the Pope's power and command, without other pretext that it could be thought to be in *Germany*, then because the Bishop of *Trent* was a Prince of the Empire : Besides, that the Pope (a party) should not preide in it. Therefore, that the form and manner of holding a Council should be first discussed, and whence it had its Authority. But this reference of the Emperor to a future Diet, as it displeased the Pope and his Legats, since the Council was imminent, and appointed for deciding Controversies ; so it made the Bishops again take leave to be gone : and in effect, by the end of *September* few remained. The Pope finding these difficulties, knew not well what to resolve ; yet when motion was made for holding it in *Germany*, he refused, but sent to the Emperor to advise with him concerning the opening the Council, or suspending it, or transferring it to *Italy*. The Emperor (as Affairs then stood) not much approving any of these Propositions, at last (in *October*) gave consent the Council should open : Yet so, as they should treat of matter of Reformation, and not of Doctrine, for fear of provoking the Protestants. This, again, gave the Pope no little jealousy, lest the Emperor would make his Ecclesiastical Authority obnoxious to the Diet and Conference. Howbeit, he commanded the Council should begin the thirteenth of *December* : The French Prelates, being but three, having written to their King most of these passages, were sent for home ; yet, at the intercession of the other Bishops, two remained. The 13 of *December* being come, the Legats (after a solemn Fast and Procession) meeting in the Cathedral, opened the Council, declaring, that it was assembled for three causes : 1. Destroying Heresie. 2. Reforming Discipline. 3. Setling Peace : exhorting the Bishops to labour seriously herein. After which, the Emperors Instructions to *Mendoza* (formerly mentioned) being again exhibited, the Legats said, they would advise thereof : and so appointing the next Session to be held *January* 7 following, they arose, and presently sent to the Pope, declaring

clarifying what was done, and desiring to know how they should begin; whether with Heresies, and if so, whether they should touch the Heresies, or Persons, or both? whether they should send forth a Declaration that the Council was begun, and invite the Princes and Nations that would, to come? whether they should hasten or delay their Proceedings? in what manner the Suffrages were to be collected? &c. The 18 of *December* they met in Congregation, and began to treat of a Reformation of Manners, Habits, &c. The Pope hearing thus the Council was opened, writes, That concerning the matters to be handled, he is not yet resolved; in the mean time, that they should insist on the usuall Preambles: That they should follow in their manner of Suffrages, the last *Lateran* Council: That they should invite no Prince or Prelate, since the Indiction of the Council was sufficient: As for the charges of the Bishops, Exemption from payment of Tenths was granted, and some other Benefits, and money given to the poorer sort: All which I have set down with more particularity, that it may appear, both what a slow and uncertain beginning this great Council had, and what a different end it took, from that it now seem'd to promise.

Decemb. 18.

I will conclude this yeer with the businesse of our Parliament; which began the 23 of *November* 1545. Which, as it was the last the King call'd; so, supply of money being the principal Affair, it seem'd to comprehend all that could be given, at least of other mens: neither was there other excuse then the Kings necessities, which every man must think violent, when they trenched upon the reverend Foundations of Colledges, Free-Chappels, Chantries, Hospitals, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds, and stipendiary Priests which had continuance in perpetuity, together with all their Manors, Lands and Hereditaments, which now the Parliament committed to the Kings dispose, and that they should be in the order and survey of the Court of Augmentation; the Right of others being yet saved, and divers Provisions made. For motive whereof, the Kings great charges in his Wars with *France* and *Scotland* were alledged; as also the abuses of the Rulers and Governours of the said Colledges, &c. Upon which therefore, and his solemn promise to the Parliament, that all should be done to the glory of God, and common profit of the Realm, the Act passed.

Novemb.

In another Act it was declared, how offenders in Usury should be punished; and a certain proportion of Ten in the Hundred was limited. Which yet, had it been lower, would have made Lands more valuable, Merchandize and Victuals cheaper, and adventuring by Sea more frequent: That lazy way of thriving being more opposite then any thing else to
that

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that Industry by which all Kingdoms subsist and flourish.

That Doctors of the Civil Law, although Lay-men, whether married or unmarried, might exercise all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to which they shall be depured.

That two Churches, being not above a mile distant, and one of them not above the yearly value of six pound, may be united into one.

That where a full Jury did not appear, a *Tales* might be granted *de Circumstantibus* : And this was much for the expedition of Justice.

That whereas the Lord Chancellor of *England*, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Kings Council, Lord Privie Seal, and the two chief Justices, or five, four, or three of them should have power by their discretions to set the prices of all kinde of Wines, as by the Act 28 *Hen.* 8. 14 appeareth : the time was now specified to be betwixt the twentieth of *November* and last of *December* : And that if any Wine-seller should sell his Wine in grosse at any other price, That the Maior, Bailiffs, Aldermen, &c. may enter into his house, and sell it according to the rate set down.

A Subsidie also was granted by the Spirituality of six shillings the Pound : and by the Temporality of two shillings eight pence the Pound in Goods, and four shillings the Pound in Lands, to be paid all within two yeers. And so the 24 of *December* the Parliament was prorogued : At which time the Speaker of the Lower House making an eloquent Oration, the King in Person made this ensuing Answer, being the more memorable, that it was both full of good intention and advice, and the last he ever spake in that place.

Decemb. 24.

ALthough my Chancellor for the time being hath before this time used very eloquently and substantially to make Answer to such Orations as hath been set forth in this High Court of Parliament, yet is he not so able to open and set forth my minde and meaning, and the secrets of my heart in so plain and ample manner as I my self am, and can do. Wherefore, I taking upon mee to answer your eloquent Oration (Mr Speaker) say, That where you, in the name of our wel-beloved Commons, have both praised and extolled mee for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in mee, I most humbly thank you all, that you have put me in remembrance of my duty, which is to endeavour my self to obtain and get such excellent qualities, and necessary vertues, as a Prince or Governour should or ought to have ; of which Gifts I recognize my self both bare and barren : but of such small qualities as God hath indued me withall, I render to his Goodness my most humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence to get and acquire to mee such notable Vertues and Princely Qualities, as you have alledged to be incorporated in

in my Person. These thanks for your loving admonition and good counsel first remembred ; I eftsoons thank you again, because that you considering our great charge, not for our pleasure, but for your defence ; not for our gain, but to our great cost which we have lately sustained, as well in defence against our and your Enemies, as for the conquest of that Fortresse which was to this Realm most displeasing and noysome, and shall be (by Gods grace) hereafter to our Nation most profitable and pleasant, have freely of your own mindes granted to us a certain Subsidie, here in an Act specified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your kindnesse, then the profit thereof, as He that setteth more by your loving hearts, then by your substance. Besides this hearty kindnesse, I cannot a little rejoyce, when I consider the perfect trust and confidence which you have put in me, and as men having undoubted hope, and unfained belief in my good doings and just proceedings for you, without my desire or request, have committed to mine order and disposition all Chantries, Colledges, Hospitals, and other Places specified in a certain Act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glory of God, and the profit of the Common-wealth. Surely, if I (contrary to your expectation) should suffer the Ministers of the Church to decay, or Learning (which is so great a Jewel) to be minished, or poor and miserable people to be unrelieved, you might say, that I being put into so special a trust as I am, in this case, were no trusty friend to you, nor charitable to mine, even as a Christian, neither a lover to the Publick-wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your expectation shall be served more godly and goodly, then you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive. Now, sith I finde such kindness in your part towards me, I cannot chuse but love and favour you ; affirming, that no Prince in the world more favoureth his Subjects, then I do you ; nor no Subjects or Commons more love and obey their Sovereign Lord, then I perceive you do ; for whose defence my Treasure shall not be hidden, nor (if necessity require) my Person shall not be unadventured. Yet although I wish you, and you wish me to be in this perfect love and concord ; this friendly amity cannot continue, except both you my Lords Temporal, and my Lords Spiritual, and you my loving Subjects study and take pains to amend one thing, which surely is amiss and far out of order ; to the which I most heartily require you : which is, that Charity and Concord is not amongst you, but Discord and Dissention beareth rule in every place : Saint *Paul* saith to the *Corinthians* the 13 Chapter, *Charity is gentle, Charity is not envious, Charity is not proud*, and so forth in the said Chapter. Behold then, What love and charity is amongst

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amongst you, when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptist; and he calleth him again Papist, Hypocrite and Pharisee? Be these tokens of charity amongst you? Are these signes of fraternal love betwixt you? No, no, I assure you, that this lack of charity among your selves, will be the hinderance and aswaging of the fervent love betwixt us (as I said before) except this wound be salved and clearly made whole. I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by the negligence of you the Fathers and Preachers of this Spirituality: For if I know a man which liveth in adultery, I must judge him a lecherous and carnal person: If I see a man boast and brag himself, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I hear daily, that you of the Clergy preach one against another, without charity or discretion; some be too stiffe in their old *Mumpsimus*, others be too busie and curious in their new *Sumpsimus*: Thus all men, almost, be in variety and discord, and few or none preach truly and sincerely the word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I judge you charitable persons doing this? No, no, I cannot so do: Alas, how can the poor souls live in concord, when you Preachers sow amongst them in your Sermons debate and discord? Of you they look for light, and you bring them to darknes. Amend these crimes, I exhort you, and set forth Gods word both by true preaching, and good example-giving: or else I, whom God hath appointed his Vicar and high Minister here, will see these Divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected according to my very duty, or else I am an unprofitable Servant, and untrue Officer. Although, I say, the Spiritual men be in some fault that charity is not kept amongst them: yet the Temporality be not cleer and unspotted of malice and envie: For you rail on Bishops, speak slanderously of Priests, and rebuke and taunt Preachers; both contrary to good order and Christian Fraternity. If you know surely that a Bishop or Preacher erreth, or teacheth perverse Doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Councel, or to us, to whom is committed by God the high Authority to reform and order such causes and behaviours: And be not Judges of your selves, of your phantastical opinions and vain Expositions. In such high Causes you may lightly erre; and although you be permitted to read holy Scriptures, and to have the Word of God in your Mother-Tongue, you must understand, that it is licensed you so to do, onely to inform your own consciences, and to instruct your children and Family; and not to dispute, and make Scripture a railing or taunting stock against Priests and Preachers, as many light persons do. I am very sorry to know and hear, how unreverently that most precious Jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rimed, sung, and jangled in every Ale-house and Tavern, contrary

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to the true meaning and doctrine of the same : And yet I am even as much sorry, that the Readers of the same follow it in doing so faintly, and so coldly. For of this I am sure, that charity was never so faint amongst you, and vertuous and godly living was never lesse used, nor God himself among Christians was never lesse revered, honoured or served. Therefore, as I said before, Be in charity one with another like Brother and Brother; love, dread and serve God; to the which, I, as your Supreme Head and Sovereign Lord exhort and require you: and then I doubt not but that love and league that I spake of in the beginning, shall never be dissolved or broken betwixt us.

To the making of Laws, which you have now made and concluded, I exhort you the Makers, to be diligent in the putting them in execution, as you were in the making and furthering of the same; or else your labour shall be in vain, and your Common-wealth nothing relieved. And now to your Petition concerning our Royal Assent to be given to such Acts as have passed both Houses, they shall be read openly, that you may hear them. And so they being read, the King assented, and rose.

The Parliament thus ended, and notice given to both Universities that the Colledges were at the Kings dispose, that of *Cambridge* first implored his favour, Beseeching him to defend their Possessions from the covetous and greedy mindes of those who knew not Learning. That of *Oxford* also petitioned to this purpose; and Doctor *Richard Cox* Dean of *Oxford*, the Prince's Tutor writ to Secretary *Paget*, to represent the lack of Schools, Preachers, Houses and Livings for Orphans. And since the disposition of Chuntries, &c. was in the King's hands, to obtain that the Clergy might be provided for honestly, lest Beggery should drive them to Flattery, Superstition and old Idolatry: which (saith he) I speak not, as if I distrusted the Kings goodness, but because there are such a number of importune Wolves as are able to devour Chuntries, Cathedral Churches, Universities, and a thousand times as much: adding in conclusion, that Posterity will wonder at us. Which particulars being in an Original from *Cox*, I have the rather inserted, that it may be gathered what he was, to whom the tuition of the young Prince was committed by the King. But much intreaty needed not for the Universities; for in our Records, a Letter mentions, that the Universities did humbly thank his Highness for the continuance of their Houses with their Lands; which, though I beleeve, the King never meant to take away, yet I finde two of the Professions were in danger of being remov'd, the King having advised once of placing all the Civilians in *Oxford* in one Colledge, and the Physicians and Chirur-

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gians in another. Howsoever, nothing was stirr'd or altered, that I can finde; the King being so far from diminishing those famous Nurseries of Learning and Piety, that he rather help'd to increase and augment them. Though yet forraign Parts were astonish'd not a little, why our Parliament should put them in this hazard, they being usefull on any part, and their Endowments not to be alienated without singular prejudice to their Founders; who having separated them for the Service of God, and publick Education, laid heaveie imprecations on any which should divert them from that use; as appears in the ancient Charters.

Jan. 8.

Feb.

Records

March.

The Earl of *Surrey* (who now commanded in *Boulogne*) hearing that a Convoy of Victuals was coming to the Fort at *Oultrean*, resolves to intercept it: But as the *Rhingrave* with four thousand *Lanskenets*, together with many French under the *Maréchal de Biez* stood firm, our men, not able to break them, were discomfited, and Sir *Edward Poynings* with divers brave Gentlemen slain; the Earl himself also being constrained to save himself as he could. Neverthelesse, by a Letter of his to the King, Jan. 8. 1546, it appears there were many kill'd on the other side; which yet did so little satisfie our King (who lov'd no noyse but of Victory) that he ever after disaffected him: for which cause also he was shortly removed, and the Earl of *Heriford* appointed to succeed. Whereupon Sir *William Paget* omitted not by Letter to admonish him to seek some eminent place in the Army under the said Earls command, lest (as he said) he should be unprovided in the Town and Field. But the Earl desirous in the mean time to regain his former favour with the King, skirmishes with the French, and puts them to the worst: But when together he certified that the French had made Canon of a greater Calibie then had been yet seen, wherewith they hoped to beat the Town to powder, and that it was worthy consideration, whether low *Boulogne* should stand, as being not defensible, the Kings Council wish'd him to repair home, that he might be further heard concerning these points. Whereupon the Earl of *Heriford* and Lord Admiral were sent over with an Army of nine thousand and three hundred men; whereof one thousand five hundred were Spaniards, two hundred were Italians, three hundred *Clevois*, and three thousand *Lanskenets* under *Conrad Pfenning*; a greater number of forraign Souldiers then stood with exact reason of War, where there is no assured ground of a vertuous emulation. With these the Earl encamped neer *Hambletveil*, betwixt *Calais* and *Boulogne*: for as the French intended to intercept all intercourse betwixt both places, they would have fortified there; But our men got it two days onely before they came, and built two Forts on that Coast. Some fights pass'd at Sea this while, whereof

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where of one is memorable, of seven or eight English in a small Vessel, who being master'd by a far greater number of French, entred their Ship, as pretending to save themselves out of their own Barque, which now began to sink; but finding certain Lime-pots there, they by casting water on them, raised such a smoak, as, through their continuall throwing of them, blinded the French, and at last made them run under Hatches, where at length being shut up, their Ship was brought away. Much fighting also pass'd betwixt our Ships and the French Gallies, in Calms, while through the benefit of their Oars they took and left as they pleased. And now, as the Strangers in our Army began to take head, the Lanskenets mutined, not without shew of falling on the English; but the Spaniards standing firm to our side, all was compos'd.

The 21 of *May* the French Army came and encamped beyond *Boulogne*, neer the Church on the hill, their Fleet being in the Road under them: This made the Earl of *Hertford* come up and skirmish with them. The 23 they fought again, and took divers Prisoners of note. And now each side attending his advantage to fight, a Surcease of War for five or six dayes was concluded, and after it a Peace: Which, that it may seem lesse strange, I shall not so much alledge (for reason) that our Kings Treasure was exhausted (which the French pretend,) as that the consideration of the imminent Council gave all Christian Princes occasion to desire good intelligence among themselves, and our King particularly; who was advertised, that Cardinal *Poole* and others would labour to procure a Decree against him and his Posterity: which, though our King regarded not otherwise then became a Prince of his courage; yet he thought it more considerable then the Pope's single Bull; therefore he endeavoured to get him friends: And because he was in good terms already with the Emperor, who for the settling of Religion each-where mediated a General Peace, he thought fit also to take in *Francis*; and the rather, that among certain private Conventions in the following Treaty, *Francis* had promised his assistance on all occasions: and thus the Peace took effect. Which I finde was so politickly handled by our King, that had his Predecessors observ'd the rule he now held, the French Writers could never have so much gloried in their Treaties. For as he capitulated to hold the Town for eight yeers next ensuing, he got the present advantage; which as the eternall Maxime in matter of Treaties, to frame Counsels by, I recommend to the Genius of our Country; since by the practice thereof onely, I dare say, the French have usurped and won so much upon us; as knowing it impossible, but that betwixt Neighbouring Princes, in a little space, those occasions may be found or urged, which will help them to come off

May 21.

May 23.

May 24.

1546

whensoever they are disposed. There will be no danger therefore to retort this Maxime : not yet that I approve a facility in dissolving Leagues, which should be inviolably kept, especially while the causes remain; but that they being dissolved, we may prevail our selves of the present occasion; not omitting yet any circumstance, to which in point of Oath and Honour we are obliged. This present Treaty (concluded the seventh of June 1546 at *Campe*, a place betwixt *Ardres* and *Guisnes*) was of this Tenor :

I. That all Injuries and Affronts since the beginning of the last War, should be forgotten, and Peace and Friendship re-established.

II. That neither should invade, nor procure nor permit to be invaded any of the Dominions, or Lands, or Cities which are now in the hands of the other.

III. That the Subjects of one shall have free commerce through the Dominions of the other, and free passage without safe conduct, so they exceed not the number of an hundred armed persons.

IV. That during this Peace all Impositions which either Prince hath laid on the Subjects of the other within twenty yeers last past, shall be released, and no new ones imposed.

V. VI. That Rebels and Traitors shall not be entertain'd or protected : but delivered to their Sovereign within 20 dayes after requisition.

VII. That no Letters of Represails or Merke, or counter-Merke should be granted but upon the principal Delinquents and their Goods, and that, in case of open denyal of Justice; which shall be made plain by Letters of Summonition and Requisition. And if any thing during this Peace shall be done contrary to it by any Subject of either Prince, the offenders to be punished, and the Peace to remain.

VIII. That the Christian King shall pay the King of *England* all Pensions due to him during his life, and also to his Successors for ever, according to the Treaty at *More*, 30 August. 1525. As also that Pension of Salt agreed on 30 April, 1527, and afterwards reduced to a certain Sum of Mony, (*viz.*) 10000 Crowns, which is to be paid yeerly at two payments during the natural life of *Henry VIII*, If the said payment appear not to be perpetual : but if it be found to be perpetual, then the French King and his heirs and Successors shall continue the said Pension for ever.

IX. The French King shall pay to the King of *England* on the Feast of Saint *Michael* (or within ten dayes after that day) which shall be *Anno Domini* 1554, for Arrerages, as well of Pensions not paid, as for his charges in Fortifications within the Town and County of *Boulogne*, since the beginning of the last War,

War, either already rais'd, or to be built betwixt this time and the said 1554, the sum of two Millions of Crowns *de Soleil*, upon the payment whereof the said most Christian King shall be free from all former Arrerages whatsoever.

X. Because the King of *England* by vertue of certain Letters of the French King Dated 29 Jan. 1529, claims as due unto him the sum of 500000 Crowns, *de Soliel*, 22 Sols and 6 Denyers: it is agreed that there shall be Commissioners appointed on both sides (within three months hence) to hear and end that cause; which sum the King of *France* (if it be so adjudg'd) shall pay when he pays the two Millions aforesaid. But if the Commissioners conclude nothing, the matter shall be devolved to four Lawyers that are Subjects to neither Princes, to be chosen by them, and that shall stand which three of them determine.

XI. That the King of *France* shall suffer the King of *England* quietly to enjoy the Town of *Boulogne*, and the Castles and Territories thereof, within the Bounds following: viz. the Haven of *Boulogne* with the farther Shore, as far as the highest water comes; and the land in length as far as *Pont de Bricque*, which shall be the limit on that part, the River there remaining common to both Princes: All within these bounds the King of *England* shall quietly possesse, until the King of *France* hath fully paid the aforesaid two Millions (as also the Sums expressed Article X) in the time, place and manner limited.

XII. That when the said Sums are paid, at the same time the King of *England* shall surrender *Boulogne*, with all the Territories taken by him in the late War, and all Fortifications built there by him since the taking thereof, so that no Fortification shall be impair'd. Neither shall the King of *England* be bound hereby in the restoring of the said places, to leave behinde him any moveables.

XIII. That from the date hereof to the day of St. *Michael* 1554, neither of the two Princes shall raise any new Fortification within the County of *Boulogne* (but those that have been begun already they may perfect.)

XIV. The Emperor is comprehended by both the Princes, by force of the perpetual Confederation.

XV. The Scots are comprehended in this Treaty, against whom the King of *England* shall not wage War, unlesse new occasion be given; in which case, this present comprehension of the Scots shall receive that interpretation which is contained in the Treaty of the Date of *April* the fifth, 1515: with this alteration, that although by the said Treaty of 1515, fifteen days onely were prescribed to the French King to intimate the said Comprehension to the Scots; yet now, by reason of the distance of place, there is allowed thirty days, next following the conclusion hereof.

XVI. This

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XVI. This Treaty shall be ratified within forty dayes after the Date hereof.

Commissioners for our King were,

John Viscount Lisle, Admiral;
Sir William Paget, Secretary; and
Doctor Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury.

And on *Francis* his part,

Claude d'Annebault Mareschal and Admiral of *France*;
Pierre Raymond premier President de *Rouen*; and
Guillaume Bouchesel, Secretary.

This peace being Proclaimed in *London* upon the thirteenth of *June*, a generall procession was there made, and all the richest silver Crosses out of the severall parish-Churches carried, and the bravest Copes worne, for the greater solemnity; But our Historians note it as fatal, it being the last time they were publikely used, since our King called them in shortly after, together with the Church plate, into his treasury and wardrobe, without that other cause appeared thereof, then that he suspected the warre would break out again, betwixt him and *France*, of which also this overture was given.

May 25.

The Earl of *Hertford* being certified (during the Treaty) that the clause of not making any new fortification, would be prejudiciall, was commanded by our King to raise a fort according to a plot given; but such was the prevention of this diligent Earl that he had already begun it about the thirtieth of *May*. Our King in the mean while protesting that he liked not the Article. But the French as little liking our fort, (as collecting thence we meant not to restore *Boulogne*) some difficulty was interposed. Though as our King answered, he could not so much as hope to keep the Town, for the terme agreed unlesse he had meanes to secure it, the Treaty held in manner above mentioned, and both Armies were dissolved; the French yet, first as our King required, retiring. And so he remained in quiet possession thereof, after the expence (as I finde in our Records) of 586718 li. 12 s. 3 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ in the winning thereof. The charges in keeping thereof being 755833 li. 11 s. 3 d. $\frac{1}{4}$, In all 1342552 li. 3 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{4}$. An excessive sum, to reape no benefit thence, but a landing place in *France*, which *Calais* formerly afforded. This peace was seconded by a kinde Invitation of *Francis* to our King to Christen the *Dauphines* Daughter, which being as lovingly accepted, Sir *Thomas Cheney* was sent over, and the child called *Elizabeth*. The two Admirals also were sent

July
 August

by

by their severall Kings, to receive the oaths required for observance of this Treaty; and being richly rewarded returned. Howbeit this Peace was not intire; for if our King conceived it lawfull to finish the fort, he had begun before the Treaty; the French wanted pretexts for the like; Therefore when upon their erecting a fort at *Portet*, near the entry to the Haven (which they called *Chastillons garden*) our men took exceptions thereat, the French for their best Title alledged that Monsieur *de Biez* had formerly begun it by entrenching his men there; yet as this did not satisfie our King who knew well the difference betwixt a Trench and Fortification, He commanded Sir *William Paget* to write thus to *William Lord Gray of Wilton* who now commanded in *Boulogne*.

Septem. 5.

After our hearty Commendations to your good Lordship, this shall be to signifie unto the same, That the Kings Majesty being informed that the Frenchmen begin to fortifie at *Portet*, which by their Treaty with his Majesty they ought not to do, requireth your Lordship to speak with the doers of the said Works, and to tell them it shall be best for them to stay working any further untill they shall hear from their Master; which without doubt, is like to be very shortly; for that his Majesties Ambassador hath charge to speak with him in the same immediately. And in case they shall answer again, that either they will not, or dare not leave working without the knowledge of Monsieur *de Biez*, or (peradventure) of such other whom they shall name to have the charge of the Works; and so go forwards still in their Works: Then his Majesty pleaseth, that if you shall finde your selves able enough for the feat, you shall in the night overthrow that which they have wrought. And in case you shall finde your selves not able enough for the said Enterprize; then to forbear the doing of it untill such time as a stronger Force come to you from hence, which shall be sent over with all diligence possible.

This 5 of Septemb. 1546.

This also was signed by the King. Nevertheless, upon better advice, the King thought fit to send Sir *Thomas Palmer* with a Message to the Lord *Grey*, commanding him immediately to demolish the Fort; who thereupon made that haste, as before the Letters came he arrived at *Boulogne*, being the very day of his dispatch; and presently, by the assistance of the Lord *Grey*, Mr *Paynings*, and some others, the French-mens Work was levelled; and so *Palmer* return'd to certifie what was done. And now the Kings Letters being delivered, the Lord *Grey* writes, that before the receipt of his Letters, he had (upon such relation of his Majesties pleasure as was made by Sir *Thomas Palmer*) overthrown the Work at *Portet*, and therefore desires his Majesties Pardon. Which passage I have related more particularly

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Records.

Fox.
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ly out of our Records, that I might correct the error of some of our Historians, who would have our King deliver *Palmer* a Message and Letter that were contradictory: whereas it appears by our Records, that the Message was first delivered, and the businesse done before the Letters came. Though I will not deny, but the Lords of the Councel, knowing the Letter was sent, but not (perchance) any thing of the Message, might have occasion to think the Lord *Grey* more forward, then that he could well justifie it. Howsoever, Monsieur de *Biez* complains hereof to the Lord *Grey*, and desires to know whether it were done by his Majesties command. What he answer'd, I finde not: But it appears by the Instructions given to *Nicholas Wotton* the Kings Ambassadour with *Francis*, that he had charge to palliate the businesse as handsomly as he could; which also so prevail'd, that no new Fortification was erected by the French during our Kings time. Besides, our Records tell us, hope was now given, that *Francis* would renounce the Pope's Authority in his Kingdom: which, though much entertain'd at first by our King, and judg'd the more probable, that the Emperor and Pope did wholly govern the Councel, was not yet so thoroughly embraced, lest (perchance) by Confiscations, Suppressions, &c. *Francis* might become greater then stood with the Interest of State or Neighbourhood: And for *Paget*, he said openly, it was but a trick to get *Boulogne* again; *Francis* being not able to give any security for performance of this offer, which might countervail the immediate surrendring of that Place. Howbeit, Arguments wanted not, that he was in earnest, both as he treated of a Confederation with the Protestants at this time; who yet (as I finde by our Records) rejected it, unlesse he relinquish'd the Papal Authority: And, as he lived in such jealousy of State with the Emperor; which together with the apprehension of the Assembly at *Trent*, now daily encreasing, might for more then one reason dispose him to seek Friends else-where, as well for defending himself against his Forraign Enemies, as establishing an absolute Power and Jurisdiction at home. And with this concurs that which *Fox* relates: That during the stay of *d'Annebault* in this Court, Treaty was had betwixt both Princes of changing the Mass in their Realms unto a Communion: and that both were so thoroughly and firmly resolv'd therein, that they meant to exhort the Emperor to do the like in *Flanders*, and other his Dominions, or else to break with him; and that our King particularly had willed the Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* (as himself confessed) to pen a form to be sent to the French King to consider of. But through the death of both Princes successively not long after, these and all other their Designs ended: Though yet for the time which remained, their former love and correspondence was

was so reviv'd, as *Francis* is said (by the French Writers) never to have rejoyced heartily after the news of our Kings death was brought him. But I leave the censure of these passages free to the Readers judgment, without delivering any opinion, otherwise then as the Collections out of our Records seem to inferr.

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Tbuanus Hist.

Let us see now what was done by the Emperor and the Councel of Trent.

THE Emperor in the later end of 1545, being in *Flanders*, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Westminster* (formerly mentioned) resided with him on our Kings part: And because one of the Busineses of the French about this time was to offer a Match betwixt the Prince of *Spain* and the Daughter of *Francis*, our King commanded *Winchester* to hinder it, and propose the Lady *Elizabeth*. Also speech was had of a Marriage betwixt our Prince and one of *Ferdinand's* Daughters: But because neither of these took effect, I shall mention them no otherwise. Yet the Bishop of *Westminster* return'd not home, as being imployed by our King into *Germany*, to give intelligence of that which pass'd. For now in *January* 1546 the Protestants met at *Franckfort*: And as they knew the Emperor intended a Voyage into *Germany*, they consulted concerning their mutual defence, knowing that both the Spiritual and Temporal Sword should be drawn against them.

January.

This while the Assembly at *Trent* holding, the *Breve* for exempting the Bishops from payment of their Tenth came: Yet as this did rather accommodate then secure them, 300 Foot and some Horse, being gathered out of the County of *Trent*, were appointed to make a Guard as they pass'd to Church, being now, besides the Legats and the Cardinal of *Trent*, four Arch-Bishops, twenty eight Bishops, three Abbots, and four Generals (in all forty three;) among which was *Richard Pate*, heretofore Ambassador to the Emperor for our King, but now fallen to the Pope, and by him stiled Bishop of *Worcester*; and *Robert Venant* titular Arch-Bishop of *Armach*; together with *Olaus Magnus* Arch-Bishop of *Upsaile*; all which had been some yeers entertain'd with Pensions from the Pope: Besides, there were about twenty Divines, which though they had no seat in the Councel, were admitted to stand there; as also ten Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, of the Cardinal of *Trent's* election: And moreover a seat was particularly appointed for the Ambassadors which should assist there. And now question being of the Style of the Councel, the few French which were there, required, that to *Sacro-sancta Synodus* should be added *Universalem Ecclesiam representans*: But this was rejected; both

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to exclude the Protestants admittance under this Title, as also all Laicks; and, as it might be thought in some sort prejudicial to the Pope's supreme Authority. And so, *Jan. 7.* (being the second Session) they decreed an Exhortation to the Priests and People to serve God in Prayer, Alms, Sobriety, &c. The thirteenth of *January* it was moved that they would come to the Points contained in the Bull, being the Extirpation of Heresie, Reformation of Discipline, and establishing of Peace. And concerning this there were four opinions.

The Imperialists said, before they touched matter of Doctrine, it was necessary to take away those transgressions whence Heresies have sprung.

The second opinion was, To begin with Doctrine, since Faith being the Basis of Religion, it was a greater sin to erre therein, then in Manners: and therefore that the Pope had placed it first in his Bull.

The third was, That the two Points of Reformation and Faith should not be dis-joyned, there being no Doctrine which hath not its abuse, nor Abuse that draws not after it an ill Interpretation of some Doctrine. And that this was the best way to give a speedy and happy conclusion to the Council, which they should chiefly endeavour; there being no advantage likely to ensue to the Pope or Court of *Rome* by the protracting thereof.

The fourth sort (and among them the French particularly) would have had the Point of Peace first treated of, and that other Princes might be required to send their Ambassadors and Prelats thither; And that the Lutherans might be invited to come and unite themselves to the rest of Christendom. The Legats having heard their opinions, and commended their wisdom, said, that because the hour was late, the deliberation important, and the opinions various, they would think upon it. Order also was taken to hold their Congregations weekly on Mundayes and Fridayes. The Legats hereupon advertised the Pope of that which passed, desiring his advice, and that he would take order for supporting of the poorer Bishops; it being better they should not be there, then ill satisfied. Howbeit, the Pope delayed his Reply, as having his minde wholly bent to War, according to the Treaty which Cardinal *Farnese* had with the Emperor the yeer preceding. This much perplex'd the Legats, as not knowing how to proceed: Nevertheless, upon private conference among themselves, they agreed to treat of Matter of Faith and Reformation together: but withall, entertain'd the time, upon pretence that many Prelats were on their way. Cardinal *Poole* proposed, that since in all ancient Councils some Symbol of Faith was published, they should do the like in this: But concerning this Symbol of Faith

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Faith there was some difficulty; since to recite the old, would not convince the Lutherans, who believ'd it as well as the Catholics: Besides, that it were to confess, that they durst not handle the controverted Points, or treat of a Reformation. But upon further dispute hereof, it was resolved by the Major part for the Affirmative; and in the Third Session (*Feb. 4.*) the Creed was barely recited: the Cardinal *de Monte* disliking that any Point should be added afterwards, lest some inconvenience should follow. The next Session was adjourn'd to *April* the 8, upon the aforesaid pretence, that many Prelats were on their journey.

Feb. 4.
Ses. III.

The Court of *Rome*, who now understood of that which pass'd, (though heretofore much startled at the name of a Reformation, as knowing not how far it might extend) yet generally liked this late Decree, as being worthy the proceeding of a General Council: Others yet approving it onely as it was dilatory, while there wanted not some, who took occasion to pasquil it.

Concil. Trid.
lib. 2.

This while the Emperor being in *Flanders*, prepares for *Germany*, both as the Diet and Conference of Divines was appointed at *Ratisbone*, and as the Council of *Trent* did hold: Yet, lest he should alarm the Protestants, he took with him onely his ordinary Guard, being 500 Horse. And now the Conference holding, and divers Propositions made on the Emperors part, the Affair insisted on was matter of Religion; where the Point of Justification being brought in question, took up much time, without having other conclusion, yet, then perplex'd and abrupt: Insomuch, that the Duke of *Saxe* recall'd his Divines, and *Martin Bucer* return'd to the Lantgrave of *Hesse*; which, whether it were that the Protestants fore-saw the Emperors intention was to amuse them with Conferences, while himself prepar'd for War; or that otherwise they found no hope of coming to an Agreement, is uncertain: Howsoever, the Emperor, when he came to the Diet, seemed much offended at their departure; though, as during these Conferences *Martin Luther* died in the *LXIII* yeer of his age, hee doubted not more easily to appease Controversies, as believing *Luther* to be of so violent a spirit, as he would interrupt any moderate Accord. Howbeit, for declining an affront, in case the Protestants should come to no Agreement at the future Diet, he made Preparations for War; which yet he could not keep so secret, but the Protestants understood it, and fortified themselves. Whereupon also *Philip* Count Palatine Nephew to *Frederic* the Elector, was dispatched into *England* to intreat for Succours: He had besides, his private Business; which (as our Records tell us) was to obtain the Princess *Mary*, our Kings Daughter. Neither did our King seem averse, when

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Frederic the Elector would perform certain Conditions required of him : but as this took no effect, I shall come to the particular of his publick Business, treated chiefly by *John Bruno* ; which was a Confederation projected betwixt our King and the Protestants. The Conditions proposed by our King were to this effect :

That if the said Princes would send some wise and discreet Agents fully instructed, and with them the names of the Members of the League, and what Aids every one is bound to give, and in what cases, and whether they will stand to the old Rates or to new, now to be made when his Majesty shall enter the League ; his Majesty would be pleased to enter a League with them defensive against all men, and for all causes, and will be bound to such a rate of Aid as may besit his Honour and Quality ; So that he may have the first place in the League, which for more honour, should be called *The League Christen* : with such conditions likewise, That no other should be admitted to this League, but such as are already entertain'd into the same, without his Majesties consent. And because they would look for a greater Aid at his Majesties hands then of any other Prince or City in this League, his Majesty would look by Covenant to have in all Meetings concerning the Confederacy, three Voyces to two of any other Prince. Concerning the union of the said Princes together, and of his Majesty with them all in Doctrine of Religion, his Majesty thanketh them that they are content to follow the advice of his Majesty upon such considerations and Conferences as their learned Men and his shall have together in his Majesties presence, following the holy Scripture, or the determination of the Primitive Church, or General Councils had before five or six hundred yeers : For which purpose his Majesty promiseth to take pains to be present himself, and trusteth (such men being sent from them as be learned, and men of upright judgements, without affection, and of good conformity) to be the Caufer of such a conjunction in Religion in all Christendom, as shall tend to the glory of God. For the which purpose his Majesty requireth them now when they shall send some Commissioners to conclude the League Defensive, to send also the names of ten or twelve men, to the intent his Majesty may chuse four, five, or six out of the same ; which his Majesty requireth to have sent hither according to the promise already made, as soon as may be. To which the Protestants finally answered, That if our King would depositate an hundred thousand Crowns in some part of *Germany*, where they might take it when they were invaded for Religion, then they would preferr his friendship before the French, who now treated with them. But this again was rejected by our King, since for a bold demand they offered nothing

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nothing equivalent: yet he continued his Treaty with the Palatine, so far forth as he might detain the Protestants from suffering the French to gather men in *Germany* for the recovering of *Boulogne*, and from submitting themselves to the Council of *Trent*, and encourage them to frame their Religion according to the Word of God, which, he said, was the true Rule. But the Germans, who knew at what distance our King lived, did not much regard any advices which were not seconded with mony: therefore they trusted to themselves, and our King (as above, said) made Peace with the French.

On the other side, as the Emperors presence operated much in *Germany*, so the Match which *Ferdinand* had made of his Daughter *Anne* to the Son of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Mary* to the Duke of *Cleves*, did not a little strengthen his Party. Beside, the Pope offered him twelve thousand Foot, eight hundred Horse, and 300000 Duckats in money (as *Sandoval* hath it) and to procure him assistance from others, without omitting particularly to promise his best assistance in a Spiritual way; while, to make the Protestants more culpable of drawing this War upon them, he sent to his Legats in the Council of *Trent* to proceed calmly (without beginning any new difficulties) in matter of Faith: and to make no haste in point of Reformation, though urged by the Emperor. Hereupon, the Legats commanded certain Fryars and Divines to extract those Articles out of the Lutherans Books which seemed contrary to their Faith. Where (among others) the Authority of the holy Scriptures and Traditions was first examined. And here their Divines differed; some affirming they were all one, the Scripture it self being derived unto us but by Tradition: Moreover, *St. Augustines* words were urged, *That he should not beleieve the Scriptures, but for the authority of the Church.* Which therefore should first be settled, and then used for deciding of Controversies, and convincing the Lutherans. But then the question was, Which, and what was the Church? and whether the Hierarchy, and more properly the Council whereof the Pope was the Head? But it was not thought safe to call these things into doubt. Then they fell again to treat of the Scripture and Traditions; and whether it hath accidentally come to passe, that it being all taught, some part was not put in writing: Some holding, that the Church had its perfection before any of the Apostles writ, and would have continued so, if nothing had been set down in writing. But that this question and the like being not formerly proposed by the Lutherans, might well be omitted for Peace sake; which clause was check'd by Cardinal *Pool*, who said, it was fitter for a Conference in *Germany*, then a Council: Adding, that one of two things was to be done, that is, either the Lutherans brought to receive all the Roman Doctrine;

Sleid. li. 17.

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II.

ctrine; or when they would not, that all their Errors should be discovered, to shew the world how impossible it was to come to an Agreement.

Then it was resolved, that a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Scripture should be made as they are accepted by the Roman Church, without regarding whether the Jews received them or not. But here some difficulties were urged; some of those Scriptures having been alwayes received, others (though doubtful) having by use yet obtained Canonical Authority: that is to say, the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, that of St. *James*, the Second of St. *Peter*, the Second and Third of S. *John*, that of St. *Jude*, and the *Apocalyps*, and some particles of the Evangelists. Besides which, there were in the old Testament Seven Books never averred, and some Chapters of *Daniel* and *Hester*, and especially the Book of *Baruch*, as wanting his beginning; though some esteem'd it a part of *Jeremiah*. At length, all the Books usually put in the Latin Bible were judg'd Canonical, and Traditions to be of equall Authority with the Scripture: Nevertheless, doubts were raised concerning putting the Books of the Scripture into order. This while *Petrus Paulus Vergerius*, Bishop of *Justinopolis* in *Istria*, coming to the Council, was repulsed: For, as he had been employed in *Germany* against the Lutherans with so little advantage to the Pope, as while he laboured to confute the Protestants, himself became one; so they would not admit him, though he pretended his businesse was onely to purge himself, but remanded him to the Pope, who shortly after deprived him of his Bishoprick.

March 8.

III.

And now that being declared without more adoe to be holy Scripture, which the Roman Church had received, question arose concerning the Translation of it. Some saying, that to understand onely the Latin Text, was not to receive the infallible word of God, but that of the Translator; and therefore that the Originals should be viewed, and a Translation made which the Council should declare Authentick. But if this should seem a long Work, it were good (at least) to verifie their Latin Translation with the Original Text: Howbeit, the greater part said it was necessary to hold the Latin Translation to be Divine and Authentick, since otherwise they would be obnoxious to the Lutherans, and a gate opened to innumerable Heresies: For if men might examine Translations, All would be reduced to Pedantisme, and now Grammarians would give the law. Besides that, Inquisitors could not convince Hereticks without knowledge of the Original Tongues. Many other Points coincident hereunto were likewise handled, too long to be here rehearsed.

IV.

Then they came to the Exposition of Scriptures, and the ancient Fathers were declared as the Rule thereof.

In

In conclusion, it was required, whether all these determinations were to be enacted under the *Anathema* : In which, after much doubt, a middle course was held. So that the eighth of *April*, Session IV, two Decrees were read ; one to Authorise the Scriptures read in the Roman Church, and the Traditions received there, both concerning Faith and Manners : The second to declare the vulgar Translation to be Authentick, and that it should not be expounded contrary to the sense delivered by the Church, and unanimous consent of the Fathers : The Penalty in the first Decree being *Anathema*, in the second such as pleased the Ordinary. And so the next Session was deferred till the seventeenth of *June*, and these Decrees printed ; which, at length, being published in *Germany*, it was thought strange, that five Cardinals, and XLVIII Bishops onely, should so easily determine these great Points, without hearing what could be objected to the contrary.

About this time our King was certified by *Edmund Harvel*, his Ambassador at *Venice*, that the French laboured to procure a Censure against him in the Council. But as the Peace formerly mentioned between King *Henry* and *Francis* was shortly after concluded, so this took no effect.

And now the Pope thought fit to add divers to the number of those Cardinals and Prelats at *Rome* he used to advise with concerning the Council ; admonishing the Legats together at *Trent*, First, Not to publish any Decree henceforth, without approbation from *Rome*. Secondly, Not to spend time in Points not controverted. Thirdly, Above all things, to take heed of disputing the Papal Authority. Which being done, he required the Bishops and Abbots of the Swiss to come to the Council : he also proceeded against the Arch-Bishop of *Colen*, condemning, excommunicating and depriving him for adhering to the Lutherans : Furthermore, he intreated the Emperor to execute the Sentence. But he conceiving the Arch-Bishop was at his devotion ; and besides, knowing that such a rigorous proceeding would but Alarm the Protestants, and force the Arch-Bishop to colleague with them, neglected to perform this request : and the rather, that the Duke of *Saxe* had signified unto him, that he saw clearly the Pope's intentions were wholly bent to establish his own Authority : And therefore, that it was time to assemble a National Council in *Germany*, or to treat seriously of matter of Religion in the Diet.

And now the Council in Congregation proposed the Point of Original Sin : But the Spanish Prelats desired rather a Reformation of the abuses in Preaching and Lectures ; Adding, that they had express Letters from the Emperor, not to enter yet into matters of Doctrine : which also the intelligence found in our Records doth particularly affirm. The Legats (on the other

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Ses. IV.
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ther side) urged the Pope's Bull. In conclusion, both Points were resolved, and the Theologians enjoyned to handle matter of Faith among themselves, and with the assistance of some Canonists to treat of a Reformation. According to which order, Lectures and Preaching being first spoken of, some dissention appear'd: The Bishops desiring the ordering of these things should immediately depend on them: But the Legats concluding to maintain the Pontifical Authority, by which these duties were committed to Friars Mendicants, &c. This Controversie finding no issue, the Pope writ unto the Council, that they should begin with Original Sin; observing yet a due respect unto the Emperor. Notwithstanding, the Legats thought fit the businesse of Reading and Preaching should first be dispatched, which was not without some contention: For as it hath been an ancient *Arcanum Imperii* among the Popes for conserving their Jurisdiction, to exempt Bishops from their Arch-Bishops, and Abbots and Friars again from Bishops, &c. so some wrangling pass'd; while each part strove to maintain its Authority: The Bishops complaining of the vanity and covetousnesse of the Preaching Friars; and these again objecting the negligence of Bishops, and idlenesse of Parish Priests. But all at last, was (in a sort) reconciled, the Bishops being allowed Authority over the Regulars, onely when they would hold it as from the Pope. After which, the Point of Original Sin being brought into Examination, Cardinal *Paceco* a Spaniard, said, it was not yet time, nor untill the businesse of *Germany* were riper. Nevertheless, the question was argued; yet so, as it was protracted, both by the many difficulties of it, and the Diet at *Ratisbone*; which, beginning towards the end of *May*, made the Prelats intentive to its Proceedings. Our King not omitting also to inform himself of what should passe by the Bishop of *Westminster's* means, whom he had imployed thither. But little good followed of this Diet: For while the Roman Catholicks would not allow that Controversies of Religion should be decided in a National Council (as the Protestants desired;) nor they again submit to the Council of *Trent*, being in their opinion, a most partial and factious Assembly, the Emperor knew not what well to resolve: he would have been glad of such a Peace as might have conserved his Authority, without caring much to hear of Errors discovered in either of the opposite Parts; or that they had found out some witty and new distinction. But there is not any thing more hard then to devise how a free and equall Council may be held, or who should be a competent Judge of the emergent differences; since, as any of those who are Parties in the Businesse, cannot properly exercise that Function; so, to appeal to any other that were of a different Religion, should be not onely to call the parts, but the whole

whole

whole into question. Neverthelesse, it may be demonstrated, that a more even course may be kept herein then hath been hitherto practised, and a more indifferent for all mankind: Which as it is deeply concern'd in all the rigid Decrees of Religion, so in some sort or other should intervene; In which case, certainly the Spirit of God would preside.

The Emperor this while having made many secret Provisions for War, certain notice thereof came to the Protestants at the Diet, who because hee had made Peace with *France*, and Truce for one yeer with the Turk, did easily conjecture it was intended against them; especially it being related that the Pope and *Ferdinand* did arm; so that every thing was in confusion. The Emperor used much industry to draw all those Protestants who were not Collegued with the rest at *Smalcald*, unto his party, telling them this War was onely against Rebels, and promising them the Exercise of their Religion.

June.

The Protestants, on the other side, declared in a publick Remonstrance; That the Emperors intentions were far other then he pretended; exhorting therefore both them and one another to stand firm.

This while the Council held the Fifth Session, and two Decrees passed: 1. Concerning *Originall Sin*, and the Benefit of *Baptisme*, &c. 2. Concerning *Lectures and Preaching*; where in the Bishops and Clergy were commanded to be diligent and carefull. This being done, the French Ambassador *Petrus Dannesius* made a long and eloquent Oration, shewing the affection their Kings had ever born to the Christian Religion: and how that *Gregory* the First had for this cause given the Title of *Catholique* to *Childebert*; And that his King had therefore sent him Ambassadour thither, desiring first, that some determination might be made in Religion; then that those Priviledges should be conserved, of which *Lodovicus Plus* was in Possession, and all the sequent Kings; and that the Priviledges and Immunities of the Church of *France* might be confirmed. To whom no Answer was given but a Complement.

Ses. V.

The Decrees being now printed and published in *Germany*, gave much occasion of discourse and unsatisfaction. The Emperor himself not liking that in the businesse of Reformation, the smaller Points had been handled, and the greater pretermitted; and that the Controversies in matter of Faith had been thus stirred, and especially that of *Original Sin*, as being almost reconciled in some former Conferences in *Germany*. And now the Cardinal of *Trent* having absolutely concluded that League betwixt the Pope and the Emperor against the Protestants, and those which refused the Council of *Trent*, (which by the Cardinal *Farnese* his means was formerly treated

June 26.

Sleid. l. 17.

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Sleidan.
Concil. Trident.

Sleidan. l. 17.

July 4.

July.

July 11.
July 20.

June 18.

of) all sides prepar'd for War : The Pope also sending men and money in that proportion which is above mentioned, or (as some will have it) besides the twelve thousand Foot, only five hundred Horse, to be maintained for six months at his charge, and 200000 Crowns in money. Moreover, he granted the Emperor (for the present year) the half of all the Revenues of the Churches of *Spain*, and that he might alienate of the Rents of the Monasteries of these Kingdoms, to the value of five hundred thousand Crowns, upon condition that during the said six months, the Emperor might make no Accord with the Protestants without him ; and that of all which was gotten, hee should have a certain portion : And that when the time was expired, if the War did continue, they should treat of new Conditions. It being free for the Emperor (in the mean while) to try all fair means for reducing the Protestants to submit to this Council : for which end also he treated with them, professing that he did not undertake this War for cause of Religion, but respects of State, and because some denyed to obey his Laws, and had confederated themselves mutually, and with Strangers against him, and usurped other mens Possessions, and chiefly Ecclesiastical, procuring to make Bishopricks and Abbeyes hereditary to their Families ; and that having divers ways endeavoured to reduce them, they were still more insolent. The Protestants, on the other side, did strive to clear themselves unto the World from imputation of Rebellion, shewing, that Religion onely was cause of this War, which the Pope and Council of *Trent* had kindled against them : Requiring from the Emperor performance of the Oath he took upon receiving his dignity in *Francfort*, which they pretended he had broken in this abrupt making of War. They sent also to *England* and *France* (being newly reconciled) to borrow money. But our King answered, That the course of things being now altered, he could not resolve on any thing without better information. Nevertheless, that upon their standing firm together, he might furnish some money upon fitting conditions. This caused the Protestants to make new Levies at home : And the rather, that the Pope had about this time by Bull published, that the War was for Religion.

And now *Philip* Lantgrave of *Hesse* having his Forces ready, comes into the Field, and the Duke of *Saxe* after ; whereupon they both were proscrib'd by the Emperor (then being at *Ratisbone*) who breaking up the Diet, commanded another to be held the first of *Febr.* 1547.

This while the Council of *Trent* sitting, the Secretary declared (in the name of the Legats) that the next point to be examined, was that of *Divine Grace* ; and they should the rather follow

follow this Order, because it was used in the *Augustan* Confession, which they intended to condemn. Neverthelesse, the the Imperialists urged still a Reformation : But being overruled, certain Theologians were appointed to gather the Lutherans opinions.

That of Justification, Faith and Works was proposed in XXV Articles. But when the point of Justification by Faith was urged, the word FAITH was found ambiguous; yet at last all agreeing, that Justifying Faith was an Assent to all things revealed by God, and proposed by the Church as necessary. It was further distinguished into a solitary, dead, merely Historical Faith, and a lively one working by Charity. Then was disputed which of these did justifie; and some affirmed both: the first whereof was to be understood yet as the Basis and Ground of the later : And here many School subtilties arising, were hotly pursued by the Dominicans on the one side, and Franciscans on the other; the former holding (with *Luther*) that all our Works without Faith are sin; the Franciscans opposing, that man by his naturall free-will may observe the Law, and do good, and thereby prepare himself, *ex congruo*, for Grace; since God fails not him who doth what hee can. After this they fell to examine the nature of Grace, of Justification, of Imputation, &c. Concerning which the Reader may finde more in *Concilio Tridentino*. Onely I shall observe (as conducing to my History) that these Disputes were thus purposely spun out, partly, by the procurement of the Emperor, who still desired that nothing should yet be decreed in matter of Faith; and partly by the industry of the Court of *Rome*, who studied to hinder the Reformation.

The Emperor now, that he might divide the Protestants, encourageth *Maurice* Duke of *Saxe* Cosen-German to the Elector, and Son-in-law to the Lantgrave, to invade the States of those proscribed Princes: to which also he was sufficiently disposed. This while the Pope did a little temporize: For though he knew the Emperor would be obnoxious to him, as long as there was so manifest an use of his Assistance; yet withall, he did not desire *Charles* should be too absolute in *Germany*, lest afterwards he should turn his Arms upon *Italy*, and give the Law to his Country and Religion, upon pretence that there was no other way to conserve Peace. Neither were the Catholicks themselves in *Germany* over forward to take his part, lest under colour of reducing Religion to its former state by Arms, he would overthrow their Liberty. For preventing whereof, as well as divers other suspicions among the Protestants (that the Council of *Trent* was assembled onely to condemn them) he sent again to the Pope, to desire that the Coun-

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cel might continue, and the Legats might treat onely of a Reformation. To which, because he knew some were averse, he directed a particular Message unto the Cardinal *Santa Croce*, telling him, that if he offered to dissolve the Council, he would cause him to be thrown into the River *Adice*. The Pope finding the Emperor thus in earnest, continues the Council; writing yet to the Legats, that they should entertain the time: And for this purpose Fastings, Prayers, and a Jubile (now published for the good successe of this War) did serve. Neither was it without cause; the Protestants Army being now drawn neer *Tiroll* to hinder the Italians from joyning with the Imperialists. The danger whereof being magnified by the more timorous sort of Bishops, many were desirous to retire, while some fled from the Council. But the Cardinal of *Trent* newly returned from *Rome*, comforted those which remained. And now the Pope's and other the Italian Auxiliary Forces passing by *Trent* into *Germany*, another way then the Protestants expected, they at last at *Landshut* in *Bavaria* joyned with the Emperor; who bestowed upon *Ottavio Farnese* (their General) the Order of the *Toison*, and took a muster of his men: The Protestant Army being at *Donawert*, which they had newly taken, and in that readines, that they attended only their advantage to fight.

But we will leave them in this posture a while, to tell a notable accident which happened at *Malines* in *Brabant*, 7 August, 1546. Certain barrells of Powder, to the number of seven hundred, being stowed in the bottom of a great Tower, Lightning falling thereon, and kindling it, the Tower was raised from his foundations on high, and scattered in the air; the stones whereof flying every way, threw down two hundred houses in the City, and as many in the Suburbs, kill'd five hundred men, and hurt two thousand; the winde whereof brake glasse-windows every-where, and opened many locks. Besides which, it had this prodigious effect, that it dreyed up all the water in a ditch adjoyning, being a Pike deep, and levelled the earth, rooting up together many trees; of which kinde, it was observed, that those which lost onely their leaves and fruit, budded again, and bore in Autumn.

But it seems more strange which *Stow* relates, that in *England* this yeer a Potter falling asleep April 27. could not be wakened in fourteen dayes and nights, finding himself yet afterwards as if he had taken but one nights rest.

The Duke of *Saxe* and Lantgrave of *Hesse*, who commanded the Protestant Army, being composed of seventy or eighty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse and an hundred Canon, thought it unjust to begin the War till they had sent the Emperor a Defie: Stiling him yet therein not by that name; but

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as a Pretender to be Emperor. He on the other side, little regarding the Language, endeavoured one while to overthrow, and another while to divide them. The whole passage whereof may be seen in *Luis d'Avila*, to whom I refer the Reader. And the rather, that his Excellence Prince *Maurice de Nassau*, did recommend the Book to me, more then once, as a Master-piece in its kind.

While these Armies coast each other, the Legats in *Trent* (now free from the Soldatesq;) advised how to delay the time, admitting new matters, which also their intemperate disputes did furnish. The Cardinal *Santa Croce* projecting also, That the former Controversie should be renew'd of Preparatory Works, Observance of the Law, &c. Whereupon the point of Free-will was brought into question, and certain Opinions of the Reformers, therein odiously proposed. From whence arose a question, whether Believing and not believing were in our power? and many things said thereupon, (it seeming at last equally absurd to believe all things to be in our Power, and nothing.) These Points again begot distinctions, and at last brought in the Article of Predestination, which with the consequences was so hard, as being disputed by the Prelates and Divines in a hundred Congregations, and afterward reduced into a form of Decree by the Cardinall *Santa Croce*: yet he had so much ado to content all sides, that from the beginning of September to the end of November, each day some words therein were altered; yet so, as at length it past, and was sent to the Pope, who remitted it to the learned men at *Rome*, by whom it was approved, as being conceived in such terms: that all parts might fit and apply it to their own Opinions. In the point of Reformation, the qualities required for the Promotion of Prelates was handled, and many good things said, but the means how to observe them were as little found, as how to bind their superiours to do always that which was fitting. So that after divers discourses, it was thought fit to leave off this Point: Much was said also, concerning Matters of Residency; The particulars whereof produced that Controversie, as in the year 1562. and 1563. came to a great height. The present contention was between the Spanish Prelats; who for the magnifying of the Episcopall dignity, held that Residence was *Ex jure Divino*; and the Italian Bishops, who for sustaining the Popes Authority, said, It was Commanded by him only, and therefore might be dispensed with, &c. But this dispute being put off by the Legats, the Ancient Canons for Residency were Revived, and some new ones enacted, which were the more willingly accepted, in that the abuse of Exemptions of Regular and Secular Priests from the Jurisdiction of their Ordinary, was moderated.

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The

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October

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Novemb. 23.

Novemb. 4.

Jan. 25. 1547.

October

The Emperor now having heard that our King treated with the Protestants, expostulated the matter with him. But the King denyed, He intended any Aid to the Protestants; saying yet, that if he sought Friendship abroad he was not to be blamed; since the Emperor in his new Treaty with the Bishop of *Rome*, had agreed to fall on those that refused the Bishops Authority, and the Councel of *Trent*; wherein, though the King were not particularly named, yet that He was taken for a Lutheran. Nevertheless, that He Treated not with the Protestants, and therefore wish'd the Emperor to have a better opinion of him, since if He would have given credit to his advice, He needed not to have entred those dangers He was in. And now the Pope hearing how things pass'd, commanded the Cardinal *Farnese* to return. For though the Emperor by secret fomenting that emulation for Command which passed between the Duke of *Saxe* and *Lantgrave*, was in a good way to compass his ends; yet because He made not an overt War of Religion, the Pope both recall'd the Cardinal, and permitted some of the Italian Gentry to come with him. Nevertheless, about the midst of October, the two Armies met so near together about *Giengen* in *Suabe*, that only a little River parted them. Where also the Protestants omitted a notable Opportunity of falling on the Imperialists; some blows yet past, and *Donawert* was regain'd by *Ottavio Farnese*: Shortly after which the Duke of *Saxe* was constrain'd to retire to his own Country, for the defence thereof, against *Ferdinand* and *Maurice* who invaded it; and the *Lantgrave* to his. Of which our King was particularly advertised by *Somerſet* his Herauld, who accompanying *Bruno*, (now returning from *England* to the Protestant Army) observ'd all Occurrences. The Protestant Forces now being withdrawn, divers Princes and Cities of that League, treated of an Accommodation with the Emperor, when they might have some honest Caution for the exercising of their Religion. But the Emperor would give none by writing, though otherwise promise was made by the Imperiall Ministers, that they should not be molested. And thus the Emperor recovered much great Ordnance, and huge summs of Money from some Cities by way of Reparation for their faults, and rested absolute Sovereign of the upper and greater part of *Germany*; whereby he was enabled to give Law to the rest, and to constrain *Herman* Archbishop of *Colen* (which had lately appeal'd from the Pope to a lawfull Councell in *Germany*) to surrender his Archbishoprick. Which state of things being advertised hither, Our King thought fit to comply with the Emperor, for this purpose also acquainting him with some Passages, which might give him just occasion to be Jealous of *Francis*. For though (by the advice of the Cardinal of *Tournon*) to make his Authority at home

home more entire, He had lately Condemned to the fire certain Citizens of *Meaulx*, who Combin'd for a private Reformation in Religion, yet He treated with the Protestants at this time.

The Pope also hearing of that which pass'd, began to think of his own Affairs, before all *Germany* were reduc'd to the Emperors obedience: Infomuch, that though His Forces were much diminished, (between those that return'd with the Cardinal, and others that ran away) He yet recall'd the rest about the middle of December, upon pretence that they had stayed the 6 Months which he had promised; Alleading for further excuse, That he was not able to sustain the Charge. But this being ill taken by the Emperor, since the heads of the Rebellion (as he termed them) were not yet taken in; the Pope for his further Justification, replied, That he was not made partaker of the Accord betwixt the Emperor and the Cities and Princes: And that it was much to the prejudice of the Catholique Faith, in tolerating Heresie, which might have been exterminated. Besides, that according to the Articles of their Treaty, he should have participated of the Profits and spoils of the Warr. And not content herewith, he denyed the Emperor the further Revenues of the Spanish Clergy. So that though the Imperiall Ministers at Rome told him, He had done nothing unless he perfected his Work, they could not prevail. For further testimony also of his displeasure to the Emperor, raising a Faction in *Geneva* against the *Dorcaes*, being the Emperors friends.

Neither did he (as some have it) fear, that the Emperor (having so much to do in *Germany*) could hastily invade him, or trouble him, otherwise then by according with the Protestants, and causing them to repair to the Council of *Trent*, which yet he thought not fit to dissolve, though Seven months had past, without publishing any thing treated therein. So that, notwithstanding he knew that the Emperor would be discontented at his rigid proceedings in matters of Doctrine, he used the Florentine Motto, *Cosa fatta capo ha*: And thereupon writ to the Legats, that they should hold a Session, and publish the Decrees already made; which also was done, the Protestants yet questioning the Authority of them. Among the Cities of *Germany* that submitted, *Ulms* was one; where also the Emperor wintered, with intention to continue War the next Spring; which the Protestants understanding, thought fit (though once suing for Peace) to send severall Ambassadors into *England* and *France* to demand succours (though in vain) both Kings dying shortly after.

While businesse of Religion was thus treated of abroad, our king by Proclamation did severely forbid the Translation of

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of the New Testament, by *Tindal* and *Coverdale*, or any other then is permitted by Parliament: As also the English Books of *Frith*, *Wickliffe*, *Tindal*, &c. which our King most studiously suppress; both that because he would have his Subjects decline the bitter language and Doctrine to be found in some of them, and that hee would introduce his own; or at least a more sober Reformation. Whereof also hee was more sensible; that women began now ordinarily to dispute controversies, and urge the Text: insomuch, that *Anne Askew*, a Gentlewoman, defended her self therewith against her persecuters; though not so, but that she was burnt for it. Besides, the Queen her self did this yeer run no little danger: for as she began about this time to give ear unto those who declaimed against the abuses of the Roman Church, she thought her self so well instructed in Religion, that she would debate with the King thereof: which yet the King did but impatiently hear; both as the anguish of a sore leg he had at this time made him very froward, and as he loved not to be contradicted in his opinions, especially, as he said, in his old age, and by his Wife. This again was exaggerated by *Stephen Gardner* Bishop of *Winchester* so far, that by representing the hazard she incurr'd by contrarying the Six Articles, and the late Proclamation, in reading of forbidden Books, and teaching openly her doctrine, the King gave *Winchester*, and *Wriothesley* the Chancellor, and others leave to consult about the drawing of Articles against her, which they failed not to present unto the King, who subscribed them: Insomuch, that her enemies expected onely a Warrant for carrying her by night to the Tower. Which the Queen accidentally having notice of, fell into that passion and bitter bewailing her misfortune, that the King hearing the perplexity she was in, sent his Physicians, and after came himself to her Chamber, where compassionating her estate, he used such kinde words as did help to recover her. Insomuch, that the next night, being attended by the Lady *Anne* her Sister, Wife to Sir *William Herbert* after Earl of *Pembroke*, she went unto the Kings Bed-chamber, where he courteously welcomed her, and began again to talk of Religion.

But she wittingly excusing her self by the weaknesse of her Sexe and Judgement, said, she would refer her self in this and all other causes, to his Majesties wisdom. Not so (by Saint *Mary*) quoth the King, you are become a Doctor, *Kate*, to instruct us (as we take it) and not to be instructed or directed by us. But the Queen replying, that what she said was rather to passe away the time and pain of his infirmity, then to hold argument; and that she hoped by hearing his Majesties learned discourse, to receive some profit thereby. The King answered, And is it even so (Sweet-heart?) then are we perfect friends again:

again : which also he confirmed by divers testimonies. But as her Maligners knew nothing of this reconciliation, they prepared the next day to carry her to the Tower, at a time limited by the Kings Warrant. This being come, and she happening to be merrily talking with him in his Garden, the Lord *Wriothesley* with forty of the Guard comes in ; whom the King sternly beholding, and after calling to him (at some distance from the Queen) so expostulated the matter, as at last he reviled, and commanded him out of his sight and presence. Nevertheless, at the Kings return, she was an humble suitor for his pardon. But the King answered no otherwise, then that she (poor soul) did not know how evil he deserved this grace at her hands. And thus, by her opportune submission she escaped : Though yet some beleeve, it was not so much the Kings intention herein to use the rigour of the Law, as to deter her from reading forbidden Books. Howsoever, if he were not in earnest, it was thought a terrible jest, especially to a Queen, that had the reputation of a vertuous, humble, and observant Wife. But *Winchester*, who (it was thought) chiefly endeavoured her ruine, did himself not long after fall into the Kings disfavour, as by his submission extant in our Records doth appear : though whether on this occasion, or that he was a speciall friend to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was now also in disgrace with the King (as shall be told hereafter), or any other cause, is not there determined. Howsoever, the King excluded him out of the number of those whom he appointed his Executors, and Counsellors to his Son and Successor, *Edward VI.*

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Decemb. 2.

Concerning Scottish Businesse this yeer, little pass'd worth the writing, that I can find, save onely that King *Henry* sent the Earl of *Lenox* into *Ireland* with Command, that together with the Earl of *Ormond*, and a certain Lord of the out-Scottish Isles (as he termed himself) who had adhered to our King, should fall upon *Scotland* : But as the Enterprize was discovered, they were forced to retire to *Dublin*, where the said Scottish Lord, who brought three Gallies with him for this Enterprize, died.

This while Cardinal *Beton* persecuting those of the Reformed Religion in that Countrey, was himself slain at *St. Andrews* in his Castle, by certain Gentlemen who surprized the place ; and after defended it, until the Governour besieged and (at last) took it by the help of some succour which the French sent them in their Gallies. That kinde of Shipping being so built in those dayes, that they brook'd our Seas with no little advantage, when the times were fair.

May 19.

I shall conclude this yeer with the disaster of the renowned Lord the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the execution of his Son *Henry*

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the Earl of *Surrey*, which pass'd in this manner, as our Records tell us.

The Dutchesse *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, having for many yeers entertained so violent jealousies of the Duke her Husbands matrimoniall affection and loyalty, as it broke out at last to open rancor, divers occasions of scandal were given: Infomuch, that not being content with having surmized a long while since two Articles against him, she again in sundry Letters to the Lord Privie Seal, both averr'd the Articles, and manifestly accused some of his Minions, repeated divers hard usages she pretended to receive from them, and briefly discovered all the ordinary passions of her offended sex. This again being urged in a time when the King was in his declining age, and for the rest, disquieted with scruples, that the Duke's Greatnesse or Interests in sequent times might interrupt the order he intended to give, was not unwillingly heard. So that notwithstanding his many important and faithfull Services, both in War and Peace, at home and abroad, he and his Son *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* were exposed to the malignity and detraction of their accusers. This again fell out in an unfortunate time: For besides that the Lady his Dutchesse had now for above four yeers been separated from him; his Son the Earl of *Surrey* was but newly, and perchance, scarce reconciled with him; his Daughter *Mary* Dutchesse of *Richmond* not onely inclined to the Protestant party, (which loved not the Duke) but grown an extreme enemy of her Brother: so that there was not onely a kinde of intestine division in his Family, but this again many secret ways fomented.

Among which, the industry of one Mrs *Holland*, thought to be the Duke's Favourite, appeared not a little, as desirous (at what price soever) to conserve her self. Besides, divers at the Kings Counsell disaffected him, and particularly the Earl of *Holland*, as knowing that after the Kings death (now thought to be imminent) none was so capable to oppose him in the place he aspired to of Protector. All which circumstances concurring, and being voyced abroad, encouraged divers of his Adversaries to declare themselves: And the rather, because it was notorious, how the King had not onely withdrawn much of his wonted favour, but promised impunity to such as could discover any thing concerning him.

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The first that manifested himself was Sir *Richard Southwell*, who said that he knew certain things of the Earl, that touched his fidelity to the King: The Earl, before the Lord Chancellor *Wriothesley*, the Lord *St. John*, the Earl of *Hertford*, and others, vehemently affirmed himself a true man, desiring to be tried by justice, or else offering himself to fight in his shirt with *Southwell*: But the Lords for the present onely committed them.

them. The Duke this while, hearing his Son was in trouble, sends to divers of his Friends to know the cause, and particularly to the Bishop of *Winchester*: Those Letters yet (it is probable) fell into the King's Council's hands; but could not preserve him from being involved in his Son's fortune: so that he was sent for, and the same day, not long after his Son, committed to the Tower. Divers persons also were examined concerning his Affairs. Mrs *Elizabeth Holland* being deposed, confess'd, that the Duke had told her, that none of the King's Council loved him, because they were no Noble-men born themselves; as also because he beleev'd too truly in the Sacrament of the Altar. Moreover, that the King loved him not, because he was too much lov'd in his Country; But that he would follow his Father's lesson, which was, That the lesse others set by him, the more he would set by himself. As also, that the Duke complained that he was not of the most secret (or, as it is there term'd, the Privie privie) Council. And that the King was much grown of his body, and that he could not go up and down the stairs, but was let up and down by a Device. And that his Majestie was sickly, and could not long endure; and the Realm like to be in an ill case through diversity of opinions. And that if he were a young man, and the Realm in quiet, he would ask leave to see *Vernacle*; which he said, was the picture of Christ given to women by himself as he went to death. As touching his Arms, that she had not heard the Duke speak of his own, but of his Son's, that he liked them not, and that he had gathered them himself knew not from whence; And that he placed the *Norfolk's* Arms wrong, and had found fault with him: And therefore that she should take no pattern of his Son's Arms to work them with her needle in his house, but as he gave them. Furthermore, she confessed that the Earl of *Surrey* lov'd her not, nor the Dutchesse of *Richmond* him; and that she addicted her self much to the said Dutchesse.

Mary Dutchesse of *Richmond* being examined, confess'd, That the Duke her Father would have had her marry Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Brother to the Earl of *Hertford*, which her Brother also desired, wishing her withall to endear her self so into the King's favour, as she might the better rule here as others had done; and that she refused: And that her Father would have had the Earl of *Surrey* to have matched with the Earl of *Hertford's* Daughter, which her Brother likewise heard of (and that this was the cause of his Father's displeasure) as taking *Hertford* to be his Enemy. And that her Brother was so much incensed against the said Earl, as the Duke his Father said thereupon, His Son would lose as much as he had gathered together.

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Moreover, That the Earl her Brother should say, These new men loved no Nobility; and if God call'd away the King, they should smart for it. And that her Brother hated them all since his being in custody in *Windsor* Castle; but that her Father seemed not to care for their ill will, saying, His truth should bear him out. Concerning arms she said, that she thought that her Brother had more then seven Rolls; and that some, that he had added more of *Anjou*, and of *Lancelott Du-lac*. And that her Father since the Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham*, (who bare the King's-Arms) where the Arms of her mother (Daughter to the said Duke) were rayned in his Coat, had put a blank-quarter in the place, but that her brother had reassum'd them. Also that in stead of the Dukes Coronet, was put to his Arms a Cap of maintenance purple, with powdered Furr, and with a Crown, to her judgment, much like to a close Crown, and underneath the Arms was a cipher, which she took to be the Kings cipher, *HR*. As also that her Father never said that the King hated him, but his Counsellors; but that her Brother said, the King was displeased with him (as he thought) for the losse of the great journey. Which displeasure, he conceived, was set forward by them who hated him, for setting up an Altar in the Church at *Boulogne*. And that her Brother should say, God long save my Fathers life; for if he were dead, they would shortly have my head. And that he reviled some of the present Council, not forgetting the old Cardinal. Also that he dissuaded her from going too far in reading the Scripture. Some passionate words of her Brother she likewise repeated, as also some circumstantiall speeches, little for his advantage; yet so, as they seemed much to cleer her Father.

Sir *Edmund Knevet* being examined, he knew no untruth directly by the Earl of *Sursey*, but suspected him of dissimulation and vanity: And that a servant of his had been in *Italy* with Cardinal *Poole*, and was received again at his return. Moreover, that he kept one *Pasquil* an Italian as a Jester, but more likely a Spy, and so reputed. He mentioned also one *Peregrine* an Italian entertain'd by the said Earl; adding, that he lov'd to converse with Strangers, and to conform his behaviour to them. And that he thought he had therein some ill device.

One *Thomas Pope* also informed the Council, that *John Freeman* told him, that the Duke (at *Nottingham*, in the time of the Commotion of the North) should say in the presence of an hundred persons, that the Act of *Uses* was the worst Act that ever was made, and that *Freeman* affirmed those words before the Lord *Audeley*, late Lord Chancellor. These depositions, together with others (as it seems) being brought to the King's Judges at *Normich*, they signified by their Letter unto the Lords of the Council, dated *Jan. 7.* that the King's Solicitor and Mr.

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Stamford had brought the Inditements, and that they were found true, and the Duke and his Son indited thereupon of High Treason; and that they made haste to bring the said Inditement to *London*; desiring further to know whether *Sir Thomas Paston*, *Sir Edmund Knevet*, *Sir John Peer* and others should be of the same Jury. Upon the 13 (the King being now dangerously sick) the Earl of *Surrey* was arraigned in *Guild-hall* in *London*, before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Maior, and other Commissioners. Where the Earl, as he was of a deep understanding, sharp wit, and deep courage, defended himself many ways: sometimes denying their accusations as false, and together weakning the credit of his adversaries; sometimes interpreting the words he said, in a far other sense then in that in which they were represented. For the point of bearing his Arms (among which those of *Edmund* the Confessor are related) alledging that he had the opinion of Heralds therein. And finally, when a witnesse was brought against him *vivâ voce*, who pretended to repeat some high words of the Earls by way of discourse, which concern'd him nearly, and that thereupon the said Witnesse should return a braving Answer; the Earl replied no otherwise to the Jury, then that hee left it to them to judge, whether it were probable that this man should speak thus to the Earl of *Surrey*, and he not strike him again. In conclusion, hee pleaded not guilty; but the Jury (which was a common Inquest, not of the Peers, because the Earl was not a Parliament Lord) condemn'd him. Whereupon also judgment of death was given, and he beheaded at *Tower hill*. And thus ended the Earl; a man learned, and of an excellent wit, as his compositions shew.

January. 19.

This while the King (though his sicknesse encreased) omitted not to give order to seize on the Duke's goods, and together to inform himself of all which might be materiall against him. Not forgetting also to cause *Wriothesley* to advertise the King's Ambassadors in forreign Parts, that the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son had conspired to take upon them the Government of the King during his Majestie's life, as also after his death to get into their hands the Lord Prince; but that their devices were revealed, and they committed to the Tower. And that for preventing uncertain bruits, they were willed to communicate the premisses. But the Duke, who had now as much merit of ancient service to plead for him, as any Subject of his time could pretend to, thought fit from the Tower to write unto the King in this manner.

Most gracious and mercifull Sovereign Lord, I your most humble Subject prostitute at your foot, do most humbly beseech your Highness to be my good and gracious Lord. I am sure some great Enemy of mine hath informed your Majestie

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of some untrue matter against me. Sir, God doth know, in all my life I never thought one untrue thought against you, or your Succession, nor can no more judge or cast in my mind what should be laid to my charge, then the childe that was born this night. And certainly, if I knew that I had offended your Majesty in any point of untruth, I would declare the same to your Highnesse. But (as God help me) I cannot accuse my self so much as in thought. Most noble and merciful Sovereign Lord, For all the old service I have done you in my life, be so good and gracious a Lord unto me, that either my Accusers and I together may be brought before your Royall Majesty; or if your pleasure shall not be to take that pains, then before your Council: Then if I shall not make it apparant that I am wrongfully accused, let me, without more respite, have punishment according to my deserts. Alas, most mercifull Prince, I have no refuge but onely at your hands, and therefore at the reverence of Christ's Passion have pity of mee, and let me not be cast away by false enemies Informations. Undoubtedly, I know not that I have offended any man, or that any man was offended with me, unlesse it were such as are angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for Sacramentaries. And as for all causes of Religion, I say now, and have said to your Majesty and many others, I do know you to be a Prince of such vertue and knowledge, that whatsoever Laws you have in times past made, or hereafter shall make, I shall to the extremity of my power stick unto them as long as my life shall last. So that if any men be angry with me for these causes, they do mee wrong. Other cause I know not why any man should bear me any ill will: and for this cause I know divers have done, as doth appear by casting Libels abroad against me. Finally, (most gracious Sovereign Lord) I most humbly beseech your Majesty to have pity of me, and let me recover your gracious favour, with taking of me all the Lands and Goods I have, or as much thereof as pleaseth your Highnesse to take, leaving me what it shall please you to appoint; and that according as is before written, I may know what is laid to my charge, and that I may hear some comfortable word from your Majesty. And I shall during my life pray for your prosperous estate long to endure.

Your most sorrowfull Subject,

THO. NORFOLK.

To the Lords he wrote thus:

Item, Most humbly to beseech, my Lords, That I might have some of the Books that are at *Lambeth*; for unlesse I may have

have Books to read ere I fall on sleep; and after I awake again, I cannot sleep, nor did not this dozen yeers.

Also to desire that I might have a Ghostly Father sent to me, and that I might receive my Maker.

Also that I might have Masse, and to be bound upon my life to speak no word to him that shall say Masse; which he may do in the other Chamber, and I to remain within.

Item, To have licence in the day time, to walk in the Chamber without, and in the night to be lock'd in, as I am now. At my first coming I had a chamber without adayes. I would gladly have licence to send to London to buy one Book of St. *Austins*, de *Civitate Dei*; and of *Iosephus*, de *Antiquitatibus*; and another of *Sabellicus*; who doth declare most of any Book that I have read, how the Bishop of Rome from time to time hath usurped his power against all Princes, by their unwise sufferance.

Item, For sheets.

Nevertheless, the Duke remained as condemn'd to perpetuall priton, without that his great Services formerly rendered, or his submission on this occasion could restore him; which was in these words, as I finde by our Records in an Originall.

I THOMAS Duke of Norfolk, do confesse and acknowledge my self most untruly, and contrary to my Oath and Allegeance, to have offended the King's most excellent Majestie, in the disclosing and opening of his privie and secret Counsel at divers and sundry times, to divers and sundry persons, to the great perill of his Highness, and disappointing of his most prudent and Regal Affairs. T. N.

Also, I likewise confesse, That I have concealed high Treason, in keeping secret the false and traiterous Act, most presumptuously committed by my Son *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, against the King's Majestie and his Laws, in the putting and using the Arms of St. *Edward* the Confessor, King of the Realm of *England* before the Conquest, in his Scutchion or Arms: which said Arms of St. *Edward* appertain onely to the King of this Realm, and to none other person or persons; whereunto the said Earl by no means or way could
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make any claim or title, by me, or any of mine or his Ancestors.

T. N.

Also, I likewise confesse, That to the peril, slander, and disinherison of the King's Majestie, and his noble Son Prince *Edward*, his Son and Heir apparant, I have against all right, unjustly, and without authority, born in the first quarter of mine Arms, ever since the death of my Father, the Arms of *England*, with a difference of the *Labels* of Silver, which are the proper Arms of my said Prince, to be born for this Realm of *England* only; whereby I have not only done prejudice to the King's Majestie and the said Lord the Prince, but also given occasion that his Highness might be disturbed or interrupted of the Crown of this Realm, and my said Lord Prince might be destroyed, disturbed and interrupted in fame, body and title, of the inheritance to the Crown of this Realm. Which I know and confesse by the Laws of the Realm to be high Treason.

T. N.

For the which my said hainous offences, I have worthily deserved by the Laws of the Realm to be attainted of high Treason, and to suffer the punishment, losses and forfeitures that appertain thereunto. And although I be not worthy to have or enjoy any part of the King's Majestie's clemency and mercy to be extended to me, considering the great and manifold benefits that I and mine have received of his Highness: yet I most humbly, and with a most sorrowfull and repentant heart, do beseech his Highness to have mercy, pity and compassion on me. And I shall most devoutly and heartily make my daily prayer to God for the preservation of his most noble Succession, as long as life and breath shall continue in me.

T. N.

Written the 12 day of the Month of *January*, in the yeer of our Lord God, 1546, after the computation

tation of the Church of *England*, and in the 38 yeer of our Sovereign Lord *Henry* the VIII, by the grace of God King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, defender of the Faith ; and of the Church of *England*, and also of *Ireland* the supreme Head. In witnesse of all the premisses, I the said Duke have subscribed my name with my own hand, in the presence of the Lord *Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor, the Lord St. *John* Lord President of the Councel, the Earl of *Hertford* Lord great Chamberlain, the Viscount *Lisle* Lord high Admiral, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse, Sir *William Paget* Secretary, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker* of our said Sovereign Lords privie Councel, Sir *Richard Lister*, Sir *Edward Montague* the two chief Justices.

Without compulsion, without force, without advice or counsel, I have and do subscribe the premisses, submitting me onely to the King's most gracious pity and mercy, most humbly beseeching his Highness to extend the same unto me his most sorrowfull Subject.

By me THO. NORFOLK.

Thomas Wriothesley Chancellor,
William St. John, *E. Hertford*,
John Lisle, *Anth. Browne*,
William Paget, *Richard Rich*,
John Baker, *Rich. Lyster*,
Edward Montague.

Notwithstanding all which submissions, joyned with the merits of his Services, it was thought that the Duke would hardly escape, had not the King's death, following shortly after, reserved him to more mercifull times. For our King having long laboured under the burden of an extreme fat and unwieldy body, and together being afflicted with a fore leg, took (at the Palace of *Westminster*, in *January*, this yeer) his death bed ; being for the rest not without sense of his present condition. For he both caused a Church of the Franciscans in *London* (lately suppressed) to be opened again, and made a Parish

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Church, endowing it with 500 Marks *per annum*; and bestowed both the ground and buildings of the said *Covent*, as also the adjoyning Hospital of St. *Bartholomew*, on the City, for the relief of the poor: where now is the fair Hospital called Christ-Church: suppress'd the Stews on the Bank-side, and made his last Will and Testament, the Originall whereof yet having not seen, I shall mention no otherwise.

Jan. 28. 1547.

As for *Sanders* affirmation, that he was not desirous to be reconciled to the Roman Church; and that his Courtiers (especially those who had profited themselves of Abbeys) did divert him; and that the Bishops rested doubtfull what to answer, lest they should be entrapped; and how *Winchester* did cunningly evade the danger, I leave to his credit. Others affirming, that he desired to speak with *Cranmer*, who yet not coming sooner then that the King was speechlesse (though in good memory) the King extended his hand to him; and that thereupon *Cranmer* besought him to give some signe of his trust in God by Christ, and that the King should strain his hand. Howsoever, it may be collected, that he died religiously and penitently, when he had reigned seven and thirty yeers, nine months and six days; and after he had lived five and fifty years and seven months; and was carryed to *Windsor*, where he had begun a fair Monument, and founded a Colledge for thirteen poor Knights, and two Priests to pray for his soul.

And now if the Reader (according to my manner in other great Personages) do expect some Character of this Prince, I must affirm, (as in the beginning) that the course of his life being commonly held various and diverse from it self, he will hardly suffer any; and that his History will be his best Character and description. Howbeit, since others have so much defamed him, as will appear by the following Objections, I shall strive to rectifie their understandings who are impartiall lovers of truth; without either presuming audaciously to condemn a Prince, heretofore Sovereign of our Kingdom, or omitting the just freedom of an Historian.

And because his most bitter censures agree, that he had all manner of perfection either of nature or education; and that he was (besides) of a most deep judgement in all Affairs to which he applyed himself; a Prince not onely liberall and indulgent to his Family, and Court, and even to strangers, whom he willingly saw; and one that made choice both of able and good men for the Clergy, and of wise and grave Counsellors for his State-Affairs; and above all, a Prince of a Royall courage: I shall not controvert these points, but come to my particular observations. According to which, I finde him to have been ever most zealous of his Honour and Dignity; insomuch, that

that his most questioned passages were countenanced either with home or forraign Authority : so many Universities of *Italy* and *France* maintaining his repudiating of Queen *Katherin* of *Spain*; and his Parliament (for the rest) authorizing the Divorces and decapitations of his following Wives, the dissolutions of the Monasteries, and divers others of his most branded Actions : So that by his Parliaments in publick, and Juries in private Affairs, he at least wanted not colour and pretext to make them specious to the World ; which also he had reason to affect : Outward esteem and reputation being the same to great Persons which the skin is to the fruit, which though it be but a slight and delicate cover, yet without it the fruit will presently discolour and rot.

As for matter of State, I dare say, never Prince went upon a truer Maxime for this Kingdom ; which was, to make himself Arbiter of Christendom : And had it not cost him so much, none had ever proceeded more wisely. But as he would be an Actor (for the most part) where he needed onely be a Spectator, he both engaged himself beyond what was requisite, and by calling in the money he lent his Confederates and Allies, did often disoblige them when he had most need of their friendship. Yet thus he was the most active Prince of his time. The examples whereof are so frequent in his History, that there was no Treaty, or almost Conventicle in Christendom, wherein he had not his particular Agent and interest ; which, together with his intelligence in all Countries, and concerning all affairs, and the pensions given for that purpose, was one of his vast ways for spending of money.

Again, I observe, that there never was Prince more delighted in Interviews, or (generally) came off better from them. To which also, as his goodly personage and excellent qualities did much dispose him, so they gave him a particular advantage and lustre. Howbeit, as these Voyages were extreme costly, so when he made use thereof to conclude a Treaty, it did not alwayes succeed ; especially where credit was yeilded to any single and private word. Infomuch, that at his last being with *Francis* (where he intended, upon his bare promise, *lier la partie* for the most import Affairs of Christendom) he found himself so much frustrated and deceived.

At home it was his manner to treat much with his Parliaments ; where, if gentle means served not, he came to some degrees of the rough : though more sparingly, that he knew his people did but too much fear him. Besides, he understood well, that fowl wayes are not always passable, nor to be used (especially in suspected and dangerous times) but where others fail. However, it may be noted, That none of his Predecessours understood the temper of Parliaments better then himself,

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himself, or that prevailed himself more dexteriously of them. Therefore, without being much troubled at the tumultuous beginnings of the rasher sort, he would give them that leave, which all new things must have, to settle. Which being done, his next care was to discover and prevent those privie combinations that were not for his service. After which, coming to the point of Contribution, he generally took strict order, (by his Commissioners) that Gentlemen in the Country should not spare each other; but that the true or (at least) neer approaching value of every mans Goods and Lands should be certified. And this hee did the rather, because hee knew the custome of his people was to reckon with him about their Subsidies, and indeed, rather to number, then to weigh their Gifts.

As for his faults, I finde that of opiniate and wilfull much objected: Infomuch, that the impressions privately given him by any Court-whisperer, were hardly or never to be effaced. And herein the persons neer him had a singular ability; while beginning with the commendations of those they would disgrace, their manner was to insinuate such exceptions, as they would discommend a man more in few words, then commend him in many: Doing therein like cunning wrestlers, who to throw one down, first take him up. Besides, this wilfulness had a most dangerous quality annexed to it (especially towards his later end) being an intense jealousy almost of all persons and affairs, which disposed him easily to think the worst. Whereas it is a greater part of wisdom to prevent, then to suspect. These conditions again being armed with power, produced such terrible effects, as stiled him both at home and abroad by the name of *Cruell*; which also hardly can be avoyded; especially, if that Attribute be due, not onely to those Princes who inflict capitall punishments frequently, and for small crimes, but to those who pardon not all that are capable of mercy. And for testimonies in this kinde, some urge two Queens, one Cardinal (*in procinctu*, at least) or two (for *Poole* was condemned, though absent); Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, and Earls Sons, twelve; Barons and Knights eighteen; Abbots, Priors, Monks and Priests seventy seven; of the more common sort, between one Religion and another, huge multitudes. Hee gave some proofs yet that he could forgive; though, as they were few and late, they served not to recover him the name of a Clement Prince. As for Covetousnesse, or Rapine, another main fault observed by *Sanders*, as extending not onely to a promiscuous overthrow of Religious Houses, but a notable derogation of the Title of Supreme Head of the Church in his Dominions: and the rather, that he still retained the substance of the Roman Catholick

Catholick Religion) nothing, that I know, can on those terms palliate it, unlesse it might be collected, that the Religious Orders in his Kingdom would have assisted those who threatened Invasion from abroad, and that hee had no other extraordinary means than their Revenues then left to defend himself. For certainly, the publick pretext, taken from their excessive numbers in proportion to a well composed State, or the inordinate and vitious life of the general sort, cannot sufficiently excuse him; since, together with the supernumerary and debauched Abbeyes, Priories and Nunneries, he subverted and extinguished the good and opportune; without leaving any Receptacle for such as through age or infirmity being unapt for secular businesse, would end their dayes in a devout and a retired life. Nevertheless, as he erected divers new Bishopricks, increased the number of Colledges, and the stipend of Readers in the Universities, and did many other pious works, it is probable he intended some reparation. Though (as the Roman Catholick party conceives it) they were neither satisfactory for, nor equivalent to the desolations and ruines hee procured, when yet he should pretend that the Revenues and number of the Gentry and Soldatesque of the Kingdome were augmented thereby. Howbeit, as in this act of overthrowing Monasteries, his Parliaments were deeply engaged, it will be dangerous to question the authority thereof, since things done by publick Vote, where they finde not reason, make it; neither have many Laws other ground then the constitution of the times; which yet afterwards changing, leave their interpretation doubtfull: Infomuch, that Posterity might justly abrogate them when the causes thereof ceased, had they the power to do it. For which regard also I shall not interpose my opinion otherwise, then that this King had met with no occasion to do that which hath caused so much scandal to him and his Parliaments.

But whereas *Sanders* hath remarked Covetousnesse as a great vice in this King, I could wish it had been with more limitation, and so as he noted the other extreme (being Prodigality) for the greater fault: The examples of both being so pregnant in the King's Father and himself. The first, by an exact inquiry into the corruptions and abuses of his Officers and Subjects, and the prevailing himself thereof to bring all into good order; and the getting of money together, whether by ordinary or extraordinary means (onely when they were not manifestly unjust): and lastly, by frugality, acquiring to himself the name of *prudent* at home, and *puissant* abroad; as being known to have in his coffers always as much as would pay an Army Royall. Whereas this King, so often exhausting his Treasury, that he was constrained at last to have recourse
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to unusuall and grievous ways for relieving his wants, did not onely disaffect his Subjects in great part (as appeared in the Rebellion of the Northern men and others, though to their confusion) but exposed his Kingdom to the Invasion of his Neighbours: who knowing (as all Princes do) to about how much their Revenues amount, and that there remained no longer any ready way to improve them, did collect thence what forces he could furnish; and consequently, would have assailed him at home, but that mutuall divisions did hinder them. Whereby it appears, that what in *Henry VII* is call'd by some Covetousnesse, was a royall Vertue: whereas the excessive and needlesse expences of *Henry VIII* drew after them those miserable consequences which the World hath so much reproached. Howbeit, there may be occasion to doubt, whether the immense Treasure which *Henry VII* left behinde him, were not (accidentally) the cause of those ils that followed: while the young Prince his Son, finding such a mass of money, did first carelessly spend, and after strive to supply as he could.

As for the third vice, wherewith he was justly charged, being Lust and Wantonnes; there is little to answer, more then that it was rather a personall fault, then damageable to the Publick: Howbeit, they who reprove it, ought not onely to examine circumstances (which much aggravate or extenuate the fact) but even the complexions of men. That concupiscence which in some is a vice, being in others a disease of Repletion, in others a necessity of nature. It doth not yet appear that this fault did hasten the death of his Queens; he being noted more for practising of private pleasures, then secret mischiefs: so that if any undue motive did cooperate herein, it may be thought an inordinate desire to have Posterity (especially masculine) which might be the undoubted Heirs of him and the Kingdom, rather then any thing else.

With all his crimes yet, he was one of the most glorious Princes of his time: Insomuch, that not onely the chief Potentates of Christendome did court him, but his Subjects in generall did highly reverence him, as the many tryals he put them to, sufficiently testifie: which yet expired so quickly, that it may be truly said, All his Pomp died with him; his Memory being now exposed to obloquy, as his Accusers will neither admit Reason of State to cover any where, or Necessity to excuse his Actions. For, as they were either discontented Clergy-men (for his relinquishing the Papall Authority, and overthrowing the Monasteries); or offended Women (for divers severe examples against their Sex) that first oppos'd and cry'd him down, the clamour hath been the greater: So that although one *William Thomas* a Clerk to the Council to *Edward* the

the Sixth, and living about the later times of *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, did in great part defend him in an Italian Book, printed *Anno* 1552, it hath not availed.

But what this Prince was, and whether, and how far forth excusable in point of State, Conscience or Honour, a diligent observation of his Actions, together with a conjuncture of the times, will (I conceive) better declare to the judicious Reader, then any factious relation on what side whatsoever. To conclude; I wish I could leave him in his grave.

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Fortitude not always successfull, nor Temperance safe, nor Justice it self opportune.

Untill a due election be made, Vertue her self is obnoxious.

Counterpoises of Reward and Punishment are the best weights to make the great Clock of the Common wealth go aright.

The first part of Wisdom is to be able to give good Counsell, the second to take it.

As Kings have their arts to govern Kingdoms, so Courtiers have their arts to govern Kings; and these arts are hopes and fears, which as doors to the heart, are so guarded by their vigilancy, that they can let themselves in, and keep others out.

Church men are like coins, to

which Vertue gives the stamp, but Humility should give the weight.

Many a seed that will make any thing spring up in a corrupt mind.

Outward esteem to great Persons, is as the skin to fruit, which though it be but a slight and delicate cover, yet it preserveth the fruit from rotting.

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